STUDIES IN SOUTH ASIAN CULTURE

EDITED FOR THE
INSTITUTE OF SOUTH ASIAN ARCHAEOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

BY

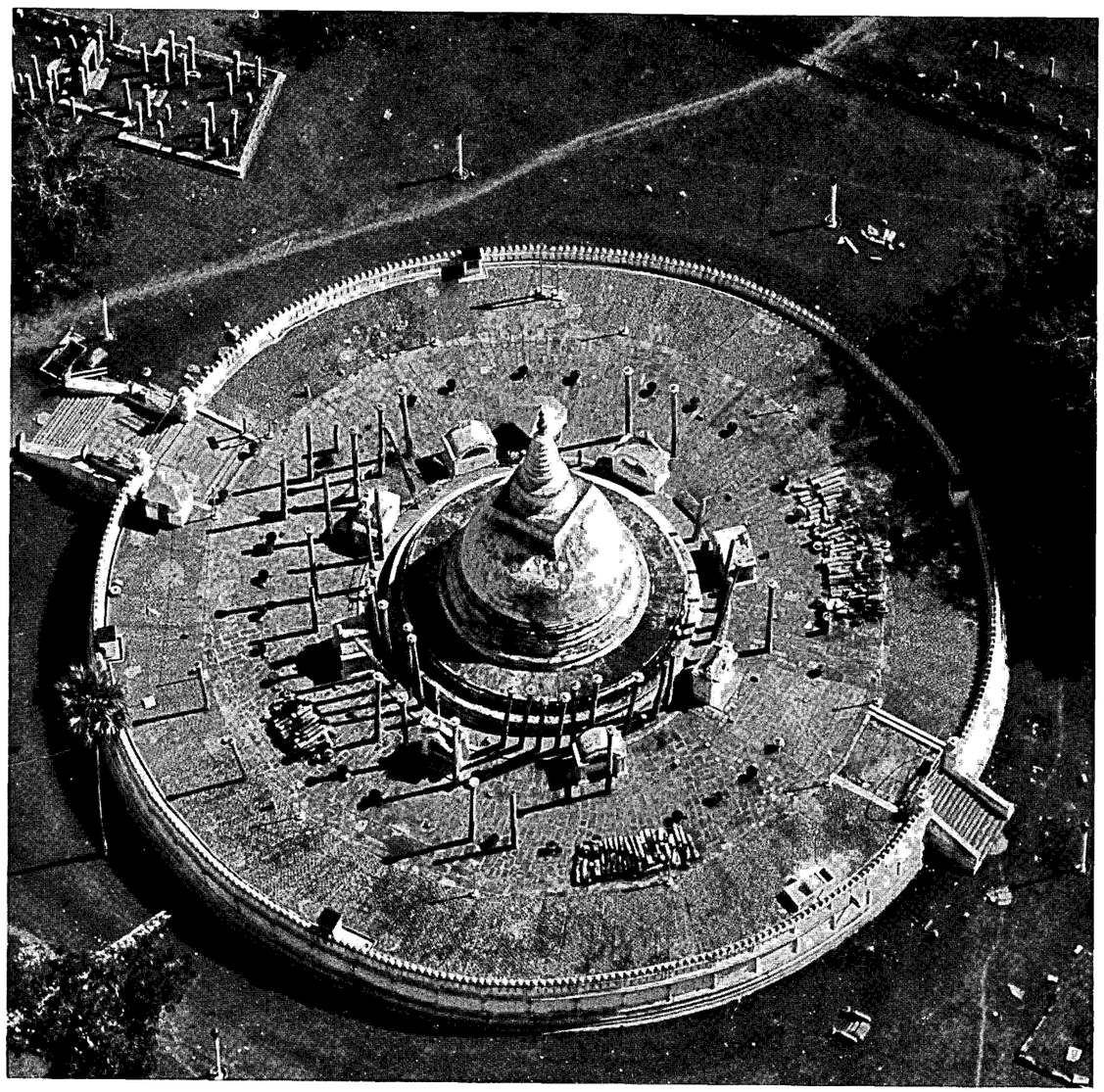
J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW

VOLUME IV

SENAKE BANDARANAYAKE

SINHALESE MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1974



Vaṭadāgē, Thūpārāma, Anurādhapura
(see pp. 140-143)

SINHALESE MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE

THE VIHĀRAS OF ANURĀDHAPURA

BY

SENAKE BANDARANAYAKE

With 163 Figures and 55 Plates

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1974

Published with financial support from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.)

Dedicated to the unknown carpenters, woodcarvers, bricklayers, masons, sculptors and other craftsmen and toiling people of Sri Lanka who were the creators of these monuments

and

to the workers of the Archaeological Survey whose labours have uncovered and preserved this cherished inheritance

ISBN 90 04 03992 9

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

EDITOR'S PREFACE

In 1965 Dr. Bandaranayake submitted his B.Litt. (Oxon.) thesis on "The Vaulted Brick Image-Houses of Polonnaruva". After being awarded this degree, he was advised by the Oxford authorities concerned to continue his research at the Institute of South Asian Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam with a view to obtaining a doctorate, while remaining attached to the University of Oxford. At the request of this university a special arrangement was made by which I acted as Dr. Bandaranayake's supervisor from 1965 till the summer of 1972. The present book is the result of Dr. Bandaranayake's "Dutch Period".

We both look back with warm feelings on these years of close collaboration in which we shared a deep interest in the rich cultural heritage of Sri Lanka and during which a profound personal friendship sprang up. The publication of the present book marks the end of a period in Dr. Bandaranayake's life and it is with a sense of loss that all of us in the Institute of South Asian Archaeology now take leave of him on his return to Sri Lanka. We have greatly appreciated his active contributions to the building up of close cultural relations between Sri Lanka and our Institute. In this respect he continued the efforts of a number of predecessors with all of whom the Institute continues to have close contacts—a band of men dedicated to the preservation and interpretation of Sri Lanka's cultural past whom Dr. Bandaranayake is now going to join.

That the publication of this book was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.) is a matter of profound personal gratitude on the part of the editor. However, in addition the Institute as such is extremely grateful for this generous support which has enabled it to produce in a fitting manner a piece of research carried out in our workshop. Dr. Bandaranayake has rightly acknowledged the unstinting help of several members of the Staff of our Institute who devoted a vast amount of time to the final stages of this book. That this publication with its many intricate problems as regards lay-out could be produced in such a first-class manner is due to the continued support and advice of the Staff of Messrs. E. J. Brill, whose Director Mr. F. C. Wieder took a great interest in its production throughout its various stages.

This book re-examines and interprets the material uncovered by a hundred years of archaeological research and exploration in Sri Lanka. Although there have been a number of reports, monographs and articles on various aspects of the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period, this is the first attempt at a comprehensive treatment which examines the distinctive characteristics of this tradition and places it within the wider context of South and South-East Asia.

It seems a happy coincidence that the present volume in the series "Studies in South Asian Culture" appears on the fifteenth anniversary of our Institute.

J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW
Director of the Institute of South Asian Archaeology

University of Amsterdam, summer 1974.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A book such as this is always the product of collective effort. It would have been appropriate, had it been possible, to trace and to acknowledge all the energies, past and present, that have gone into its production. The brief acknowledgements that follow are merely a gesture in that direction and place on record the names of those to whom the author is most directly indebted for the part they have played in this publication.

The dedication of this book already recognises that the basis of all archaeological investigation in Ceylon lies in the painstaking labour of the workers of the Archaeological Survey (later, Archaeological Department). To name them all is impossible and not only because they are usually reduced to anonymity. Today, their achievements can only be acknowledged by expressing our debt to the work of pioneer archaeologists, above all to Prof. Senarat Paranavitana (1896-1972). His seminal researches in epigraphy and archaeology were the products of a lifetime given over to a total concentration on the problems of understanding Ceylon's past. Personal debts of scholarly gratitude are due to the following teachers, colleagues and friends: to Prof. Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Director of the Institute of South Asian Archaeology, University of Amsterdam, for many years of such invaluable guidance and so many long hours spent in tireless efforts to reach levels of editorial perfection which otherwise would scarcely have been attempted by an untidy author; to Roland Silva, Assistant Commissioner of Archaeology, Archaeological Department of Ceylon, and Dr. L. Prematilleke, head of the Department of Archaeology, University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, two colleagues who accompanied me in my first steps in the subject and with whom I have spent so many long and instructive hours in the field; to the staffs of the Archaeological Department of Ceylon and the Institute of South Asian Archaeology, University of Amsterdam, who have always extended to me their generous advice and assistance; to W. and D. T. Dias Bandaranayake, my parents, who encouraged and supported me in my studies and from my earliest years nourished in me the freedom to think; to Manel Fonseka, co-worker and companion, without whose work my own would have been so impoverished and could not have been completed; and, finally, to all those who have made very specific contributions to the making of this book, including Tapan Chaudhuri, Dori Elia, Marguerite Fanchamps, Paul Hyett, A. Jayavira, Ku Ju-i, Fitzroy Ponniah, Nimal de Silva, J. Vermeulen and Ashley de Vos, all of whom helped with the illustrations; Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis and Nandana Chutiwongs who read and corrected the proofs; Sjef Ubaghs, A. B. Dissanayake and a host of others who gave me much generous hospitality, encouragement and various forms of assistance. Such a list only brings to mind so many others who have not been mentioned. To everyone I would like to say this: I hope that their contributions to my work will be acknowledged by whatever contribution I am able to make to theirs.

Most of the line drawings are taken from publications of the Archaeological Department of Ceylon and occasionally from unpublished material in the Department. Other sources are usually indicated on the drawing itself. Figs. 45b, c and 47 are taken from Smither, J. G. (1894). Figs. 1, 2, 3, 13, 24, 27, 44, 58, 68a, 84, 97, 98, 103, 108, 120, 121, 122, 123, 125, 145, 150, 153, 154, 155, 159, 160c, 161 and 162 have been prepared by the author in collaboration with the friends and colleagues who are mentioned above. Figs. 23, 48, 54, 68b, 157, 158 and 163

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Amsterdam, 1974 SENAKE BANDARANAYAKE

ABBREVIATIONS

Anc. Ind.	*Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*
ASCAR	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report*
ASCM	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*
ASC Prog. Rep.	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Progress Report*
ASIAR	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
ASIM	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*
CJHSS	*Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*
CJSG	*Ceylon Journal of Science; Section G. Archaeology, Ethnology, etc.*
Cv.	*Cūlavaṁsa*
EZ	*Epigraphia Zeylanica; being lithic and other inscriptions of Ceylon*
IAR	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*
JRASCB	*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
MAR	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Madras and Coorg*
Mhv.	*Mahāvaṁsa*
PPAR	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Plans and Plates for Annual Reports*
SPAR	*Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Supplementary Plates for Annual Report*
Trav. AR	*Travancore Archaeology Department, Annual Report*
Trav. Arch. Ser.	*Travancore Archaeological Series*
UHC	*University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*

INTRODUCTION

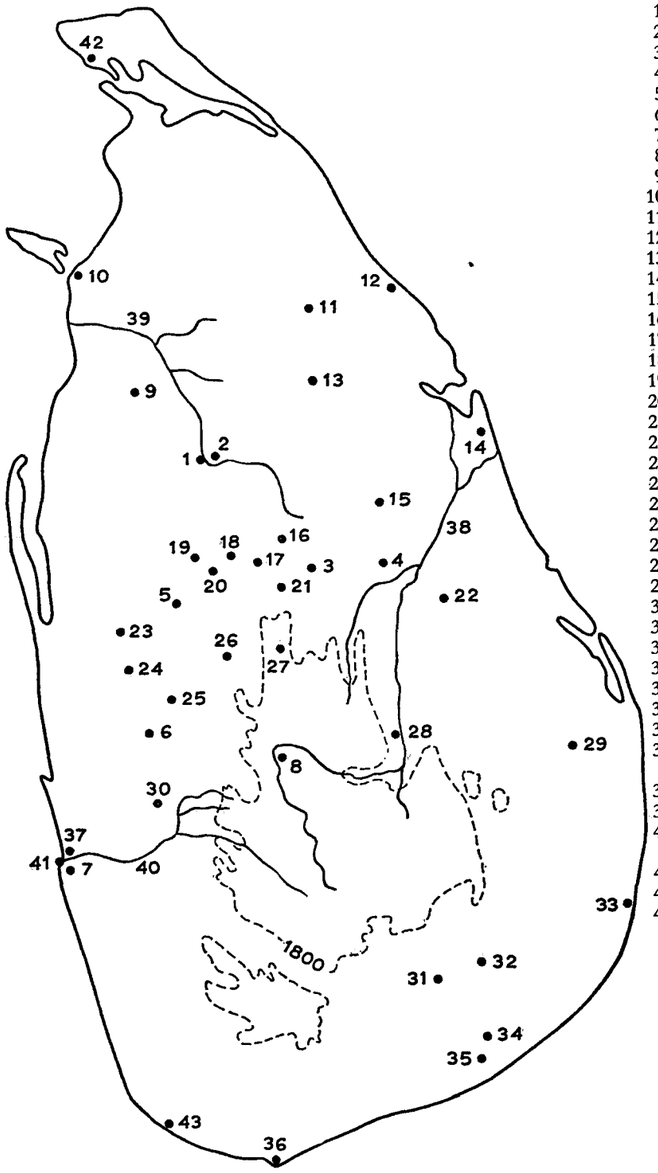
Architecture as historical material

The architecture that a society creates is a substantial and organic expression of its inner life. It displays the economic and technological levels reached by that society, reveals the nature of its social organisation and expresses the forms and concepts of its cultural aspirations. It is at once the skeleton and the outer garment of the social body. The house that a man inhabits, the palaces and public buildings of the overlords who direct and control his social existence, the temples, theatres and other cultural edifices that govern his intellectual and spiritual life, are all direct manifestations of the essential character of his social being. To historians the architectural remains of an ancient society are often the most substantial and least perishable evidence which a community has left behind. The scientific documentation, analysis and interpretation of these remains is one of the primary functions of archaeology.

However, by the very nature of the materials used in the construction of buildings, their varying degrees of permanence, the climatic conditions, the accessibility of the monuments, the archaeological methods employed and a number of other such variable factors, this evidence is never available in anything like its original condition, complexity or variety. Thus, the monastic remains of the early historical periods in Ceylon, which are the subject of this study, present us with only a single aspect—though undoubtedly a very important one—of early Ceylonese society. In order to understand the significance of this monastic architecture, to place it within its true historical perspective, these limitations must be recognised.

So far, the attempts of modern historians to elucidate the ancient history of the Ceylonese people has largely been based on two types of historical material—the literary remains, including the Chronicles and the lithic records, and the material remains, consisting mainly of the engineering works connected with the irrigation system and the architectural monuments of the royal cities and the monastic sites. Historical writing has been and, as much by choice as of necessity, still continues to be more a matter of charting the course of certain political and religious institutions through time than an attempt to study the society in question as a dynamic entity. Moreover, due to the close link between the study of the classical languages of Asia and the development of historical studies during the 19th century, historical research and historical writing, not to mention archaeology itself, have come to be dominated by literary and linguistic scholarship. This in turn has led to a considerable body of writing which deals not so much with the *meaning* and *content* of history but with two specialised and scholastic aspects of it: one, the attempt to extract a historical record from the critical analysis and reconstruction of ancient documents; and two, an emphasis on the investigation of political and, to a lesser extent, of religious institutions and their historical evolution.

The present study does not pretend to go beyond the historiological framework of Ceylonese historical studies in general; rather it is an attempt to compensate for the bias towards textual and linguistic material by an archaeological approach to the architectural remains of the early periods, i.e. by providing a critical and interpretative analysis of the surviving monuments. Nor is this a comprehensive survey of early Ceylonese architecture. On the contrary, we concentrate our attention on the surface remains of the monastic complexes in and around the royal city of Anurādhapura. We proceed from a description of these remains



1. Anurādhapura
2. Mihintaḷē
3. Sīgiriya
4. Polonnaruva
5. Yāpahuva
6. Daṁbadeṇiya
7. Kōṭṭe
8. Kandy
9. Tantirimalai
10. Māntai
11. Padaviya
12. Tiriyāya
13. Veherabāṁdigala
14. Sēruvila
15. Mādirigiriya
16. Riṭigala
17. Avukana
18. Sāssēruva
19. Rājaṅganē
20. Nillakgama
21. Daṁbulla
22. Diṁbulāgala
23. Nikavāraṭiya
24. Paṁḍuvasnuvara
25. Kuruṇāgala
26. Araṅkālē
27. Nālanda
28. Mahiyaṅgaṇa
29. Dīghavāpi
30. Attanagalla
31. Buduruvagala
32. Māligāvela
33. Magulmahāvihāra
34. Kataragama
35. Tissamahārāma
36. Devundara
37. Kālaṇiya
38. Mahaväliganga
39. Malvatu oya
40. Kālaṇiganga
41. Colombo
42. Jaffna
43. Galle

Fig. 1. Ceylon—major historical and archaeological sites

and an attempt to devise a methodology for the study of Sinhalese monastic architecture towards an interpretation of what we call the Sinhalese tradition; we try to define, as it were, some of the major forms and concepts of that tradition and to place them not only within their own environment but also within the wider spectrum of Asian architecture.

Modern scholarship has to recognise that historical research can no longer be compartmentalised and that historical material is not only subject to a multiplicity of scientific disciplines but has also to be viewed from the perspective of a dynamic social entity whose various elements are closely interwoven and interdependent. If this study still remains within the purely classificatory framework of past research this is only because, in our opinion, the available material has not yet been thoroughly sifted and methodically analysed. Given the rigour and complexity of modern scientific methods and the ever-increasing volume of evidence, such analysis can never be final or definitive, much less an end in itself. But without a preliminary study of the general patterns of architectural development there can be no proper attempt to understand the full historical implications of the architectural remains that the ancient Ceylonese have left behind. This book is a contribution, more technical than theoretical, towards that end.

Methodology

In the absence of any definitive chronology of Sinhalese art and architecture and in view of the immense task of excavation and analysis that will continue to engage Ceylonese archaeologists for generations to come, any systematic attempt to study the known remains has to evolve a framework capable of adjusting itself to new material and new interpretations. In the past studies of this kind have concentrated either on historical periods, individual sites or particular building types. Since there is no definitive chronology and few known remains —Sīgiriya excepted—that date from a period much before the 7th Century, any attempt to study Sinhalese architecture from a purely evolutionary point of view or in terms of distinct historical periods is a method which is faced with severe limitations. On the other hand, the detailed study of individual sites and of particular buildings or building types is an important and essential factor in archaeological research and this book draws heavily on previous studies of this kind. But, obviously, these researches alone cannot provide a general framework which establishes not only the character and development of a particular monastic site or structure but also the interrelations, both in time and place, between the various sites and the different building types. What we try to establish here from our analysis of the monasteries of Anurādhapura is a methodology which could be applied not only to the sites and the period in question but also to the earlier or later remains from any site or area within the Sinhalese tradition. This methodology is implicit in the schematic organisation of this study.

The concept of plan

The underlying principle of any organised architectural tradition is the concept of 'plan'. What is meant by plan in its formal sense is not just the basic layout of an individual structural unit but the disposition and location of buildings both in relation to other buildings and to the site as a whole. The concept of plan seems to have its origins in a *sense of order* emerging, either in an implicit or explicit form, from the interaction and reconciliation of a number of factors such as climate, terrain, social function and purpose, density, circulation, building materials

and techniques, etc. This sense of order does not necessarily imply a symmetrical or geometrical pattern but rather a cohesive organisation and logical interrelation of the formal aspects of building with due regard to social needs, including architectural purpose and aesthetic character, and material factors such as the existing technical possibilities and limitations, the natural location and other environmental conditions. In its most developed form the concept of plan involves the application of systematically formulated principles to all aspects of the art of building. However, by the nature of the remains under consideration the concept of plan that we deal with here is more or less limited to the size, shape, function and disposition of buildings within a monastic complex. The existence of preconceived planning in Asian societies is familiar to historians and archaeologists from the earliest periods of recorded history. In the South Asian world in particular we have well-documented evidence, both from the cities of the Harappan civilisation and those of the historical period described in the contemporary literature, that the planned architectural layout of a city or monastic complex was prevalent from early times.

Thus, the logical starting point for any systematic account of architectural development is an analysis of plan, that is to say, an analysis of the widest possible relationship between the individual building types and between the various sites. It is on this basis that the first section of this study deals with 'The Monastic Plan'. The monastery or *vihāra* is the most homogeneous and comprehensive unit of religious activity and monastic habitation throughout the history of Buddhist monasticism and Buddhist architecture. The term *vihāra* in its widest sense (i.e. *saṅghārāma*) denotes a monk settlement which is a self-contained unit with its own ritual, ecclesiastical and residential buildings, standing within clearly defined boundaries. It may or may not be composed of several subsidiary units, each often resembling the other and each a kind of monastery in itself, but the whole forming a larger complex which constitutes the monastery proper or *vihāra*. The largest and the most important *vihāras* contain nearly all the major building types known to the monastic tradition. The relationship between one *vihāra* and another is only collateral. The features of the one are more or less duplicated in the other. We might say that the *vihāra* is the macro-unit or macro-organism common to Sinhalese monastic architecture of all periods. An analysis of the plan of the *vihāra* and its components and derivatives should be the basis of any attempt to understand the monastic architecture of Ceylon at any point in its development.

The analytical scheme

The first two chapters deal with the two monastery types which together constitute the basic plan of the Sinhalese Buddhist *vihāra* throughout its long history. We call them 'the organic monastery' and the '*pabbata vihāra*'. The organic monastery, as its name indicates, represents the original monastic foundations in and around Anurādhapura. Most of them date from the earliest phases of the establishment and consolidation of Buddhism in the island. We see in them the organic development of the concept of plan emerging from relatively simple origins to a point where it accommodates the more complex architectural ideas that evolve in the course of time. The organic monastery is best represented by the three or four major monastic complexes that grew around the great *stūpas* of Anurādhapura. These remained the institutional centres of Sinhalese Buddhism throughout the early historical period until the 10th Century A.D. A smaller and more formalised version of these ancient monasteries is the *pabbata vihāra*, which appears to be a suburban or provincial version of the organic

monastery in its most developed form. The *pabbata vihāra* is usually found as a self-contained unit on its own and there are several examples in the suburbs of Anurādhapura. Sometimes, however, as in Mihintaḷē and Vessagiriya, it appears as a constituent part of, or a subsidiary attachment to, an organic complex.

The *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively, are two special types of monastic unit or sub-monastery. They are particular developments of the Anurādhapura, or more specifically, the Late Anurādhapura Period, and do not seem to appear in the architecture of the subsequent periods. The *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* is one of the major components of the organic monastery in its developed form. There are several such units in each *vihāra*, usually loosely ranged around the central *stūpa*. The *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, on the other hand, seems to have been an exceptional type, developed to satisfy the architectural requirements of a particular ascetic cult or tendency in Sinhalese monasticism. These *padhānagharas* usually occur as single, isolated monasteries or loosely ranged groups. At least the versions found in Anurādhapura are in scattered groups with no centralised architectural plan which would allow us to consider them as parts of a single *vihāra*, beyond the fact that they are located in one area. In some of the provincial sites, however, there is a skeletal central organisation consisting mainly of linking avenues or paths and a few ritual and ecclesiastical buildings; but this scarcely approaches the clearly defined, centripetal arrangement of the organic monasteries or the schematic layout of the *pabbata vihāra*. In effect, the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* is an individual monastic unit, complete in itself, and only loosely associated with other similar units. *Padhānaghara pariveṇas* are rarely found within an organic monastic complex side by side with *pañcāyatanas* and *pabbata vihāras*, although one or two instances of this do exist.

These four monastery or sub-monastery types are, as far as we can see today, the four basic concepts of plan in Sinhalese monastic architecture throughout the Anurādhapura Period. With the exception perhaps of the organic monastery, which by its very character is both indigenous and international at the same time, they are all a distinctly Ceylonese contribution to Buddhist monastic architecture. They clearly establish that Sinhalese architecture at its base had its own momentum of development and its own original character. These monastery types must have had their origins in the earlier phase of Buddhist building in Ceylon, although the exact nature of that development still remains obscure. No doubt they did not develop coterminously, though they all emerge in a fully evolved form in the latter half of the Late Anurādhapura Period.

The second section of this study describes the major building types in these monasteries. These structures are common to all four monastery types, sometimes with modifications in shape and dimension according to the needs and character of the particular plan. The buildings themselves have been further classified on the basis of their original religious or monastic purpose. Previous studies, such as those of Paranavitana and Prematilleke, divided the monastic remains into two distinct categories: residential and ecclesiastical structures, on the one hand, and ritual monuments, on the other.[1] While there are good reasons to maintain that there is a basic distinction of this kind, we have found it more useful to establish a tripartite division: i. ritual; ii. ecclesiastical; and iii. residential buildings. This has its parallel in the Buddhist concept of the Triple Gem, the *Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha*, signifying the Buddha, the doctrine and the monastic order. While certain ecclesiastical structures may also have served

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 17; Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 71.

as monastic dwellings, thus blurring the distinction between the two latter categories, their original purpose and their architectural character justify the division into separate ecclesiastical and residential categories.

The third and final section is devoted to a discussion of architectural form; that is to say the formal aspects of monastic structures in general. This is further subdivided into substructure and superstructure. By the very nature of the materials and methods used in their construction, as well as the climatic and historical conditions, only very little has survived of the ruined monasteries of Anurādhapura, or of any other site dating from the same period. This consists mostly of basal platforms, sections of brick walling, stone columniation and the entrance stairs of buildings. The most clearly discernible element which emerges from these skeletal remains is the ground plan of a particular structure and its orientation and relationship to other monuments. The greater part of the masonry walls together with the entire superstructure of the upper storeys and the roof has entirely disappeared, except in a few rare and largely unrepresentative examples. It is only on the basis of very scant contemporary evidence and by comparison with similar buildings in other architectural traditions as well as with the architecture of the subsequent periods in Ceylon, that we have been able to conjecturally reconstruct the architectural form of the early Sinhalese monuments.

The historical significance of Anurādhapura

The methodological framework outlined in the preceding paragraphs has arisen from, and been applied to, our analysis of the royal monasteries of Anurādhapura. Perhaps some explanation is required as to why we have focused our attention on the monasteries of Anurādhapura and not on any other well-known site or, for that matter, on the entire architectural remains of the period. The decision to concentrate on a limited area, while not ignoring the other available material, is neither arbitrary nor merely in order to keep this study within manageable proportions. Anurādhapura occupies a pre-eminent position in the history of Ceylon and in the development of Buddhist monasticism and monastic architecture. By virtue of its unchallenged position as the principal political and religious centre of the island over a period of nearly a millenium-and-a-half, Anurādhapura commanded a greater part of the resources that were utilised in religious building throughout this epoch. Thus, in comparison with other sites, many of which are in themselves quite impressive, Anurādhapura has the highest concentration of religious and monastic institutions and the most substantial number of structural monuments all existing within a clearly defined area. The city and its surroundings represent the focal centre of religious and architectural development until the 10th Century A.D.[1]

Moreover, Anurādhapura occupies a place of special significance in the development of scientific archaeology in Ceylon. The Archaeological Survey (now called the Archaeological

[1] Incidentally, the existence of a large number of relatively well-preserved monastic complexes in such close proximity to each other enables us to have a fairly good idea of the relationship of one monastery to another. It also makes it very convenient to make those comparisons which enable us to see clearly the parallels that exist between the internal organisation and layout of the various monasteries, thus supplementing our lack of material or information with reference to one monastery by immediate comparison with the others. At the same time a certain amount of uneven development between the different *vihāras* and *pariveṇas*—no doubt as a result of varying degrees of wealth and importance, as well as the preservation of some older buildings and the replacement of others by newer structures—provides us with some material basis for an analysis of the progressive evolution of certain architectural forms and concepts.

Department) had its origins and first headquarters in Anurādhapura. In fact it began as the Archaeological Survey of Anurādhapura. The sacred city of Anurādhapura and its environs, which include the two major outlying monastic complexes of Mihintaḷē and Vessagiriya, are the most thoroughly excavated sites in the country. The greater part of the remains that we see today at Anurādhapura and the two other ancient capitals, Sīgiriya and Polonnaruva, as well as a number of lesser, provincial sites, were laid bare by the workers of the Archaeological Survey in the first twenty-five years or so of operations, from 1890 onwards. This truly monumental enterprise—pursued with rigorous and thorough, if today somewhat unscientific, methods—was accomplished by the purposefulness and dedication of these pioneers. By the sheer extent of the material uncovered and the detailed plans and descriptions that have been published, their work has laid the basis for all future archaeological studies in Ceylon. More than half this effort was centred on Anurādhapura and the surrounding area. The excavations and investigations that have been carried out since scarcely approach these original efforts, either in extent or significance. Nowhere in Ceylon have such substantial and extensive remains been uncovered in a single area, whose monuments include not only four of the largest *stūpas* in the island and their surrounding monastic complexes, but also a number of other monasteries of various types and of varying dimensions. In the 10,000 acres which are covered by the monuments of ancient Anurādhapura we have not hundreds but about three or four thousand monastic buildings. Few other single sites in the ancient world offer such a wealth of architectural remains, displaying at one and the same time such variety and such homogeneity.

The historical and chronological implications of our focus on Anurādhapura are also significant. The city is so closely associated with an entire epoch of Ceylonese history that the period from the 3rd Century B.C. to the 10th Century A.D. is known as the Anurādhapura Period. Being the main seat of government and the principal centre of Ceylonese culture and civilisation throughout the first 1300 years of the country's history, we can assert with confidence that the successive developments in Sinhalese monastic architecture, if not its actual origins, are to be found here. Much of this, however, still remains buried underground. A complete excavation of these remains—a task so formidable that one wonders whether it could ever be realised in the foreseeable future—would almost certainly provide us with a comprehensive picture of the evolution of Sinhalese monastic architecture from its early beginnings. It will also enable us to establish a more reliable chronology.

As things are, the existing ruins—that is to say, the material analysed by us here—constitute only the surface remains which cover at best only the last three or four centuries of the Anurādhapura Period. This phase, however, especially the 9th and 10th Centuries A.D., represents a culmination of the Sinhalese tradition, a point at which Sinhalese architecture had reached a climax of development. Although it was succeeded by a period of equal or even greater wealth and magnificence at Polonnaruva, the last two centuries of Anurādhapura are in many ways more representative of the Sinhalese tradition in its most evolved and distinctive stage.

The immanent principles of the monastic architecture of the *classic period* (by which we mean the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods taken together, i.e. from the 3rd Century B.C. to the 13th Century A.D.) reach their fullest expression in these last two centuries at Anurādhapura. Thus, not only is Anurādhapura the central repository of the Sinhalese tradition in a geo-political and ecclesiastical sense, but it is also a focal point in historical and evolutionary terms. Polonnaruva, on the other hand, while more lavish and better preserved

than the older capital, is very much a continuation of the Anurādhapura tradition. However, almost by virtue of its greater elaboration and relatively short-lived brilliance, Polonnaruva does not provide us with such a distinct and definitive picture of the essential character and development of Sinhalese monastic architecture. The later city does not have behind it the great weight of tradition, the accumulation, as it were, of several layers of constructional activity over many centuries, which seems to have had the effect in Anurādhapura of preserving in its latest works some of the forms and planning concepts of earlier periods. Thus, the character of the Anurādhapura monasteries is determined by the inhibitions of a historical continuity which preserves a certain purity of tradition. The index to the greater freedom at Polonnaruva is that its architecture reflects a curious mixture of continuity and innovation, of revivalism and eclecticism.

A further consideration in comparing Anurādhapura with Polonnaruva is that while Polonnaruva has retained its royal and secular buildings as well as a number of magnificent monastic remains in a far better state of preservation than those at Anurādhapura, this very advantage has resulted in archaeologists directing their efforts at the more prominent monuments to the neglect of the more modest structures. Thus, in effect, we know much less about the monastic complexes of Polonnaruva than we do about the ruined *vihāras* and *pariveṇas* of Anurādhapura. This point is made very clearly when we observe that none of the major Polonnaruva monasteries has been fully excavated.

Viewed from any angle, Anurādhapura as it stands today embodies the basic forms and concepts of the classic Sinhalese tradition. A study of the Anurādhapura monasteries enables us to see at a glance the essential morphology of Sinhalese monastic architecture.

The fact that the focus of our attention is directed at the surface remains in Anurādhapura does not mean that we ignore the provincial sites or that we do not extend our view back and forth in history. This other material, however, is not dealt with exhaustively. Rather, we utilise both this peripheral evidence as well as various South and South-East Asian parallels as comparative material to supplement the data from Anurādhapura, not only to understand better the actual form and character of these monuments but also to test the methodology which our analysis of the Anurādhapura monasteries offers to the study of Sinhalese monastic architecture in general.

The concept of a Sinhalese tradition

The most far-reaching implications of this analysis are that in trying to describe and comprehend the monastic architecture of Anurādhapura, an attempt has been made to define and delineate, both in national and international terms, the concept of a Sinhalese[1] tradition. The

[1] The terms *Sinhalese* and *Ceylonese* are sometimes, though not always, used here synonymously. There is, however, a distinction between them that is usually apparent in context, but which may require a brief explanation. *Ceylon* (Sinh. *Srī Laṅkā*) and *Ceylonese* are the terms generally used today to refer in a comprehensive way to the geographical and national entity. The Ceylonese nation includes the two major linguistic and cultural groups, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, as well as other nationalities. On the other hand, the term *Siṅhala* —which has possibly a clan or totemistic origin and from which is derived *Sinhalese*—was often used in historic times in the same sense as the modern *Ceylon* and *Ceylonese* —that is to say in both a geo-political and ethnological sense. Strictly speaking, *Sinhalese* is today a historical and a linguistic description which has cultural and ethnological and has been given racial connotations. The scientific use of this term in a cultural or ethnological sense is justified in so far as the Sinhalese-speaking people have a distinct historical existence and were the most numerous and prominent social and cultural group in Ceylon throughout its long history. This is not to imply, however, that the history of Ceylon is solely the history of a Sinhalese-speaking people, or that their culture is some pure, self-perpetuating and self-contained entity, without any connections or interrelations with Tamil-speaking or other elements. The racial use—i.e. in a physiological sense—of the term *Sinhalese*, not uncommon today, is not only insidious but, as far as we can see, has no real scientific basis. Thus, when we speak here of a *Sinhalese* tradition we mean in fact the dominant and distinctive indigenous cultural traits of the island, without chauvinist or racist overtones. *Ceylonese*, on the other hand, is used to refer in a more general and comprehensive way to the cultural—or social, geographical, etc.—features, both indigenous and imported, which are to be found in the island of Ceylon. In current Ceylonese practice the form *Sinhala*, both as a noun and as an adjective, is preferred to *Sinhalese*, when writing in English or some other modern European language. In order to avoid confusion—largely of a grammatical nature—the original anglicisation *Sinhalese* is used throughout this study.

architecture of Sinhalese Buddhism occupies a special and distinct place in the cultural history of that vast and complex region consisting of South, South-East and East Asia, collectively referred to as Monsoon Asia. The history and culture of this area—rarely presented as a single geographical or historical entity—is usually seen in terms of some purely *external* aspects. Thus, the brilliant civilisations of India and China are taken to be the *sole* source of the higher cultures of Monsoon Asia. Or, where we find greater interest in *internal* development, this is still heavily dependent on theories of seminal influence from the ancient centres of civilisation in the great river valleys of the southern subcontinent or the eastern land mass. As far as Ceylon is concerned this tendency to conceptualise history in either explicitly or implicitly 'diffusionist' categories is a distortion of which both foreign and Ceylonese historians have been guilty. Thus Quaritch Wales, whose work is one of the few attempts to include Ceylon in the context of South-East Asia, nevertheless comes to the conclusion that 'the art of Ceylon is in general a reflection of India, without original developments'.[1] Coomaraswamy and Paranavitana, on the other hand, in common with many other

[1] Quaritch Wales, H. G., 1961, p. 35. The work of Quaritch Wales is part of a considerable body of writing —mostly by French and Dutch scholars—which confronts the problem of 'culture change', 'Indianisation' and 'the differentiation of cultures' in South-East Asia. The most recent of these studies now recognise—although still from a rather mechanistically Indianist viewpoint—the part played by local tradition in the development and formation of culture and civilisation in the societies of South-East Asia. Within the terms set by these writers there is no better definition of this factor than what Wales has called 'local genius', which he explains thus: "local genius, the continuing effect of the previous civilisations, is far from being just one ingredient in a 'mixture'. In conditioning the response to foreign stimulus it provides the agency which moulds the borrowed material, giving it an original twist and at the same time preserving and emphasising the distinctive character of the evolution" (p. 19). Whatever might be thought of Wales' somewhat simplistic interpretation of his material in developing this hypothesis, it must be conceded that in comparison to some other approaches it is at least an attempt to investigate a fundamental historical problem by a rational method. Bosch, for instance, in contrast to Wales—to whose concept of 'local genius' he took such strong exception—only succeeds in mystifying the problem in terms such as these: "The creation of a Barabadur can never be explained by a 'mixing' nor by a 'fusion' of Indian and Indonesian elements .... Here we enter the domain of the miracle.... of which only nature possesses the secret .... when, as a result of the mysterious process of fecundation, a germ is created giving birth to a new life, which assumes its own shape, shows its particular characteristics, develops specific beauty, and which, be it a plant, an animal, a human being, or a work of art, belongs to a domain into which our knowledge depending on the perception of hard facts will never be able to penetrate" (Bosch, F. D. K., 1961, p. 21). It is beyond the scope of this study to make any wider critical assessment of Quaritch Wales, Bosch or any of the other writers who have addressed themselves to this question. However, in the course of our analysis we make certain observations about Ceylon and the Sinhalese tradition which have some relevance to the concept of 'Indianisation'. This problem so far has been dealt with mainly by scholars whose work has been concentrated on the art and architecture of the South-East Asian countries. This applies to Quaritch Wales, himself, whose observations on Ceylon are based on such apparently superficial reading that they are of little value. We, ourselves, reject Wales' division of the South and South-East Asian region into a western and an eastern zone, seen from the viewpoint of a seminal Indian source. Instead, we would suggest an approach which looks first at the internal dynamics of the various countries in this region and then at the external relations, in effect a series of overlapping cycles of interaction and interrelationship, which often accelerate—or sometimes even retard—the internal processes of change and development within a country. For purposes of convenience, if we need regional divisions within the geo-

Ceylonese historians and archaeologists, see the Ceylonese tradition as one that evolves from a transplantation of Indian forms and concepts at a very early date and the preservation and development of these in later periods, only marginally affected by later Indian influences. Paranavitana, whose vast body of writings and profound scholarship surely place him among the great scholars of his generation, is the chief exponent of this view, which is concisely expressed in the following passage:

> It is reasonable to conjecture that the earliest Buddhist shrines in Ceylon, founded as they were at the behest of missionaries who hailed from north India, were modelled on similar shrines which then existed in the homeland of Buddhism... The arts and crafts which flourished in ancient India in the third century B.C. were thus transplanted into Ceylon and, in the course of the succeeding centuries, developed there in accordance with the distinctive character of the Sinhalese people. Thus, the art and architecture of Ceylon, while bearing the stamp of its Indian origin, is not absolutely identical with those of any particular region of India. Later developments, which in India itself transformed the art and architecture of the Mauryan epoch beyond recognition, in many of their aspects exerted their influence on the evolution of styles in Ceylon but the Sinhalese preserved the architectural forms and art motifs which were introduced into this Island by the early Buddhist missionaries up to a period much later than that in which they became obsolete on the mainland.[1]

Our criticism of views such as those of Quaritch Wales, on the one hand, and even of Coomaraswamy and Paranavitana, on the other, is that they fail to recognise that the concept of culture change and of artistic development is a profoundly historical problem, multi-dimensional and involving a theoretical perspective which cannot be reduced to a classification of seminal forms and concepts. Thus, even within the framework of their own approaches, they have not identified—let alone explained—the analogies between the so-called 'Indianisation' of the various countries of South and South-East Asia and the 'Sanskritisation' of societies within India itself.[2] It is not our intention, within the largely technical scope of this book, to confront the theoretical and analytical implications of these views, which—sometimes in conflict, sometimes interdependent—are representative of two major tendencies constituting the bulk of the writing on these subjects. However, the perspective which emerges in the course of this book is that development and change in a society—that is to say, history—is the product fundamentally of the life and work of the people who constitute that society. This is a fairly obvious viewpoint which would perhaps be readily accepted but

graphical and historical complex of Monsoon Asia, it would be more meaningful to consider Ceylon along with Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam as a distinct subdivision, which would also include, marginally, Kerala and Bengal at its western periphery and South (rice-growing) China and the Philippines in the east. If we examine the ecology, the material culture, the agricultural technology, the social formations, the indigenous architecture, etc., of the countries within this region, we find an extraordinarily homogeneous entity. The concentrations of land area, natural resources, population, wealth and culture of the Indian subcontinent and the Chinese mainland, on the other hand, are distinct formulations in themselves, standing on either side of this central region. It is these three areas together which constitute the entire complex of Monsoon Asia. Only by a very selective approach to the formal aspects of the higher cultures of these societies is it possible to make the kind of fundamental divisions and differentiations that are usually made and generally accepted hitherto. A more meaningful separation, of relevance to the subject of the present study, is one that is based on the close correspondence between the hydraulic, 'dry zone' civilisations of Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia and Java, all of which experienced fundamental changes at about the same period, viz. 10th-13th Century. The later developments that ensued from this crisis are also not without their parallels.

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), pp. 8-9.

[2] This latter process has, of course, occupied the attention of sociologists and more recently of linguists as well. For a concise account of some sociological approaches to this problem and for the statement of a linguistic viewpoint, see Staal, J. F., 1963.

rarely used as an instrument of historical analysis. Such a viewpoint does not negate the role played by ideas and influences as well as forms and techniques from outside—it is only marginal and 'static' communities which are not interrelated with societies outside their immediate cultural and physical environment, and even these are sooner or later overtaken by history—but recognises that there is a complex interaction, a dialectical relationship between the processes that are at work within a given society and those which are produced by the internal dynamics of other societies outside it.

The impact of advanced forms and concepts which are imported, so to speak, is only relevant in so far as they act, react or interact on the existing society. This presupposes that that society itself has developed to a point where these ideas can be received, accommodated, reinterpreted and utilised to its own purposes. To go further, it also anticipates a situation in which those ideas are as much required and 'asked for' as they themselves stimulate new developments. Thus, the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism by Mauryan missionaries in the 3rd Century B.C. is not a fortuitous historical circumstance dependent on Aśoka's religious zeal, Mahinda's doctrinal persuasiveness or the inherent superiority of Buddhist metaphysics over primitive animism or theism, but rather a result of the fact the cultural processes within the island had reached a stage in which it was ready to receive and to accept those ideas that were prevailing in the civilised environment of the time. The *Mahāvaṁsa* account of the first contact between Mahinda and Devānaṁpiyatissa, which is in the form of a philosophical exchange between the monk and the king, makes this point very clearly.[1] Whether this incident actually took place or not is irrelevant. What it demonstrates is that the ancient chronicler had a profound understanding of historical processes.

Seen in this light concepts such as 'the Indian' or 'the Chinese' appear more as polarisations of the dynamic processes at work in the vast cultural complex of Monsoon Asia than the simple diffusion of progressive ideas from a seminal source. Of course, these developments are not spread out evenly throughout the whole area at any given moment of time. The most advanced elements sometimes provide a source of clearly formulated ideas, techniques and forms, or even act as a stimulus for the developments that are continually taking place in the less advanced areas. It is this interaction that is observed and characterised as 'Indianisation' or 'Sinisation'. To isolate and compartmentalise one aspect of this complex and multi-dimensional relationship, usually by the use of selective material, to the exclusion of the inherent potential and internal dynamism of the particular society or culture under scrutiny is, in fact, to reverse the order of priorities.

Our conclusions are that the primary source of Sinhalese architectural development was the indigenous building tradition. This process was primarily motivated and determined by internal conditions. These include the existing social and religious needs, the prevailing economic and technological resources, the climate, the available building materials and the archetypal forms which had long been evolved within these conditions and which persist throughout the whole history of Sinhalese architecture to this day. Thus, in our analysis of the Anurādhapura monasteries we constantly draw attention not only to the interaction between the local and the imported forms, but also to the continuing momentum of the indigenous tradition which borrows, absorbs, reinterprets and also rejects what it takes from outside. The central flow, as it were, of this evolution has its own distinct character rooted in the life of the country and the people. It is this, in essence, which constitutes the tradition.

[1] *Mhv.* 14.16-23.

In a primarily rural country like Ceylon, where the mass of the people are still to a great extent dependent on the agricultural methods and techniques of the past, the social 'landscape' of the village provides us with a hitherto ignored but nevertheless important and genuine source of living historical material. Therefore, to the two types of source-material already discussed,[1] we must add this third type. When applied scientifically, this provides an important and useful corrective to the kind of ideas expressed by those scholars who think purely in terms of foreign influence and imported forms. This is particularly applicable to the development of formal architectural concepts.

In common with many other such agrarian societies in Monsoon Asia, the Ceylonese economy was basically dependent on a number of village communities, whose primary sustenance was irrigated agriculture. Despite important changes in the character of Ceylonese feudalism throughout the historical period, the peasant economy and the Ceylonese village retained many of their ancient social and cultural characteristics, at least until the 19th Century, and, in a mutated form, these remain even to the present day. At the beginning of the classic or dry-zone period the basis of this agriculture was the simple village reservoir which provided the controlled irrigation required for the cultivation of rice. In time, the development of an intricate system of artificial lakes and canals which supplemented village irrigation made it possible to increase production, to support a much larger population and to develop a brilliant civilisation and cultural superstructure. The very high level to which this advanced irrigation technology was developed in such a small island has been compared to that of ancient Egypt and China.[2] This explains the impressive array of architectural monuments which testify to the wealth and magnificence of the superstructure. The basic architecture of the country—the simple habitations of its peasant communities—has, however, long since disappeared from the historical record. Yet we can be almost certain that this was hardly different from the simple mud-and-thatch dwellings which still house a greater part of the Ceylonese people today, just as the domestic economy and material culture of the modern peasant is not fundamentally different from that of his ancestors.

In the same way that the intricate network of irrigation systems developed out of the basic technology of the village reservoir, the substantial and elaborate monuments of the monasteries and palaces display many of the archetypal forms and concepts that can still be seen in the organic, rural architecture of the countryside. There is no better illustration of this, in our study of Anurādhapura architecture, than the fact that the most common and dominant building type is the elongated, rectangular *pāsāda* or *sālā*, or a number of variations on this basic shape. This, we can say with confidence, is the principle vehicle of Sinhalese architectural expression. Whatever correspondences the Sinhalese *pāsāda* may have with similar structures in India or in any other Asian country, and however much it may have been influenced by foreign parallels, either in its basic plan or in its architectural ornamentation, the origins of the *pāsāda* can still be traced to the archetypal house form of the indigenous, domestic architecture. The fact that this prototype is common, though not exclusively confined, to the building traditions of most societies in Monsoon Asia serves to underline the point we make above that the life and culture of these societies are closely interrelated and form a complex and dynamic entity. Be that as it may, the particular formulation of this universal prototype in the classic Sinhalese tradition has as distinct and original a character as, for instance, the organic architecture of Sumatra (e.g. the Minangkabau or Batak houses) or the more formal and substantial Chinese or Japanese Buddha halls.

[1] See above, p. 1.
[2] Needham, J., Wang Ling, Lu Gwei-Djen, 1971, pp. 365, 368 ff.

Again, the distinctive layout of the Sinhalese *vihāra* or *pariveṇa* is principally derived from the distribution of these *pāsādas* and other similar structures, according to the particular requirements of the monastic plan. It is largely in the ritual monuments such as the *stūpa*, the *cetiyaghara* or *stūpa*-temple, and the image-house, which embody the ideological core of the international religion, that the memory of Indian prototypes is retained in a fairly clear and discernible form. But here again the application of local structural methods and formal architectural components, such as the distinctly indigenous roof types, bring these within the parameter of the Sinhalese tradition. Where these imported ideas are not readily translated into the terms of the local architectural experience, or where they are partially assimilated but not firmly rooted within it, they retain their distinct character and have only a tenous foothold within the tradition. Examples of this are readily at hand. Sinhalese architecture is of a wholly timber, mixed mud-and-timber or timber-and-brick construction. Stone plays only a very limited role and is usually restricted to ornamental details and ancillary features. Where it has a structural function, as in the stone pillars that we see in many Anurādhapura monuments today, this is only a late and often unnecessary replacement of an originally timber feature. Thus, those buildings which are wholly constructed of stone remain unambiguously outside the mainstream of the Sinhalese tradition. They are, almost without exception, in an entirely imported style and are often Brahmanical rather than Buddhist shrines belonging to the South Indian or *Drāviḍa* school. Similarly, those structures which are wholly of brick masonry, such as the great temples of Polonnaruva, while still retaining many of the essential features of classic Sinhalese architecture, display a high degree of 'Drāviḍisation'.[1]

At the same time, those monuments whose essential conception was an imported one but which were translated into the mixed brick-and-timber architecture of the Sinhalese tradition, such as the *cetiyaghara* and the *bodhighara*, remain major vehicles of architectural expression throughout the classic period. However, as soon as the artificial momentum of the great wealth and magnificence of this period diminishes and the tradition reverts to its more organic roots, these often grand and elaborate conceptions disappear from the architectural record. Even the *stūpa*, often thought to be the most characteristic of Sinhalese Buddhist monuments, seems to have been replaced in some of the temples of the Kandyan Period by a much more indigenous structure, the so-called *ṭāmpiṭa vihāragē*, a special type of image-house built on piles. Building of this type are familiar enough in Ceylonese rural architecture—as in the 'tree-houses' or 'watch-huts' built to guard fields at night, and in structures built on hillsides—but are best known as a distinctive South-East[2] as well as East Asian[3] form. The Kandyan *ṭāmpiṭa* shrines were modelled on, or at least sanctioned by the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy. As this monument enshrines a relic of the Buddha it serves basically the same function as a *stūpa*.

[1] The useful distinction that Kramrisch makes between the local and the imported forms in Kerala, in her book *Drāviḍa and Kerala in the Art of Travancore*, is very pertinent to the development of monastic architecture in Ceylon (see Kramrisch, S., 1953).
[2] Nguyen Van Huyen, 1934.
[3] Needham, J., Wang Ling, Lu Gwei-Djen, 1971, pp. 122-123.

Constructional methods: the underlying unity of organic and formal architecture

The strength of the tradition and its continuity lay in its organic roots. The products of the higher culture—i.e. the prominent and dominant forms of the superstructure—however elaborate or eclectic, are only lasting and historically meaningful as long as they retain their connection with the realities of the indigenous or organic 'base'. Nothing makes this clearer than the constructional methods employed in the monuments of Anurādhapura. At first glance, the massive brick walls, the stone pillars and the intricately carved detail of these monastic buildings may seem far removed from the mud, timber-and-thatch structures of the simple peasant dwellings of the countryside. In reality, a careful analysis of the structural methods employed in monastic architecture reveals that they are, in essence, only a development of the basic principles of rural building.

The organic domestic architecture of the country has scarcely attracted the attention of historians and archaeologists.[1] Nevertheless, it is one of the richest sources of historical material. For our present purpose we may briefly summarise the three traditional building materials and the methods employed in the construction of the major components of a domestic house.

Materials

Thatch.—This usually consists of palm, but also of other leaves, straw and grass. It is applied to the roof and in poorer or simpler structures is also used for walls.

Timber.—The posts supporting the superstructure, the rafters, and the framework of the mud walls, that is to say, the basic skeleton of the house, is of timber.

Mud.—This is employed in the construction of walls and floors, the former usually of wattle-and-daub. Thicker walls are sometimes made of tightly packed mud, often mixed with rubble. In certain regions we occasionally find a type of large, sun-dried brick. In the south-western zone, large blocks of laterite (*kabuk*)—soft stone very much like mud-brick—are used in place of mud.

Architectural features and constructional methods

Roof.—For obvious climatic reasons the main feature of any structure is the roof, providing shade and protection against rain. It dominates the whole architectural conception. The simplest buildings consist only of a roof on wooden posts. Relatively light and supported by a timber framework and pillars, the roof is always rectilinear and sloping (i.e. pent).

Basal platform.—All but the simplest structures are built on an elevated, mud platform, which forms the basic foundation of a house. It affords protection against damp, reptiles, vermin, etc., as well as flowing water during heavy rain. Formalistically, it clearly defines the house by raising it above the surrounding ground and provides a solid counterbalance to the sloping roof.

Columniation.—The roof is supported by wooden posts or pillars, which are either free-standing or embedded in the walls. These posts are erected on the basal platform, usually buried to about a fifth of their total height, or supported by spurstones set in the platform. Houses built on slopes or the simple 'watch-towers' used to guard crops in forest areas are elevated on wooden piles. Granaries have short, stone pillar-bases as protection against termites. Even in the most substantial domestic houses, comparable in size to the *pāsādas* and palaces of Anurādhapura, stone columns are unknown.

Walls.—These do not serve an essential structural purpose, although they may incidentally support the roof. In the simplest and often the largest buildings—particularly those designed to temporarily accommodate large gatherings—the walls may be dispensed with altogether, for reasons of both economy and ventilation. Light, screen walls of thatch serve a similar function.

[1] For a pioneering and little-known article on this subject see Boyd, A., 1947: see also Coomaraswamy, A.K., 1956(1), pp. 114-118; Cook, E. K., 1951, pp. 279-289.

In general, however, mud walls are used because they provide privacy, security and protection from heat and rain. They have no real foundation apart from the basal platform, as they carry no weight other than their own. Their stability is ensured by the timber framework—i.e. wattle—which is often attached to the wooden posts supporting the roof. An alternative method, used in more substantial buildings, is compressed mud construction in which the walls are exceedingly thick, extending sometimes to several feet and thereby providing their own support. These thick walls often have an admixture of rubble. Normally, the walls are built only after the roof has been erected. The floors consist of compressed earth, sealed with a mixture of mud and cow-dung.

The correspondences between the methods used in domestic housing and those employed in the monastic buildings of the Anurādhapura Period are immediately clear. Classic Sinhalese architecture was essentially a mixed brick-and-timber tradition. The lost superstructures of the Anurādhapura monuments, including the roof and the upper walls, were almost certainly of perishable materials, mainly timber. The brick masonry of the substructures that have survived is remarkable for the extraordinary thickness of the revetments of the basal platforms and the lower sections of the outer walls. As these walls, which enclose what is in effect the ground floor, scarcely have any loadbearing function and rarely extend for more than 7 or 8 ft. in height, they clearly represent a continuation of building habits acquired in an earlier phase of mud construction. Their width, as in the case of the mud walls, is obviously designed to ensure their stability[1] and perhaps, secondarily for the purpose of insulation. The early technique of laying bricks in puddle—i.e. mud mortar—gives way probably about the 7th or 8th Century to the use of an extremely hard and solid lime mortar or cement.[2] However, the width of the walls does not decrease—in fact it often increases.

These heavy brick walls have no foundation save a few courses of brick or rubble lying some inches below the surface. The weight of the superstructure is substantially carried by stone pillars which are regularly ranged throughout the building. These pillars are usually buried from about a fifth to a third of their total height. Spurstones are commonly used to prevent the columns from sinking. Sometimes brick masonry foundations surround the buried pillar bases to provide extra stability. All these methods are clearly developments of techniques applied in mud-and-timber construction.

The substructure consists of the elevated basal platform of compressed earth with brick masonry revetments. These revetments are in fact the lowest sections of the outer walls. This base—as in the organic rural architecture—projects considerably beyond the outer wall face and, both structurally and aesthetically, provides a stable and elevated foundation for the wall. The vertical face of this basal platform is often elaborately decorated with brick or stone mouldings.

These decorated platforms and their various ancillary features—such as the entrance stairs—constitute the greater part of the architectural remains of the Anurādhapura Period that have survived; whereas the superstructure has entirely disappeared but for the roof tiles and the nails and metal clamps occasionally discovered among the debris of ruined buildings. A certain class of monuments, known as *gedigēs*, which have retained some part of their superstructure

[1] This is equally true of stone construction, as Hocart observes in connection with the basal platforms of the *padhānagharas*—"Ceylon architecture in its earlier phases was purely static; it aimed at placing masses in such a stable equilibrium that they would remain there" (*CJSG* I, p. 93).

[2] The use of stucco and lime mortar seems to have been known from early times. Stucco is extensively used at Sīgiriya in the 5th Century. But the general application of lime mortar as a binding medium for brick masonry seems to have been introduced towards the end of the Anurādhapura Period (see Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 7; Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 21; *CJSG* II, p. 74).

are wholly unrepresentative examples of solid masonry construction. In typical Anurādhapura architecture, however, circumstantial and comparative evidence enables us to reconstruct the essential characteristics of the superstructure and to come to the conclusion that one of its most distinctive features was the rectilinear, sloping roof of the type that is still prevalent in the religious and secular architecture of the island. This indigenous roof type, common to many other Asian countries which share similar environmental conditions, is one of the principal differences between the *classic* architecture of India and that of Ceylon. Alternative forms, such as the curvilinear and the flat roof, known to both the domestic and the religious architecture of the subcontinent, are entirely unknown to the domestic, rural architecture of the island. Thus, classic architectural forms which depend on a flat, domical or curvilinear conception of the roof are extremely rare in Sinhalese monastic architecture and have a very tenuous position in the Sinhalese tradition.

Royal and monastic buildings had the exclusive prerogative of the use of permanent materials such as brick and stone but this architecture was not confined to those materials being a mixture of masonry and the traditional mud-and-timber. Because of the very nature of the materials involved it is only the masonry elements that have survived in the buildings of the ancient period. Although these masonry elements may have been more susceptible to foreign influence, an analysis of their constructional principles rather than their decorative motifs establishes the essentially indigenous character of Sinhalese architecture.

The concept of an architectural tradition cannot be treated scientifically if it is based on a selective approach to certain formal aspects of the art of building; nor can it be divorced, in the final analysis, from the social forces, the technology and the natural environment from which it derives. The architecture of Ceylon presents us with certain features that are common to the building traditions of Monsoon Asia. It is, however, the particular formulation and combination of these features that constitute the Sinhalese tradition. Individual elements of this tradition are shared with many other societies in the area and provide the basis for the transmission and interchange of forms and concepts between these societies. The question of Indian influence has to be understood within the terms of this process. There is no doubt that certain aspects of the Indian tradition play a significant role in the formation of classic Sinhalese architecture, but a closer examination of the monuments of Anurādhapura reveals that this influence was more often intrusive and disturbing than seminal. By virtue of its climate, its rice-growing hydraulic society and its indigenous architecture, Ceylon more closely resembles the countries of South-East Asia than it does a greater part of the South Asian mainland, with the exception of Kerala and to a lesser extent Bengal. However, like Kerala and Bengal, Ceylon is physically nearer to the subcontinent than to the South-East Asian peninsular. By virtue of its proximity to the heartlands of the classic Indian tradition it remains more immediately open to the developments within the Indian culture complex. The resultant dichotomy created by its South-East Asian 'background', on the one hand, and its subcontinental location, on the other—that is to say, the contradiction between its internal momentum and the influence of the powerful mainland cultures, is one of the principal dynamics of Ceylonese history. The generation of internal forces which were capable of creating an equilibrium out of these contradictions is not only a characteristic of Ceylon's political history but also of its art and architecture. An understanding of these internal processes must be the basis of any analysis of the Sinhalese tradition. The monuments of Anurādhapura are a substantial material survival of these historical dynamics expressed in formal architectural terms.

The Monasteries of Anurādhapura

The traditional founding of Anurādhapura is placed in the early 4th Century B.C. and is associated with King Paṇḍukābhaya, the great-grand-father of Devānaṁpiyatissa. The story itself is wrapped in myth and legend but it clearly contains historical elements which indicate that the original village settlement of *Anurādhagāma* became an urban centre somewhere towards the end of the Proto-Historic period. Recorded history begins with Devānaṁpiyatissa (250-210 B.C.). His conversion to Buddhism by the Aśokan emissary, Mahinda, marks the conventional establishment of the religion in the island. Anurādhapura and the nearby hills of Mihintaḷē or Cetiyapabbata, where the first encounter between Mahinda and the king is said to have taken place, are intimately associated with the beginnings of Buddhism in the island. The historical truth of these traditions in general is confirmed by a number of lithic records from the 3rd Century B.C. onwards. This indicates that there were Buddhist settlements in the area, some of which were under royal patronage. By this time, Anurādhapura itself had become the capital of the Rajaraṭa, which encompassed almost the entire northern half of the island. This was the principal Sinhalese kingdom throughout the early periods of Ceylonese history. After the political unification of the island by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B.C.) the Rajaraṭa exercised a political, economic and cultural supremacy over the other territorial divisons, the most important of which was Rohaṇa, the kingdom or sub-kingdom in the south-east.

Anurādhapura was the principal city of Ceylon for nearly 1500 years. Even after the transfer of the capital to Polonnaruva in the 11th Century, Anurādhapura continued to occupy a position of great importance, being the repository of the ancient traditions. Vijayabāhu I, who re-established the authority of the Sinhalese dynasty after nearly three-quarters of a century of Coḷa occupation of the Rajaraṭa, celebrated his royal consecration in Anurādhapura, although by this time the administrative centre had been well established in Polonnaruva. Nearly a century later, Parākramabāhu I thought it necessary to restore the monasteries and the ancient monuments of Anurādhapura, even though he was engaged in constructing an entirely new political and religious capital at Polonnaruva. In the 13th Century, some of the buildings in Anurādhapura were restored once more by Prince Vijayabāhu (later Vijayabāhu IV). No doubt, much of the city and its monasteries were now in ruins, but unlike Polonnaruva, which disappears from the historical record by the end of the 13th Century, the ancient capital was never completely forgotten. Although in later times no more than a village, a seat of the local nobility and an outpost of the Kandyan kingdom, it remained a place of royal pilgrimage as late as the 18th Century.[1]

Despite its long history as a seat of government, the secular remains at Anurādhapura merely consist of a largely unexcavated citadel, a few ruined palaces and a royal pleasure garden. The most substantial remains are in fact the monasteries which surround the ancient Citadel and which cover an area of roughly sixteen square miles.[2] Lying on the west bank of the Malvatu Oya, one of Ceylon's principal rivers, the sacred city is bounded on the west by three reservoirs, the Tisāvāva, the Basavakkuḷam and the Bulankuḷam, and on the east by the much larger artificial lake, the Nuvaravāva (see fig. 2). Directly east of the smallest and most northern of the three western reservoirs, lies the quadrangular Citadel with its fortifications. To the south-south-west—'neither too far nor too near' the city—lies the Mahāvihāra (see

[1] *Mhv.* 97.32-33; 98.85; 99.36-38.

[2] For a detailed account of the historical topography of Anurādhapura and its monasteries see Nicholas, C. W., 1963, pp. 127-151.

figs. 2, 3), the original monastery established by Mahinda. This was the repository of the most ancient traditions throughout the Anurādhapura Period. The site of the Mahāvihāra was originally an ancient royal park, the Mahāmeghavana. About the same distance away, to the north-west of the city, lies the Abhayagirivihāra (see figs. 2, 6), the other great monastery founded in the 1st Century B.C. by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī (103-102 B.C. and 89-77 B.C.) after an early schism in the *saṅgha*. The rivalry between these two institutions continues throughout the religious history of the period, with the Mahāvihāra generally representing the more orthodox, conservative traditions and the Abhayagirivihāra the newer, more progressive tendencies.

The third great monastery, the Jetavanavihāra (see fig. 10), was also established as the result of a sectarian dispute in the 3rd Century A.D. It is situated to the south-south-east of the Citadel in an area adjoining the Mahāvihāra (see fig. 2) and once belonging to the older monastery. It seems likely that the site of the Jetavana was located in the ancient Nandanavana or Jotivana, which the Chronicle records as lying outside the southern gate of the city. These three *vihāras* constitute the principal centres of Ceylonese Buddhism throughout the Anurādhapura Period. The importance of these monasteries is underlined by the fact that the three major divisions of the Sinhalese *saṅgha* in the Late Anurādhapura Period were named after these monasteries.[1] This implies, of course, that each of these *vihāras* was the principal seat, the headquarters, so to say, of the three monastic 'orders' or 'schools of religious opinion' (*nikāyas*)[2] into which the Sinhalese *saṅgha* was divided. That is to say, they exercised some form of central authority in religious and ecclesiastical matters over all other monasteries in the country.

There were, of course, other important and ancient *vihāras* in Anurādhapura, such as the Mirisavāṭivihāra, Dakkhiṇavihāra, Thūpārāma and the so-called Laṅkārāma. Their exact relationship to the three major monasteries in the Late Anurādhapura Period is not very clear, but, judging from their monastic remains, it would appear that they were subordinate to the larger *vihāras*, while enjoying varying degrees of autonomy. Thus, the Mirisavāṭivihāra, also founded by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in the 1st Century B.C., is a part of the Mahāvihāra, but it has its own ritual and monastic buildings, a monumental central *stūpa*, distinct boundaries, etc. (see figs. 2, 5). It is an organic monastery in its own right but under the hegemony of the Mahāvihāra. The Dakkhiṇa *stūpa* was built at the same time as the Abhayagiri *stūpa* and is somewhat larger than the Mirisavāṭi. We know very little about the later history of the Dakkhiṇavihāra except that it was occupied in the 3rd Century A.D. by a schismatic group from the Abhayagirivihāra, who later went on to establish the Jetavanavihāra. The Dakkhiṇavihāra lies immediately to the south of the Mahāvihāra in very much the same way that the Mirisavāṭivihāra lies to the west (see figs. 2, 3); but none of its monuments apart from the *stūpa*, itself, has survived. This makes it very difficult to determine whether it was, in the later period, a 'satellite' of the Mahāvihāra, as was the case with the Mirisavāṭivihāra.

The Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma were monasteries on an altogether smaller scale and more closely integrated with the larger monastic complexes in which they were located (see figs. 2-4, 6, 9). The *stūpa* in the Thūpārāma is the oldest monument of its kind in Ceylon, going back to the beginnings of the Buddhist period. It stands at the north-western extremity of the Mahāvihāra complex and the monastic remains around it are so placed that it is difficult to separate them from those of the Mahāvihāra in general. The Laṅkārāma, on the other hand, has its own distinctive complex of buildings and its own boundaries, thus retaining its identity

[1] Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1965, p. 14.
[2] Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1966, pp. 61-62.

whilst being incorporated within the larger Abhayagirivihāra. The original name of the Laṅkārāma has never been established, although we ourselves suggest that it was the Maṇisomārāma built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī at the same time as, and in the vicinity of, the Abhayagirivihāra.[1] If this identification is correct and if we are to judge from the present remains, we then see how this smaller monastery was absorbed in time by the larger *vihāra*.

These seven monasteries together, of varying size and importance, constitute the central remains at Anurādhapura. In addition there are several other suburban and outlying sites. The most important of these are the organic monasteries of Vessagiriya and the so-called Kiribatvehera, lying respectively to the far south and the far north of the city of Anurādhapura, more or less demarcating the furthest extension of the 'suburbs' of the city. Vessagiriya has been identified as the ancient Issarasamaṇavihāra,[2] founded by Devānaṁpiyatissa. Its present name is due to the fact that it has been confused with the Vessagiriya monastery established by the same king and as yet unidentified. Its original name has now been attached to the Isurumuṇivihāra, a much smaller monastery lying between the present Vessagiriya and the centre of Anurādhapura. While the remains at Vessagiriya have been fully excavated, those at the Kiribatvehera, which lies due north of the Abhayagirivihāra, have remained unexplored, with the exception of the main *stūpa* and a few outlying buildings.

Two other types of monastery—the *pabbata vihāra* and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*—are found in the suburbs of Anurādhapura, mostly in the northern sector but extending east and west. There are five *pabbata vihāras* to the north, north-east and east of the city—Vijayārāma, Pankuliya, Puliyankulam, Pācīnatissapabbata and Toluvila—and a sixth within the organic complex at Vessagiriya. Most of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* are to be found in the so-called 'Western Monasteries', to the west and north-west of the city. In addition, there is also a *padhānaghara pariveṇa* complex at Mullēgala, which lies to the north-east.

Eight miles to the east of Anurādhapura are the hills of Mihintaḷē, the ancient and historic site associated with the founding of Buddhism in Ceylon. Mihintaḷē is in fact a series of monastic complexes situated on and around four hills, the chief of which is Mihintaḷēkanda itself. Mihintaḷē can be described as an organic monastery, or several organic monasteries ranged around central *stūpas*, but it also contains *a padhānaghara pariveṇa*. Due to its antiquity and the peculiarities of its terrain, Mihintaḷē and its monasteries may not appear to have the same systematic layout that we find in Anurādhapura, but in essence they share the same principles of planning and the same architectural character as the urban complexes.

The monasteries of Anurādhapura and Mihintaḷē that we have listed above are the main focus of attention in this study. More detailed descriptions of the individual monasteries and the building types found at these two sites are to be found in the relevant chapters below. In addition, material from various provincial sites of the Anurādhapura and later periods is used to supplement the data from the two main sites, although there is no intention to catalogue or describe these systematically or exhaustively.

Chronology and the periodisation of Ceylonese history

One of the serious limitations facing the archaeologist and the historian in any consideration of Ceylonese history is the lack of a definitive chronology of Sinhalese art and architecture. This is particularly true in the field of architecture. The absence of any exposed remains,

[1] See below, p. 143, n. 4.
[2] *CJSG* II, p. 182; see also Jayawickrama, N. A., 1962, pp. 117-118.

the major *stūpas* excepted, which can be firmly dated to a period earlier than the 5th-7th Century and the lack of stratified excavations of any significance, make an investigation of this kind very difficult and inevitably tentative. This is not to suggest that there is no material from about the early centuries A.D. onwards which cannot be analysed with a view towards developing an evolutionary sequence for art and architecture. However, an undertaking of this nature and scale is a study in itself and lies beyond the scope of the present work. Hocart's chronology of stonework, etc., although covering only a very limited area of the subject, is the only valuable scientific attempt in this direction.[1] Wherever applicable we have critically appraised and incorporated these findings in our analysis.

Parker's attempt to tabulate the diminishing size of the bricks used in the construction of *stūpas* and other monastic buildings can only be used with great caution.[2] There is no doubt that the process observed by Parker—i.e. the progressive diminution in the size of bricks—did in fact take place and it is possible, in principle, to relate this development to absolute dates. However, as Paranavitana rightly points out, successive building and re-building, often using the material and debris from older structures, render this a hopeless task and a highly unreliable method.[3] If this method were to be employed in a scientific way, it requires a great deal more intensive fieldwork as well as a thorough analysis of the weight, chemical composition, etc., of the bricks and an extensive re-examination of a large number of structures from different sites and periods. This evidence, in turn, will have to be systematically correlated with other types of chronological analysis before any final conclusion can be reached. In view of this and also due to the lack of reliable and substantial published data relating to the size of the bricks used in particular buildings, this method has not been employed here.

Nevertheless, within the existing limitations we have made some attempt to indicate an evolutionary sequence, sometimes partly conjectural, for the various monastery and building types, covering the period from the 5th to the 10th Century A.D. As might be expected, there is a considerable degree of correlation between the pattern of development of one type and another. Before we summarise the general conclusions arrived at here, it is necessary to establish a historical framework within which we may place the existing monastic remains at Anurādhapura.

Conventionally, the beginnings of the historical period in Ceylon are placed in the 3rd Century B.C. with the arrival of Mahinda and the conversion of Devānaṁpiyatissa. The earliest epigraphical records, the Proto-Sinhalese inscriptions in *Brāhmī* characters, also date from this century. The two earliest extant Chronicles, the *Dīpavaṁsa*—written in the 4th Century A.D.—and the *Mahāvaṁsa*—the first section of which dates from the end of the 5th or the early 6th Century A.D.—both draw upon earlier written sources. They trace the origins of Ceylonese history back to Vijaya, the legendary founder of the Sinhalese race, and his descendant Paṇḍukābhaya who first established the capital city of Anurādhapura. These legends, which we may assign to what could be called the Proto-Historic period, almost certainly pertain to the growth of permanent settlements in the island on a fairly substantial scale and the formation of a higher culture. It also implies that one of the important factors in this development was the arrival of migrants from the Indian subcontinent speaking an Indo-European dialect or dialects which came to form the Sinhalese language and its associated culture. There were, no doubt, other linguistic, cultural, religious and even ethnic strains, both autochthonous and

[1] *CJSG* I, pp. 3-9, 45-49, 92-94; II, pp. 2-10, 75-81.
[2] Parker, H., 1909, pp. 210-220; see also *CJSG* I, p. 2.
[3] *CJSG* II, pp. 149-152.

alien, that went into the making of the history and civilisation of Ceylon. The Proto-Historic period certainly includes more than the 'Aryanisation' of the island and may well go back much further than the two or three centuries suggested by some Ceylonese historians.[1] In the cultural sphere, these processes culminated in the establishment of Buddhism and the beginnings of recorded history.

The first great epoch of Ceylonese history extends from the accession of Devānaṁpiyatissa in 250 B.C. to the invasion and the ensuing 'reign of terror' of Māgha of Kaliṅga (1215-1236 A.D.). It is familiarly known as the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Period and can be considered the *classic era* of Sinhalese civilisation. The Anurādhapura Period, covering nearly a millenium-and-a-half of Ceylonese history, is the epoch in which Sinhalese culture and civilisation, starting from a formative phase, generate their own momentum of development, flower into maturity and find classic expression. The Polonnaruva Period, on the other hand, is merely a phase which is a continuation or re-formulation of the Anurādhapura experience. To be properly understood, the Anurādhapura Period must be divided into several successive phases, each comparable in scale and historical significance to that of Polonnaruva.

Ray, Paranavitana and other historians have made a valid and useful distinction between the Early Anurādhapura Period and the Late Anurādhapura Period,[2] although the exact line of division is hard to draw. Ray presents the major developments thus:

> '[The Early Anurādhapura Period] ends with the reign of Mahāsena [276-303 A.D.]. After him, the even course of events continued for another century and a quarter. But the reign of Mahāsena marked the culmination of architectural development of the early period; the kings who succeeded him did not undertake such colossal enterprises as the Jetavana Dāgāba. The second Sinhalese dynasty ended in [432]. The third dynasty which was established in [459] after an interlude of Tamil rule produced two kings of great vigour, the founder Dhātusena [459-477], and his son, Kassapa I [477-495]. The name of the first of these two sovereigns is associated with the Kalāvāva, while the second has to his credit the stupendous engineering feats at Sīgiri. But the dynasty did not last long, and the Island went through a period of civil wars... This period of dynastic instability which lasted for about a century and a half, had, however, intervals of good government under kings... who brought the irrigation system of the Island to its then highest pitch of development. Ceylon, by this time, had acquired an important place as an entrepôt in international traffic... A period of relative stability and prosperity was inaugurated by Mānavamma in 684, and the three centuries which followed marked the maturity of the Sinhalese civilisation.[3]

From this we see that the transition from the Early to the Late Anurādhapura Period took place in the course of the three centuries between the end of the 4th Century A.D. and the end of the 7th Century. In our view, the crucial break does not come with the reign of Mahāsena but in the 5th Century, with the so-called *Saḍ-Drāviḍa* interregnum (432-459) and particularly with the reign of Kassapa, in which there is a temporary shift of the capital to Sīgiriya. Thus, when we use the expression 'the Early Anurādhapura Period' in this study we mean the eight centuries from the 3rd Century B.C. to the 5th Century A.D., while 'the Later Anurādhapura Period' covers the 6th Century till the end of the 10th. This is a meaningful division even in terms of the history of North and South India as well as of South-East Asia. The period

[1] *UHC* p. 83.
[2] This division had already been anticipated by Hocart nearly thirty years earlier (*CJSG* II, pp. 8-9, 78-80). He speaks of an "archaic period" or "limestone age" and a "classical period" or "gneiss age" and briefly lists six successive historical stages between the 5th Century B.C. and the 13th Century A.D.
[3] *UHC* p. xxix.

around 600 A.D. could be seen as a kind of chronological watershed in the development of monumental architecture in the whole of South and South-East Asia.

A more detailed periodisation of the Anurādhapura era is a task for historians. It requires an extensive correlation of a number of factors such as technology, economy, social and political structures, religious history, paleographic and linguistic development, literature, art, architecture etc. Without going into detail, we may develop the implicit divisions suggested by Ray, Paranavitana, et al., into a more precise scheme that is relevant to the study of monastic architecture. Briefly, the Anurādhapura Period can be divided into four distinct phases:

Phase I—3rd Century B.C. to 1st Century A.D.; from Devānaṁpiyatissa (250 B.C.-210 B.C.) to Vasabha (65-109 A.D.).
Phase II—1st Century A.D. to 5th Century; from Vasabha to Mahānāma (410-432).
Phase III—5th Century to 7th Century; from Dhātusena (459-477) to Mānavamma (684-718).
Phase IV—7th Century to the end of the 10th Century; from Mānavamma to the Coḷa conquest (993).

Phases I and II correspond to our Early Anurādhapura Period. Phase III is essentially a transitional epoch but together with Phase IV constitutes the Late Anurādhapura Period. Of course these are not static periods but there is considerable development within each phase, which can be further subdivided into formative and mature stages. Some explanation of the basis of this division is necessary:

Phase I—We may call this the formative phase of Ceylonese history. The earlier part of this period, from the time of Devānaṁpiyatissa to that of Duṭṭhagāmanī (161-137 B.C.) and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (103-102 and 89-77 B.C.) is in many ways a continuation or culmination of the developments during the Proto-Historic period. The technological and economic basis of Ceylonese society and civilisation is now established throughout the country. This takes the form of wet rice-cultivation, systematically irrigated by small reservoirs, each serving a single village. The resulting increase in agricultural productivity, wealth and population as well as the continuing development of irrigation technology—particularly the expansion of settlements and the growth of interconnected hydraulic systems, first between contiguous villages and finally on a regional and national scale—creates the necessity for new forms of socio-economic organisation and parallel developments in politics, culture, religion, architecture, etc. Around the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, we are able to discern for the first time elements of a social formation in which a new horizontal division of society—a division between classes based fundamentally on the overlordship of land—replaces the old vertical divisions between village communities. The former village elders or chiefs, called *gamikas*—presumably representing vestiges of a clan or tribal organisation—merge with a new strata of nobles or paramount chiefs called *parumakas* to form a distinct class of hereditary feudal overlords. The myths, legends and the quasi-historical and historical material relating to the transition from the Proto-historic to the Historic period reflect protracted and often violent conflicts between migrant settlers and indigenous peoples, between principalities and regional kingdoms, and competing religious and linguistic tendencies. The culmination of this process is the formation of regional kingdoms and finally of a national political and cultural superstructure, which takes distinct shape in the Anurādhapura kingdom of the 1st and 2nd Century B.C. A strong central state, headed by a king (one of whose early titles is *mahāparumaka* or 'paramount chief'), emerges and establishes its hegemony over all other principalities and sub-kingdoms. Officials drawn from the nobility form an elaborate administrative apparatus at both regional and national levels.

These developments are paralleled by the appearance of the earliest Proto-Sinhalese writings and the Buddhist religion, which become the dominant cultural and religious forces. The rapid spread of Buddhism and the emergence of an extensive organisation of the *saṅgha* are closely linked with the secular authority of the central state and with the overlordship of land—providing a religious sanction for the new socio-political order and laying the basis for monastic landed property, which in later phases constitutes an important aspect of Ceylonese feudalism.

There are no known artistic or architectural remains from this epoch except for the cave-dwellings of the monks, reflecting the growth and spread of the new religion. The most distinctive features of this phase and virtually the only contemporary historical material, are the numerous *Brāhmī* inscriptions associated with these caves. They record gifts to the *saṅgha*, significantly by householders and chiefs rather by kings. The Buddhist religion itself does not seem to have established undisputed authority until the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (ca. mid-2nd Century B.C. to mid-1st Century B.C.), each of whom has to re-establish the political supremacy of the Sinhalese dynasty over Drāviḍa opponents.

Literary records and traditions, however, make it very clear that these reigns also saw the beginnings of a formal monastic architecture. We now get the first dependable records of substantial and enduring monuments such as the Mahāthūpa, the Mirisavāṭi *stūpa* and the Lohapāsāda, all founded by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, and, after the first monastic schism, the Abhayagiri *stūpa* built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. These early *stūpas* probably constitute the first use of brick in any substantial quantity, if not the very beginnings of brickwork in Ceylon. The monastic architecture of this period, in general, was probably, at best, only a grander version of the simple, organic buildings of the country, using mud, timber and thatch. The principal ritual monuments of this phase are the *stūpa* and the tree-temple or *bodhighara*, while the concept of the *pāsāda* or monastic residence, derived from the domestic house, must have originated around this time.

The latter part of this phase, under the successors of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, is a period of the growth and consolidation of the levels of development reached between the mid-2nd and the mid-1st Century B.C. References to irrigation works, rare in the 2nd Century B.C., are numerous in the 1st Century B.C. and the 1st Century A.D. Buddhism now seems to be firmly established, although the dynasty of Paṇḍukābhaya and Devānaṁpiyatissa is nearing its end.

Phase II—With the reign of Vasabha (65-109 A.D.) a new dynasty is established and the developments of the two preceding centuries now produce a qualitative historical change. The construction of large reservoirs and canals under royal patronage is recorded for the first time. The authority of the central state and the institution of kingship have been consolidated and the inscriptions refer mostly to royal donations. We also see a significant change in the pattern of settlement. The lithic records of the 1st Century B.C. are spread throughout the country, but from the 1st Century A.D. onwards they are concentrated in the dry zone, which is more suitable to a developed hydraulic agriculture due to its seasonal rainfall. We find parallel developments in writing, art and architecture. The cave inscriptions are replaced by records on rocks, slabs and pillars. The earliest stone sculpture in Ceylon, often reflecting contemporary Indian influences, dates from this time. This period also witnesses the evolution of the colossal *stūpa*, far exceeding the proportions of its Indian or early Sinhalese prototypes.[1] The earliest mention of the *stūpa*-temple, or *cetiyaghara*, and the first dependable reference to Buddha images and image-shrines also date from the reign of Vasabha.

Once more this phase can be divided into a formative stage, from the 1st Century A.D. to the end of the 3rd Century, and a stage of consolidation, from the 4th Century to the mid-5th Century. As Ray has pointed out, after Mahāsena whose reign ends in 303 A.D., 'the even course of events continued for another century and a quarter'. After the 3rd Century A.D., we find a mark-

[1] As far as the conventional domical *stūpa* is concerned, the Anurādhapura versions are twice or thrice as large as their Indian counterparts, such as those at Sāñcī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The only instance of an Indian *stūpa*, of a stepped rather than a domical type, which approaches the dimensions of the largest of the Ceylonese monuments, is the ruined structure at Nandangaṛh, to which van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has drawn our attention. She has shown that this is an earlier and larger version of the Barabuḍur type (van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E., 1956). According to her estimate, Nandangaṛh was "about 100 feet high, if not more". In its present ruined and partly excavated state its height is 82 ft. and its lowest terrace measures about 500 ft. across. Barabuḍur is at present slightly over 100 ft. high and 400 ft. across. The Jetavana *stūpa* at Anurādhapura, on the other hand, stands on a terrace which is 590 ft. square, and its original height to the top of its pinnacle measured over 400 ft. The terrace of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* is 587 ft. square, while that of the Mahāthūpa is roughly 475 ft. square. Their original heights were 350 ft. and 300 ft. respectively. (For the dimensions of the Ceylonese *stūpas* see Parker, H., 1909, pp. 288, 306-309; *UHC* p. 259). Even if we disregard the towering pinnacles of the Ceylonese *stūpas*, the sheer volume of their hemispherical domes alone is quite considerable—e.g. the diameter of the Jetavana dome at its base is over 325 ft.

ed growth of the cult of the image, the image-house, the concept of the Bodhisattva, the worship of the Tooth-Relic, etc. There are also well-documented contacts with the Guptas and China, a close relationship with Āndhradeśa, the visits of Fa-hsien and Buddhaghosa and a general international interest in Ceylon as a centre of Buddhism. During this period the Sinhalese tradition reaches a certain stage of maturity, marking the culmination of the early Anurādhapura Period. It corresponds in many ways to the Gupta epoch in the Gangetic plain and to similar developments in peninsular India and, probably, in parts of South-East Asia as well. The Sinhalese monastic architecture of this phase as a whole is characterised by the evolution of structural buildings in brick and of such ritual monuments as the *cetiyaghara* and the image-house.

Phase III—The period from the 5th to the 7th Century appears to be an essentially transitional phase in which the forms and institutions of Sinhalese society and culture inherited from the Early Anurādhapura Period now prove to be inadequate in the face of the cumulative effect of the developments that had taken place throughout that whole epoch. The exact nature of the underlying historical processes has yet to be understood. In the political sphere the increasing wealth and power of the feudal lords now clearly manifest themselves in prolonged conflict between the central authority, vested in the king, and powerful factions of the nobility who put forward or support various contenders for the throne.[1] The concept of divine kingship, which figures prominently from about this period onwards, seems to express the instability of the central authority and its need to mobilise powerful ideological weapons against the forces which it confronts. A dramatic illustration of this is Kassapa I's 'heavenly palace' at Sīgiriya—an attempt to legitimise his seizure of the throne by creating an architectural wonder, 'an abode of a god-king'.[2] This instability is reflected in the historical events of the period, which include the Paṇḍu invasion—the so-called *Saḍ-Drāviḍa* interregnum—, the establishment of a new Sinhalese dynasty, and a period of dynastic instability.

The cultural developments themselves reflect the opposing tendencies and the growth of the new forces. Above all they display a distinctly transitional character. This is particularly noticeable in the paleography and in the language itself. In general, the inscriptions are very badly and clumsily incised. The old angular *Brāhmī* script, which survives until the 7th Century, exists side by side with the new rounded or curvilinear script, which prevails thereafter. The construction of irrigation works and religious monuments continues, but only further excavation would reveal the real architectural character of this epoch. The remains at Sīgiriya, however, a remarkable engineering feat and an architectural tour de force, testify to the high level of development in brick masonry techniques. The most distinctive feature of this architecture, in comparison to

[1] In Ceylonese feudalism, as in many other comparable social formations in Asia, the creation of a powerful and all-embracing central state becomes the means by which an equilibrium is reached between contending feudal elements, and the instrument by which the interests of the feudal lords are advanced. The autonomy of nobles, chieftains and other feudal elements is surrendered to or submerged in the central authority, which then in turn dispenses wealth and power to the feudal lords by means of official appointments, land grants, etc. An elaborate structure of land tenure, water control, administrative and military authority, laws, taxes and religious concepts and rituals, is centred in the monarchy, from which, at least theoretically, all power and authority derives. The secular bureaucracy and the monastic organisation of the *saṅgha* are important and complementary branches of this superstructure. The feudal lords, who have their origins and their basic sustenance in local and regional landlordism, draw their greatest wealth and power from their positions in the national bureaucratic apparatus, which is exclusively restricted to members of this class. Similarly, the great monasteries also derive their vast landholdings and even some degree of their religious influence from royal patronage. In such a situation, the advancement of factional interests and the ensuing conflicts between these interests manifest themselves either as a tendency towards greater independence from the central authority *or* more usually in contention between rival factions for greater power and control over the central authority. Quite often this takes the form of a challenge to the existing dynasty or ruler from within the court circle itself. Periods in which such conflict is open and acute are usually marked by warring factions, the existence of mercenary troops, 'war-lordism', dynastic changes, etc. in the political sphere as well as such cultural manifestations as the growth of heterodox cults and rituals, sectarian religious conflict and new artistic and literary styles, etc. These developments are also often accompanied by foreign invasions or followed by new levels of achievement and consolidation under a new dynasty.

[2] Paranavitana, S., 1950.

that of the later period at Anurādhapura, is the complete absence of stone columns and base-mouldings. However, stone is extensively used in steps, pavings and in the construction of walls, both at Sīgiriya and in the early *padhānaghara pariveṇas* at Veherabāṅdigala. It is most frequently met with in the form of *rubble*, sometimes in rough blocks reaching colossal proportions as in the so-called 'Cyclopean' walls at Sīgiriya. The formal development of such distinctive architectural types as the *cetiyaghara*, the *paṭimāghara* and the *pāsāda* of the Later Anurādhapura Period must have its origins in this phase. That is to say, the formative processes that were to develop in the succeeding phase had already begun to be in operation from about the late 5th Century onwards.

Phase IV—This is the final phase of the Anurādhapura Period and the one which is most relevant to us here. Once more we may take the establishment of a new dynasty as a convenient historical landmark—the line of Mānavamma, which began in the latter half of the 7th Century and lasted till the end of the 10th Century. Again, we can divide this into a formative stage, which lasts until about the mid-8th Century, and a subsequent period of growth and consolidation. The 6th and 7th Centuries had been an era of great hydraulic expansion and increasing international trade. During this period, the history of Ceylon is intimately linked with that of the new empires of South India as well as of South-East Asia.

Phase IV is in many ways comparable to Phase II, with the Mānavamma (684-718)-Sena I (833-853) and Sena I-Mahinda V (982-1029) periods analogous with the Vasabha-Māhasena and Mahāsena-Mahānāma divisions. The material remains testify to the extraordinary levels of wealth and prosperity achieved in Phase IV. In an island which is 270 miles long, the total length of the major irrigation canals in the 10th Century is over 500 miles. The inscriptions of the period, especially in the 9th and 10th Centuries, show an entirely new level of development in script, language and content. The material furnished by these inscriptions has a particular significance for our present study. It consists largely of immunity grants to monasteries, displaying not only the wealth, but also the political power of these religious institutions. This clearly indicates that centrifugal tendencies were increasing throughout this phase, eroding the power of the central state and culminating in collapse and foreign conquest at the end of the 10th Century.

The monasteries of the Anurādhapura Period are the most substantial remains from this period. In our analysis of this building tradition, time and time again we arrive at the conclusion that the monastery and building types of the later part of this phase go back to prototypes that were evolved between the 5th and the 7th Century. We can distinguish two special developments in the materials and methods used in the construction of monastic buildings. First, the increasing use of stone and secondly, the employment of lime mortar in brick masonry. The use of stone in extra-architectural features and such details as steps was not unknown in the earlier periods, as we see in the stone screens at the four cardinal points of the great *stūpas*, but the overwhelming impression of, for instance, the 5th Century buildings at Sīgiriya is one of an exclusively brick-and-timber architecture. From this time onwards stone is increasingly employed in base-mouldings, entrance stairs and pillars of major structures. Moreover, the soft limestone that had been utilised by the Sinhalese stone-cutters and sculptors is replaced, around the 6th Century, by the much harder and more common granite. The wooden pillars of the ground floor are also progressively replaced with stone columns. Structurally speaking, this is not necessarily a great improvement on the earlier techniques, but it allows for the greater durability and stability of the buildings and is valuable evidence for the archaeologist. The use of lime mortar has a more significant effect on the form and construction of major monuments. It permits, probably for the first time, the construction of buildings which are entirely of brick masonry. These technical developments are widely applied after the mid-8th Century, although the traditional brick-and-timber technique still dominates Sinhalese architecture throughout the Late Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.

The greater part of the present remains at Anurādhapura can be said to date from the period between Sena I (833-853) and Mahinda IV (956-972). The colossal building effort that characterises this epoch began with the reconstruction of Anurādhapura by Sena I after a Pāṇḍyan invasion in the early years of his reign, which is reported to have laid waste the city and the monasteries. The period of more than a hundred years following this reconstruction has a history

of powerful kings, great religious benefactors and long reigns. The four major kings are Sena II, who continues the work of reconstruction begun by Sena I, Kassapa IV, Kassapa V and Mahinda IV, whose reigns add up to a total of seventy-seven years of relative peace, stability, wealth and great architectural achievements.

The distinctive monastery types such as the *pabbata vihāra*, the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* are all products of this period, although their development must have had its origins in Phase III. Even the older building types such as the *stūpa*-temple or *cetiyaghara*, the tree-temple or *bodhighara* and the image-house find their fullest expression between the 8th Century and the end of the 10th.

The ancient and most common type of structure, the *pāsāda*, is now standardised, while new ideas such as the monumental, brick-built image-house or *geḍigē* take their definitive form. Ten centuries or more of architectural development now reach their culmination. The classic Sinhalese tradition finds its fullest and most complete expression.

In the absence of a more specific chronology, the above periodisation can only serve as a very general frame of reference to which we may relate the various architectural types discussed in the course of this book.

Terminology

In keeping with established Ceylonese practice we have preferred to use Pāli terms to refer to the various monastery and building types, although certain familiar Sinhalese equivalents (e.g. *cetiyaghara—vaṭadāgē*; *paṭimāghara—piḷimagē*) are sometimes applied where style or usage makes this seem more appropriate. At the same time, the original Sanskrit form is retained in a few well-known architectural terms such as *stūpa* and *adhiṣṭhāna*, where it would seem pedantic to use the Pāli alternatives. Place names are directly transliterated from modern Sinhalese. All pre-Christian dates are specifically referred to as B.C.; A.D. is only used when there might be some confusion with B.C., and where it is not indicated A.D. is always implied. In the tables giving measurements of buildings, the figures usually refer to the external dimensions and are always expressed in feet and inches thus: 10 ft. 6 ins. = 10.6. Figures in brackets are approximations often calculated from scale drawings.

The four different monastery types have already been discussed above, but the terminology and classification of monastic buildings needs more detailed explanation. The various buildings found in ancient Sinhalese monasteries have been listed and discussed by Fernando, Rahula and Geiger,[1] who base themselves mainly on Pāli and Sinhalese literary sources. The architectural remains have been most extensively studied by Paranavitana and more recently by Prematilleke,[2] who has brought together the bulk of the information hitherto available on the subject, edited it with his own comments and interpretations and arrived at what is so far the most systematic classification of the architectural types of the Anurādhapura Period. It is this classification, with some basic alterations, which has been adopted by us. Fernando's list of buildings, while perhaps the most extensive, is by no means exhaustive, and moreover contains a number of types which cannot be profitably studied in the light of our present knowledge of the actual remains. In general, the scope of this book is restricted to those buildings which have a distinctive architectural form and a more or less identifiable purpose. There is no attempt to collate the material provided by the studies mentioned above. Instead,

[1] Fernando, P. E. E., 1953; Rahula, W., 1956; Geiger, W., 1960.

[2] Paranavitana, S., see Bibliography, pp. [390-391], below; especially 1946, 1954(1), 1957(1), 1967 (pp. 14-16, 26-29, 37-40) and *UHC* p. 256-264, 395-402, 589-603; Prematilleke, L., 1964.

these have been used to formulate a general framework within which the monastic remains of Anurādhapura might be placed.

Of the individual monastery and building types, the *pabbata vihāra*,[1] the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*,[2] the *stūpa*,[3] the image-house or *patimāghara*[4] and the 'throne-temple' or *āsanaghara*[5] have been the subject of long articles or monographs. Again, so as not to repeat material that has already been set down, sometimes quite exhaustively, only the most relevant aspects of these studies have been incorporated here.

The monastic buildings of Anurādhapura may be divided into three categories corresponding to the Buddhist Triad, the *Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha*. The essential requirements of a monastery were: i. a *cetiya*, ii. the provision of suitable facilities for the exposition of the *Dhamma*, and iii. accommodation for the *Saṅgha*. Even the simplest structures or enclosures which satisfied these three requirements could be called a *vihāra* or *ārāma*.[6] We have, therefore, categorised the threefold architectural division which derives from this as i. Shrines and Sanctuaries, ii. Ecclesiastical Buildings, and iii. Residential Buildings. This division becomes somewhat confused in later times with changes in religious emphasis and ritual. Such confusion usually arises, as we shall see, from the amalgamation of ecclesiastical and residential functions within a single structure or from the incorporation of a shrine within a residential building. This threefold division, however, remains either explicitly or implicitly expressed in all religious and monastic buildings down to the present day and provides us with a convenient and legitimate basis for the differentiation of the various architectural types to be found in the monasteries of Anurādhapura.

We may briefly define these categories and describe the major building types dealt with or referred to in this thesis as follows:

I. Shrines and Sanctuaries—These consist of monuments enshrining relics, symbolic representations or actual images of the Buddha. They serve as memorials to the Master, proclaiming and protecting ritual manifestations of his sacred presence. Designed for individual rather than congregational worship, they represent some of the earliest formalised architectural types in Buddhist building. The principal monuments in this group are:

1. *Stūpa*—the characteristic Buddhist monument, usually hemispherical in shape and enshrining relics.
2. *Cetiyaghara*—a circular *stūpa*-temple, known in Ceylon as *vaṭadāgē*.
3. *Bodhighara*—a hypaethral shrine enclosing a *bodhi*-tree.
4. *Āsanaghara*—a sanctuary in which the central object of worship seems to have been a sacred throne (or *āsana* (the existence of the *āsanaghara* as an independent type is doubtful, as it sometimes seems to have been incorporated in or closely associated with a *bodhighara*).
5. *Paṭimāghara*—the image-house, of which there were two major types, the conventional *gandhakuṭī* and the monumental, brick-built *giñjakāvasatha* or *geḍigē*.

II. Ecclesiastical Buildings—This category is less difficult to isolate both structurally and terminologically than is apparent at first glance, despite the fact that these monuments are sometimes included in sacred enclosures together with shrines and sometimes used as monastic residences. In fact, whatever their particular associations in a given monastic context, they are essentially congregational buildings in which the *saṅgha* and sometimes the laity assembled for activities

[1] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968.

[2] *ASCM* I, pp. 18-47 (Ayrton, E. R.); *ASCM* II, pp. 22-36 (Hocart, A. M.).

[3] Paranavitana, S., 1946.

[4] Aryasinha, A., 1960; Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965.

[5] Godakumbura, C. E., 1965.

[6] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 116-117.

connected principally with the Law and the Doctrine (*Dhamma*) in its widest sense. This included not only the exposition and discussion of *Sutta* (the Discourses or Essential Doctrines), *Abhidhamma* (the Metaphysical Doctrines) and the exegetical writings, but also the various activities connected with the *Vinaya* (the Monastic Rule) and its observance (*Saṅghakamma*), as well as general administrative and ecclesiatical matters connected with the life of the monastery. These include:

1. *Uposathaghara*—a large building in which the *saṅgha* assembled to perform acts of the *Vinaya*, especially the recitation of the *Pāṭimokkha*, on the two main *uposatha* days of the full moon and the new moon.
2. *Upaṭṭhānasālā*—apparently a generic term applied to any hall of clerical assembly,[1] also described as 'a hall where monks assemble to attend upon their seniors, or to worship the Buddha'.[2]
3. *Padhānaghara*—a meditation house, or literally 'a house for spiritual exertions', possibly developed from *padhānabhūmi*, tracts of land set aside for the same purpose.
4. *Caṅkamanaghara*—a promenade house, probably serving a similar function to a *padhānaghara*.
5. *Sannipātasālā*—a type of structure described by Paranavitana as a convocation hall where monks met 'with laymen who were concerned with the affairs of the church' to 'discuss matters of common interest'.[3]
6. *Dhammamaṇḍapa*—(later *dhammasālā*) a pavilion or hall where the *Dhamma* was preached to a congregation of monks and laymen, either within a monastery or in a public place.
7. *Catussālā*—an ambiguous term denoting an architectural form rather than a specific monastic function and probably referring to a square or rectangular hall, possibly with an open central courtyard and/or an entrance of its four sides.
8. *Potthakālaya*—a library, known only in literature from the Polonnaruva Period onwards.

III. Residential Buildings—A category consisting not only of the actual dwellings of the monks but also of the various buildings, large and small, which served their daily physical needs—such as refectories, kitchens, hospitals and bath-houses. The more important structures of this type, such as the actual residences, were essentially no less sacred than those in the two preceding categories, as the *saṅgha* was part of the holy triad. The greater part of the architectural remains at Anurādhapura come within this category. However, the extensive terminology of residential buildings that appears in both ancient and modern literature on the subject[4] is largely meaningless to the archaeologist. For our present purposes, the following terms are those that are most useful:

1. *Vihāra*—this does not denote a particular type of building but rather a major complex of monastic units standing within its own boundaries and forming a self-contained and largely autonomous institution, such as the major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura, as well as lesser and subordinate monasteries such as the Mirisavāṭivihāra, *ārāmas* like the Thūpārāma, and the *pabbata vihāras*.
2. *Pariveṇa*—although the original meaning of this term signified a single residential cell and in later Ceylonese usage a monastic school or college, it is frequently used in ancient Ceylonese literature to denote what appears to be a distinct monastic unit or component—i.e. a sub-monastery—within a *vihāra*.
3. *Pāsāda*—a general term applied in Buddhist literature to divine, royal or substantial monastic residences and used here to denote the characteristic, rectangular monastic dwelling of Sinhalese architecture.
4. *Kuṭī*—a smaller, monastic residence, usually square in shape.
5. *Bhojanasālā*—a monastic refectory.
6. *Jantāghāra*—a bath-house or hot-water bath.
7. *Arogyasālā*—a hospital.

[1] Dutt, S., 1962, pp. 60, 64, etc.
[2] Fernando, P. E. E., 1953, pp. 112-113.
[3] *ASCAR* 1948, p. 17.
[4] See Appendix 1, pp. 379-380.

There are a number of other terms listed by Fernando, Rahula and Geiger which apply to or are associated with the last three building types mentioned above. Thus, *bhattasālā* and *bhattagga* also denote a refectory. Closely associated with the refectory was the *salākagga* or ticket-house where tickets or tokens were issued for the distribution of food. Some of the larger refectories have colossal stone rice-troughs or *bhattanāvā*. Fernando mentions a number of terms which refer to kitchens, such as *mahāhasa* or general kitchen, *odanīyaghara* or kitchen for the cooking of rice and *pūvageha* or kitchen for other types of food. The *aggisālā* or fire-house mentioned in the Polonnaruva Period has been interpreted by Geiger as a house for keeping the sacrificial fire, but Dutt more convincingly defines it as a fire-room or kitchen. Rahula mentions the *dāruaṭṭa* or firewood store and the *sammajjanīaṭṭa* or broom shed. Geiger omits any reference to *jantāghara*, but includes *nahānakoṭṭhaka* or bathing-house and *pokkharaṇī* or bathing-pool. The common term for the lavatory was *vaccakuṭī*. Fernando lists *behetgē* or dispensary and *vejjasālā* as alternatives for *ārogyasālā* or *gilānasālā*.[1]

We may round off this list by reproducing Dutt's description of a typical monastery drawn from the *Vinaya* texts, not because it provides us with an explanation of the terms we have been considering but because it gives us an archetypal image of the planning and equipment of an ancient monastery, which must have remained in the minds of the Buddhist architects and planners long after the original texts were written:

> When a Bhikkhu was duly ordained, he became a member of the Sangha belonging to an Āvāsa. The Āvāsa was a colony of Buddhist Bhikkhus, consisting of many Vihāras, located generally in an Ārāma or park donated by some wealthy lay-devotee. The Ārāma was fenced around, having a bathing tank at the entrance. Inside this enclosure, scattered over the whole park, were rectangular buildings (Vihāras) with many cells (Parivenas) for the Bhikkhus to live in. The cells were provided with casements. Inside each cell the furniture was of the simplest kind fitted to the simple needs and small comforts of a homeless religieux. The floor was spread at night with a cover (Bhummattharana) which was rolled up in the morning. There was a bedstead resting on moveable supporters (Mancapatipādakā) which were put aside in the morning. The bed consisted of a mattress, a mat, and a pillow. By the side of it stood a spitoon (Khelamallaka). A board against which the Bhikkhu could recline (Apassena-phalaka) and a seat (Pītha) probably resting on jointed legs... completed the furniture. The alms-bowl, the clothes, the tooth-brush, and a few other most necessary articles made up the whole personal belongings of a Bhikkhu.
>
> Though the Vihāras stood separately all over the ārāma, all property was joint and intended for the common use of the whole ārāma. There were a store-room (Kotthaka), a refectory (Uppatthānasālā), a fire-room or kitchen (Aggisālā), a wharehouse (Kappiya-kutī), a privy (Vaccakutī), a common room (Cankamana), an arcade for walking exercises (Cankamansālā), a common bath (Jantāghara), bath-rooms (Jantāgharasālā), a pavilion (Mandapa, probably for holding assemblies in), and a well (Udapāna), walled round and covered (Udapānasālā).[2]

[1] Fernando, P. E. E., 1953, pp. 114-123; Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 131-134; Geiger, W., 1960, pp. 193-194.
[2] Dutt, S., 1924, pp. 181-183. Dutt's usage and description of architectural terminology in this passage, apart from obvious misinterpretations such as refectory—*upaṭṭhānasālā*, shows us some of the difficulties we face in the application of these terms. In particular, *vihāra*, *ārāma*, *āvāsa* and *pariveṇā* have very different connotations from time to time.

SECTION ONE

THE MONASTIC PLAN

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORGANIC MONASTERY

The concept of the 'organic' monastery in its most primitive sense is one that is central to the earliest Buddhist traditions, when parks, forest groves, leaf huts, caves, open terraces, simple tree-shrines and earthen mounds, are all part of the architectural landscape that emerges from the early Buddhist writings and the earliest Buddhist art. The ancient monk-settlement or monastery simply drew upon the existing eremetical, animistic and secular traditions of the area in which it existed and adapted them to its particular needs. The intellectual impetus of the new religion together with the economic and political dynamism of the period of beginning with the rise of the Mauryan empire in India had created, at least by the early centuries A.D., more sophisticated architectural perspectives, not only in the Buddhist heartland itself but also in peninsular India and Ceylon. Although these new developments brought about certain formal concepts in the design and orientation of sacred and monastic buildings, this architecture, by and large, still remained closely integrated with its natural environment and readily adapted itself to whatever physical and historical circumstances confronted it. It is principally this element of integration, the apparent ease with which sophisticated architectural concepts such as the *stūpa* are made to seem so much a part or so logical an extension of their natural setting, that is meant by the term 'organic'. What this organic process involves is the interaction of imported and indigenous architectural ideas and their evolution within the existing local conditions, not the forcible imposition of an imported and preconceived form or plan on a predetermined site or an existing architectural tradition.

The organic character of the early Buddhist monasteries, in Ceylon as in India, is most apparent to us today in the subtle adjustment or interrelationship of *site* and *plan*, for these are the factors which have best survived through the centuries. But the evidence of art and literature and of surviving regional traditions reminds us that it applied equally to the architectural forms, materials and constructional methods of early Buddhist building. This quality has left its imprint so deeply on the architectural sensibility of the Buddhists that it persists long after ideological and geographical differences have created diverse architectural traditions and when more self-conscious formalisations have replaced a strictly organic architecture.

In the Ceylonese context the term 'organic' might be applied to two somewhat different situations. In the most obvious and dramatic sense it is best illustrated in a number of hill sites—among the better known examples are Mihintaḷē and Vessagiriya (see figs. 11, 12), both falling within the scope of this study—most of them representing the earliest monastic settlements in the island. These monasteries were centred around rock-dwellings made out of natural or excavated caves on hillsides, as in Mihintaḷē, or large, natural outcrops of rock, as at Vessagiriya. In another sense, it applies to those *vihāras* that were founded in the parks and groves in and around the original city of Anurādhapura and which were soon to develop into the great metropolitan centres of Sinhalese Buddhism. In this chapter, it is especially in this latter sense that we speak of the organic monastery.

The hill sites such as Mihintaḷē and Vessagiriya were obvious choices for the location of the early *vihāras*. Mihintaḷē—or Cetiyapabbata, Cetiyagiri, the *stūpa*-mountain, as it is called in the

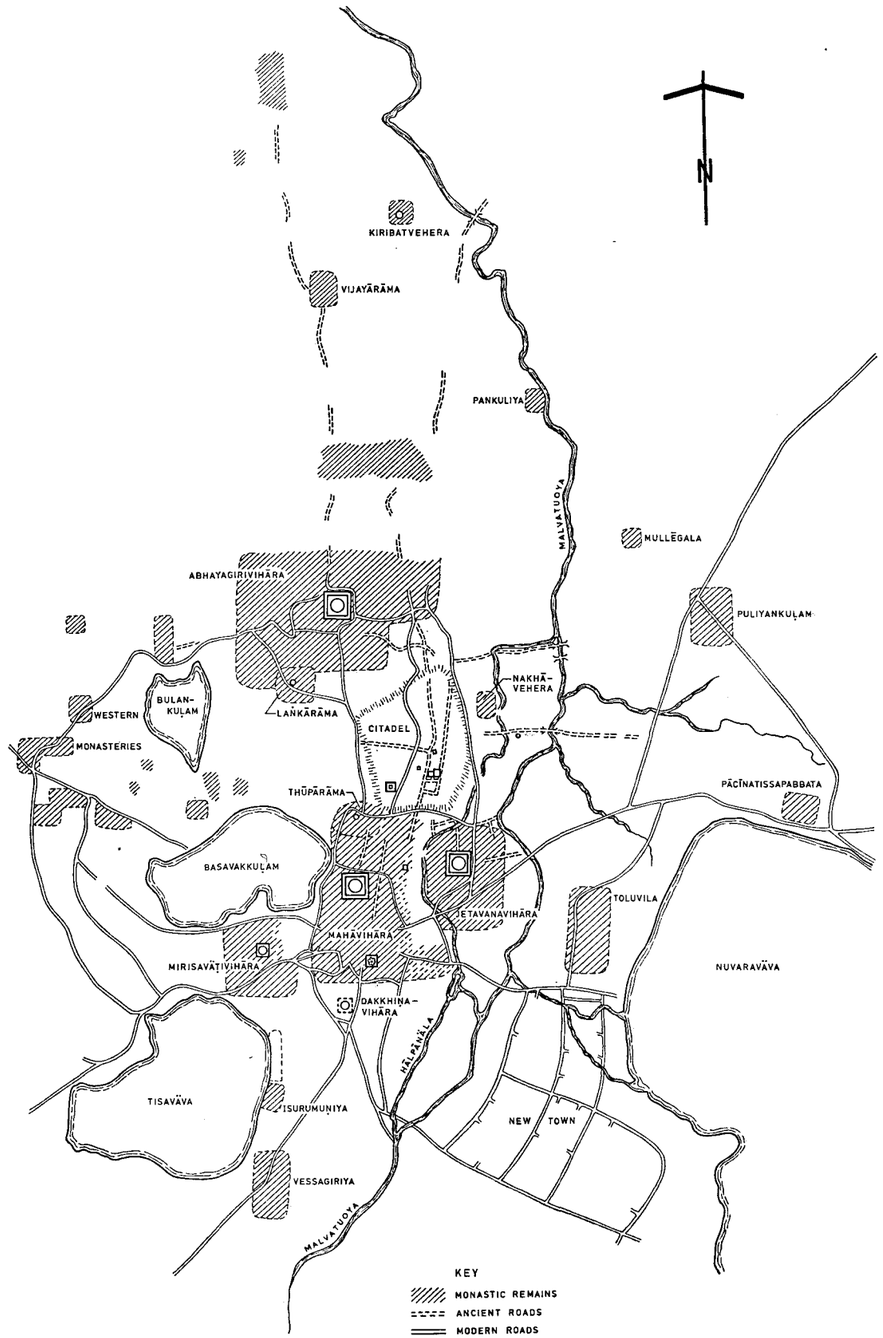


Fig. 2. Anurādhapura

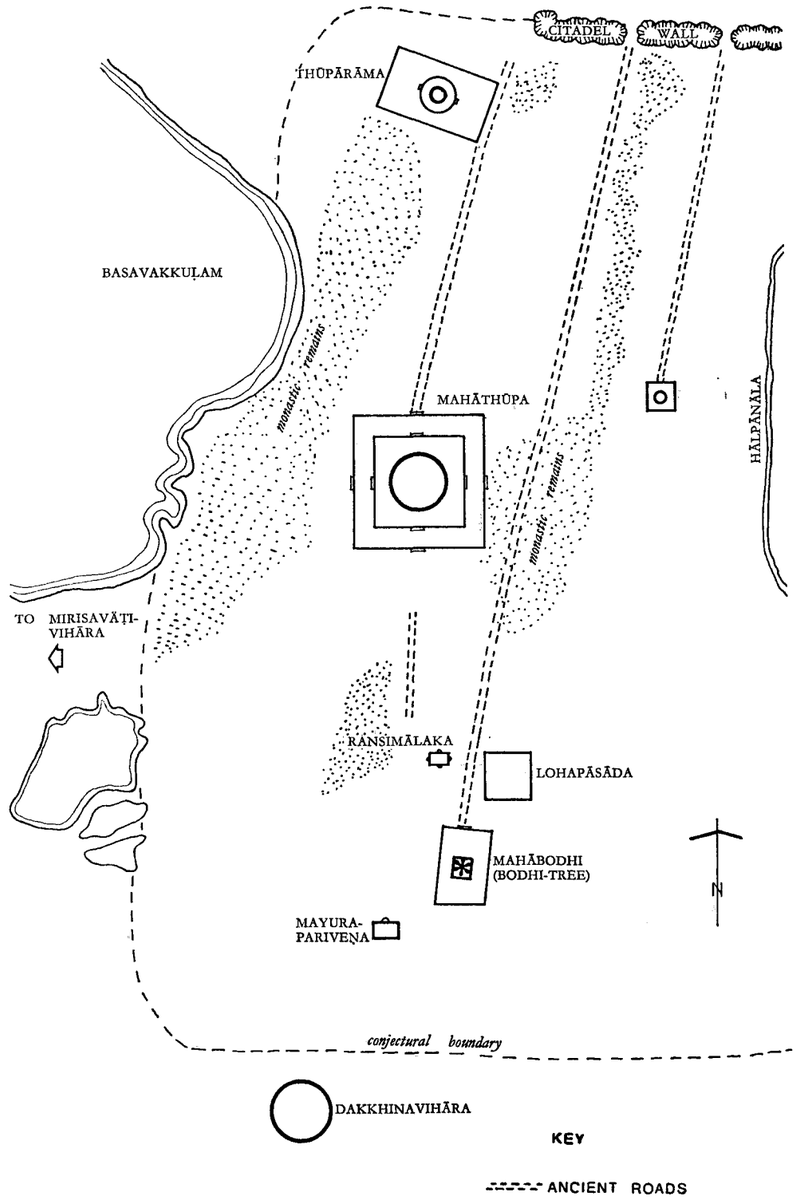


Fig. 3. Mahāvihāra—sketch plan

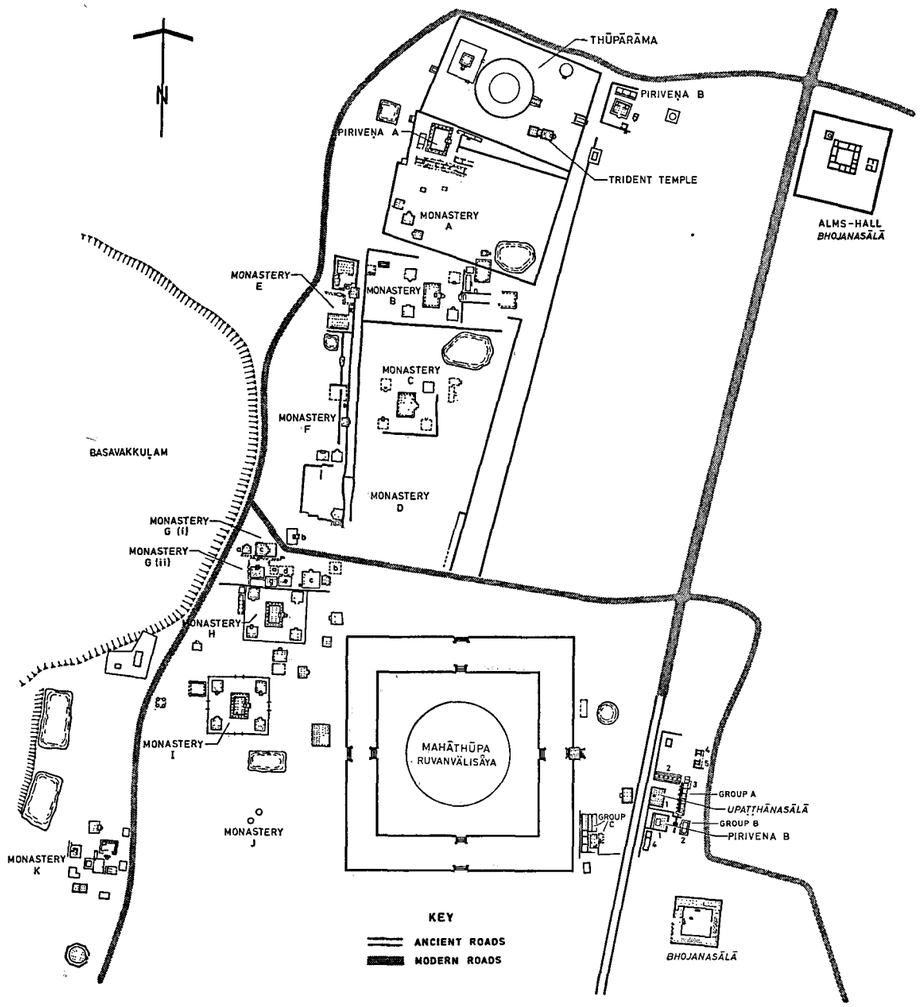


Fig. 4. Mahāvihāra—Thūpārāma and Ruvanvālisāya area

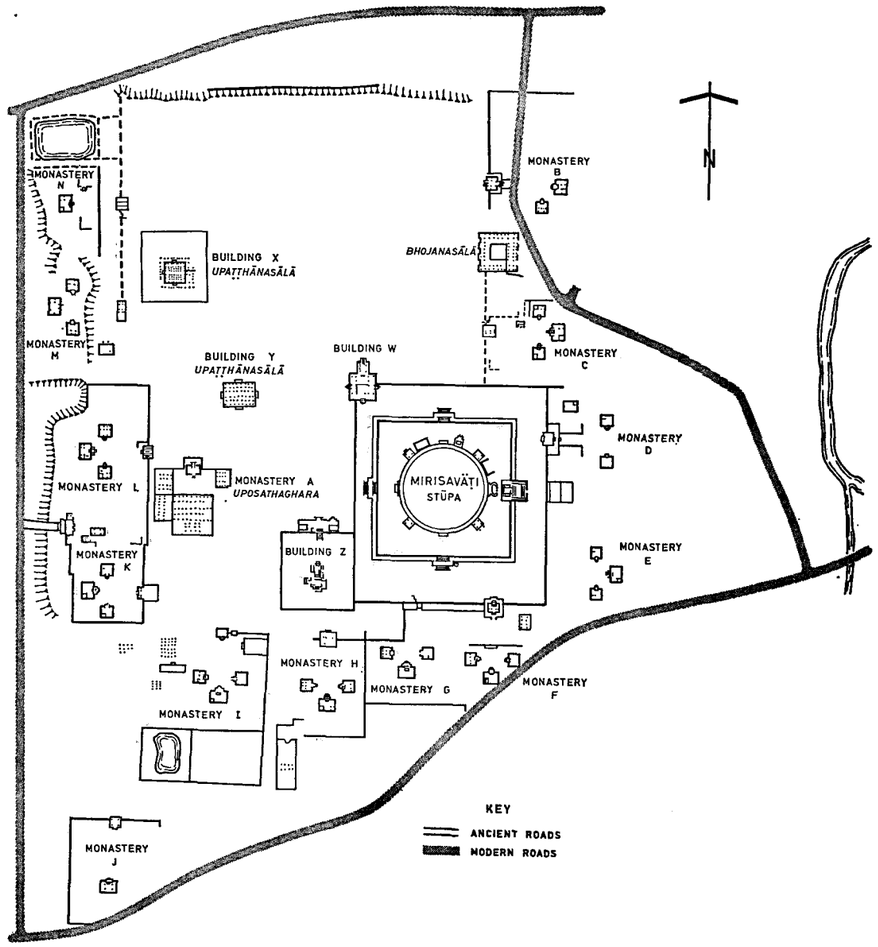


Fig. 5. Mirisavāṭivihāra

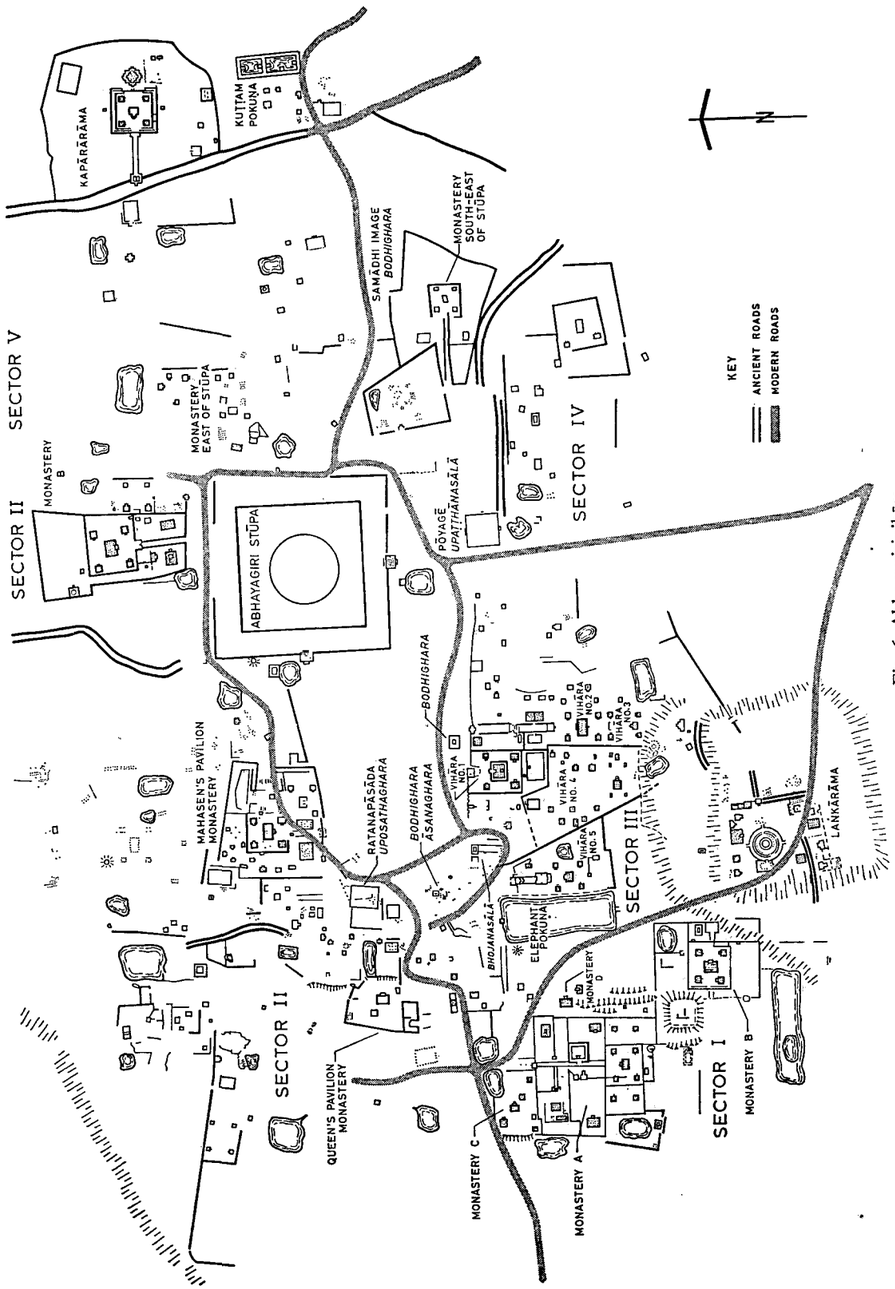


Fig. 6. Abhayagirivihāra

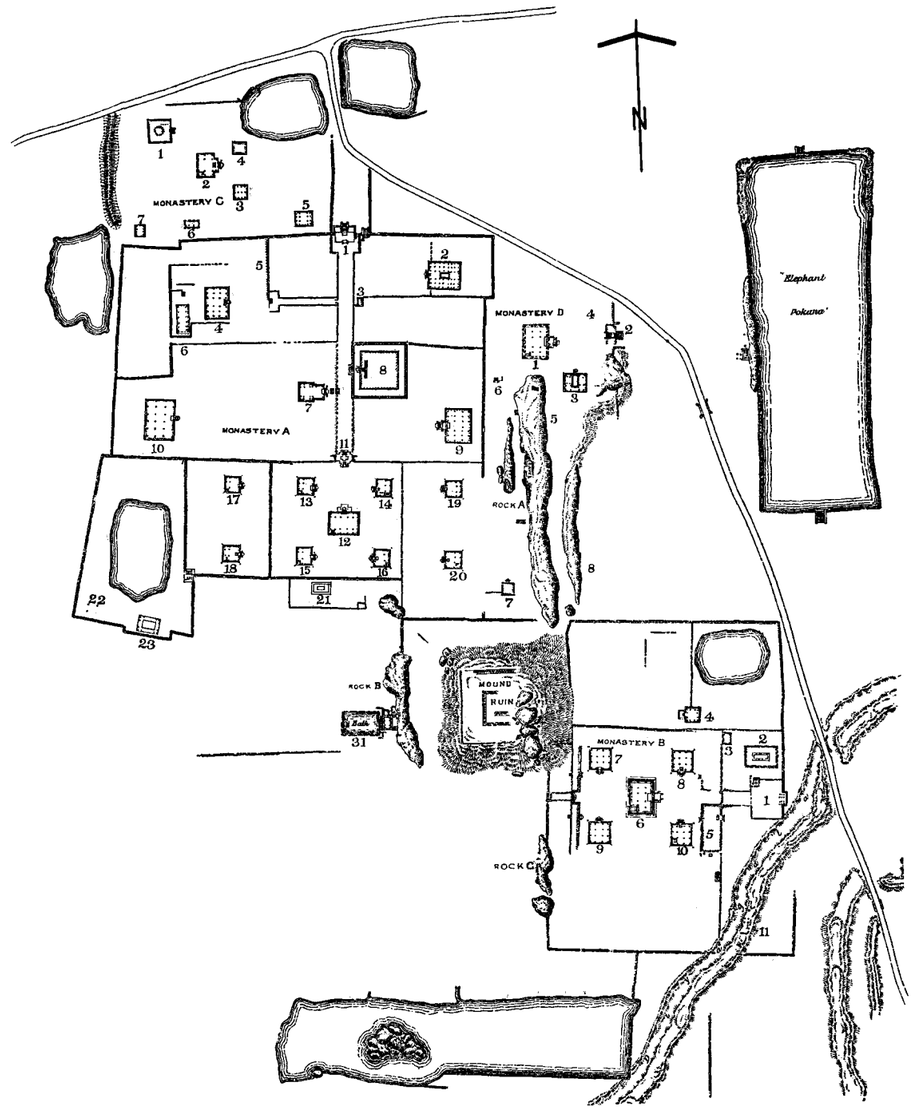


Fig. 7. Abhayagirivihāra Sector I

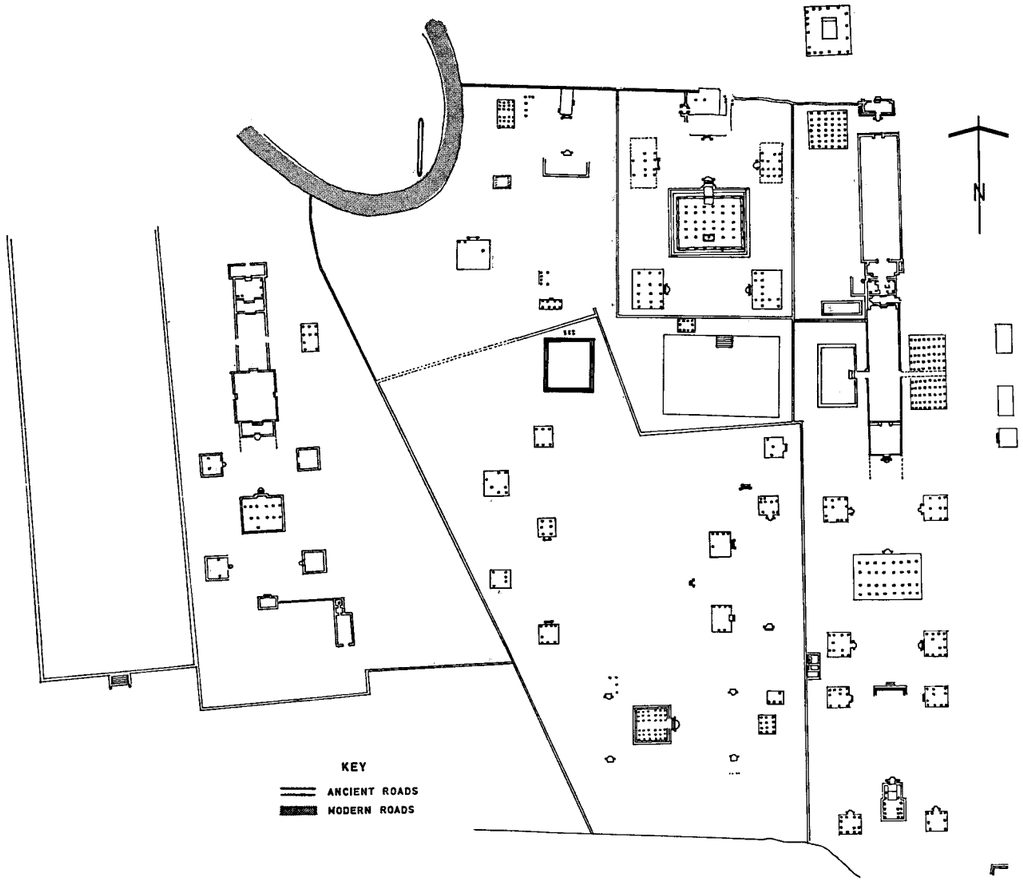


Fig. 8. Abhayagirivihāra Sector III (after Burrows)

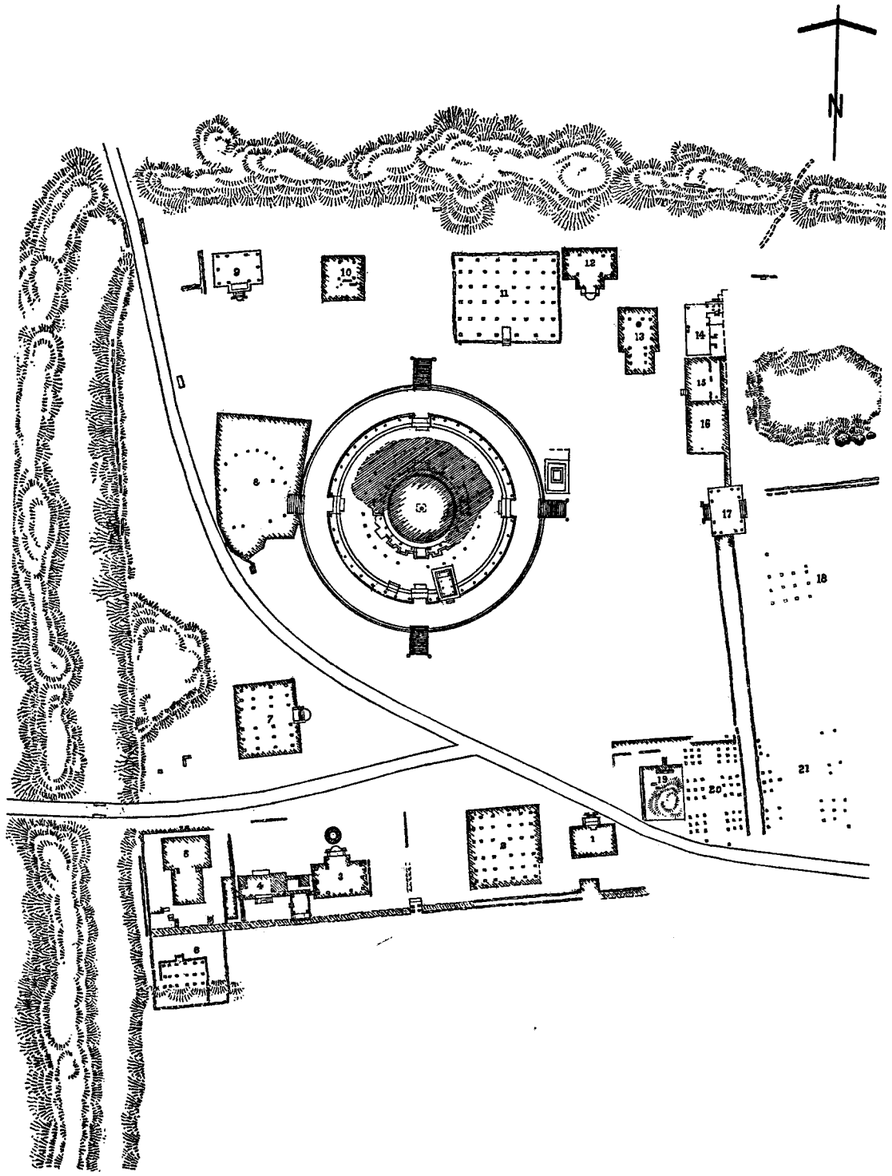


Fig. 9. Laṅkārāma

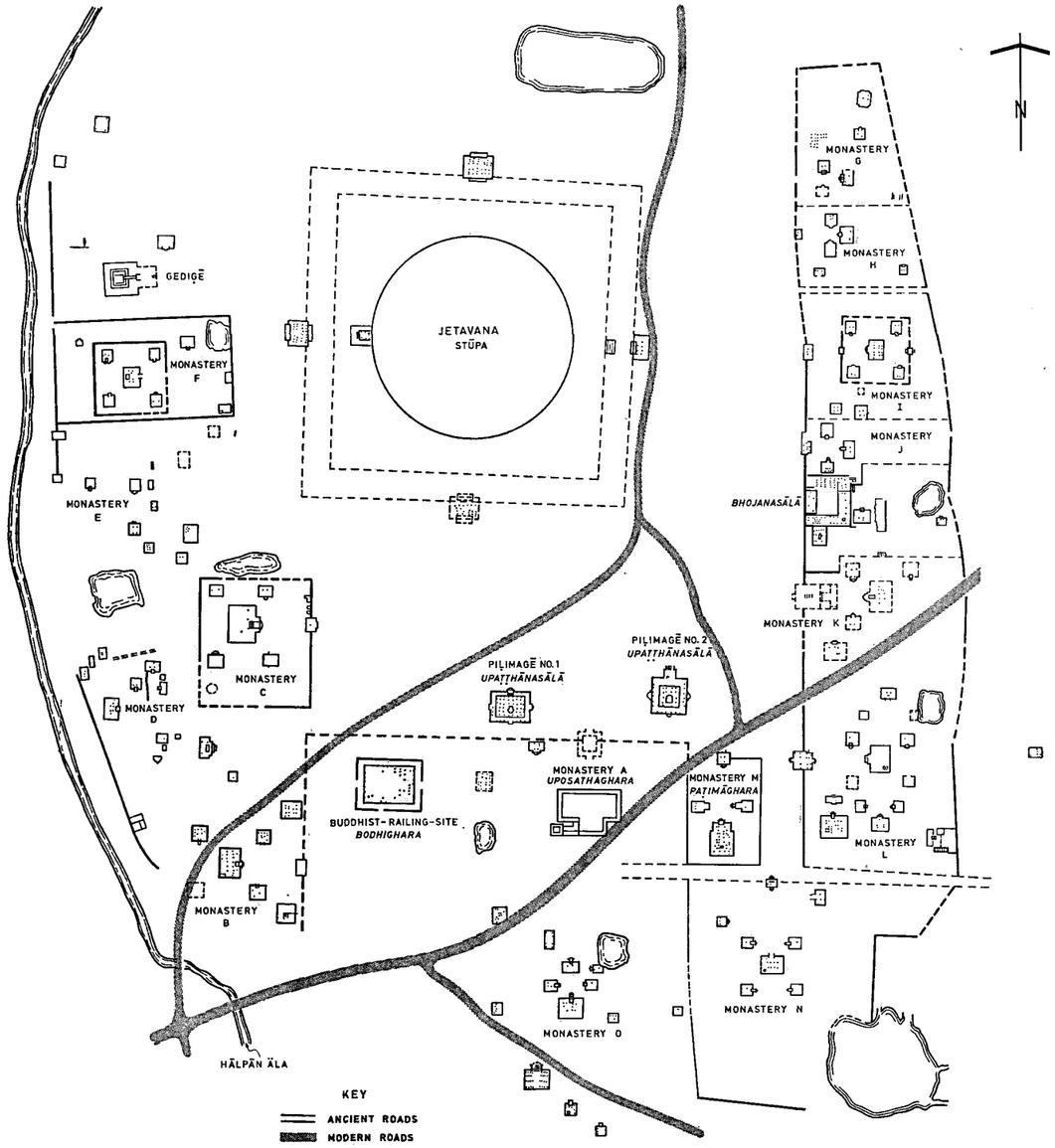


Fig. 10. Jetavanavihāra

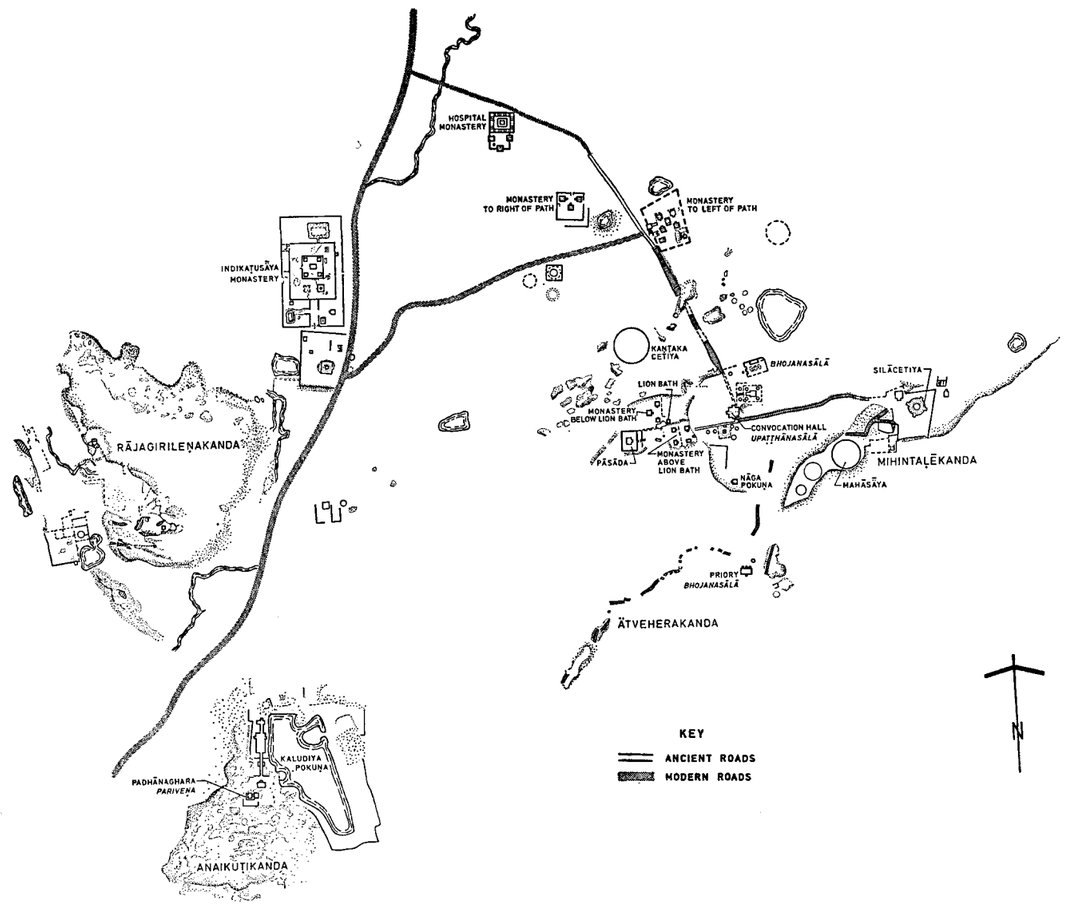


Fig. 11. Mihintaḷē

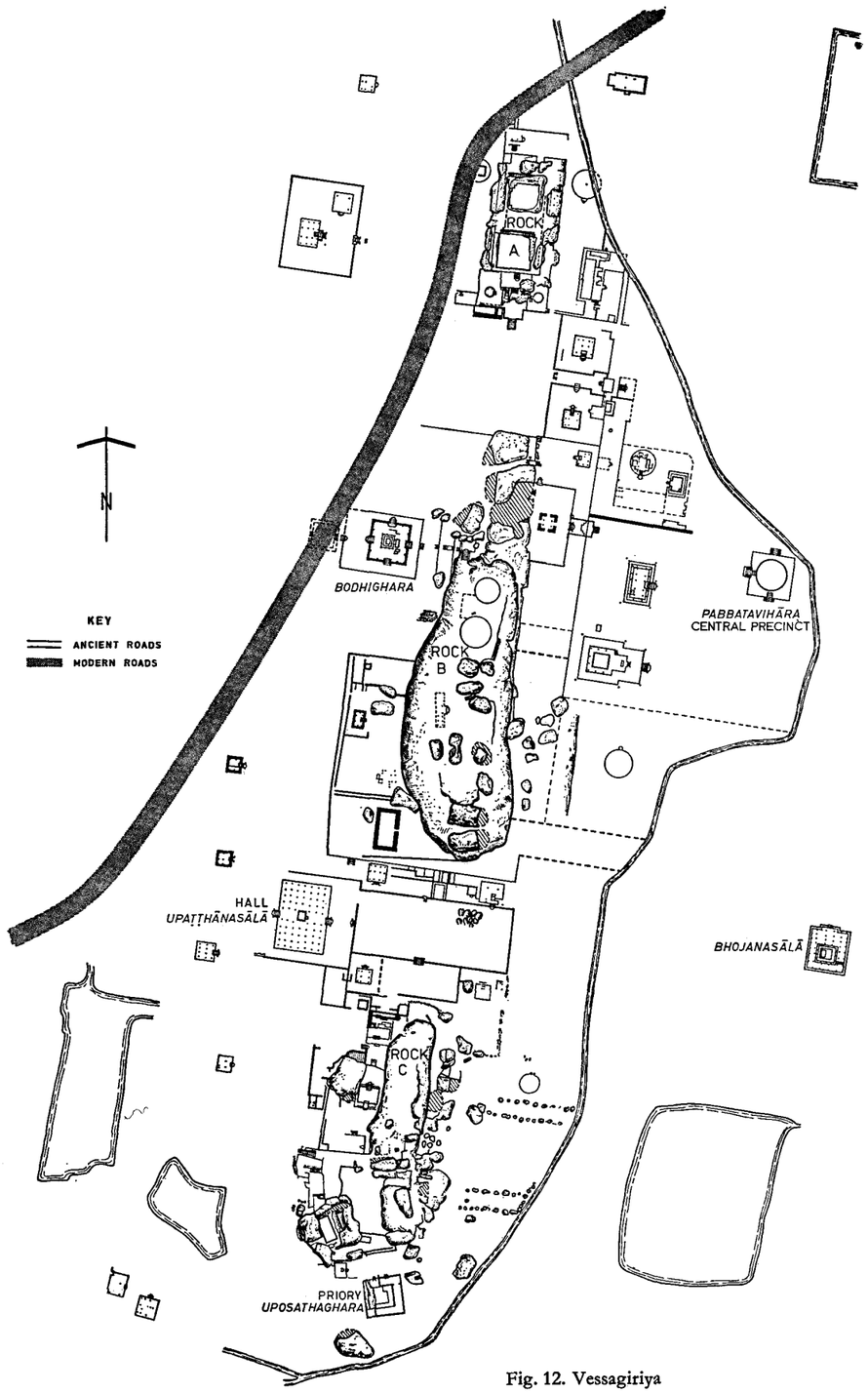
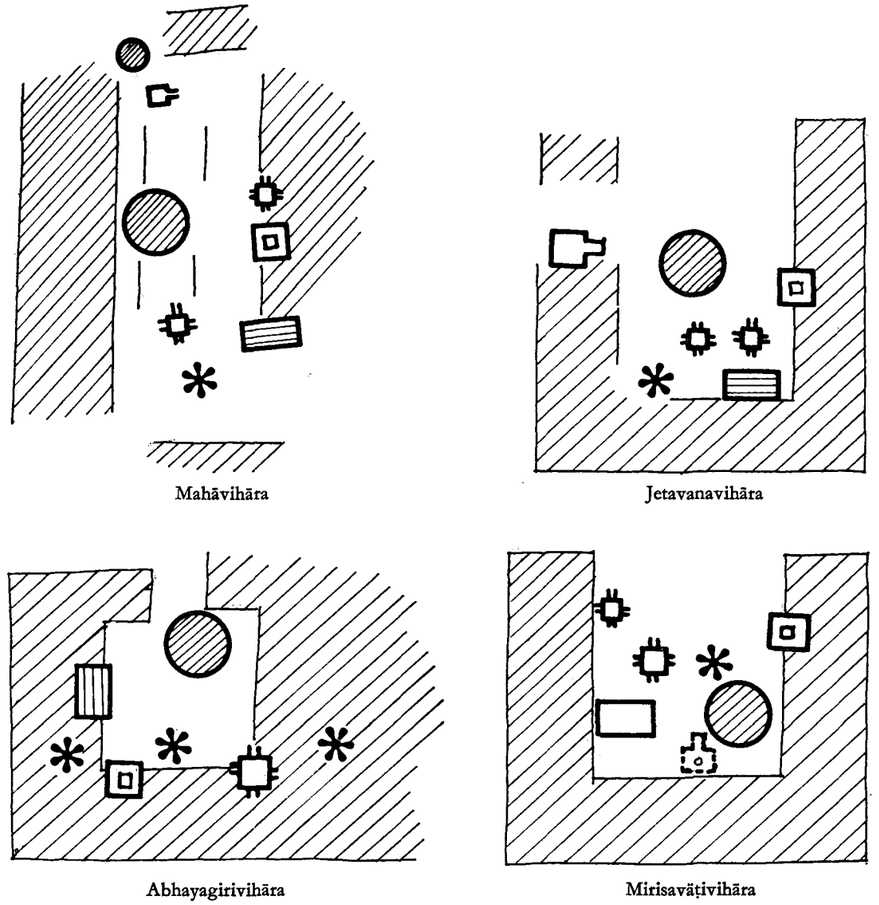


Fig. 12. Vessagiriya



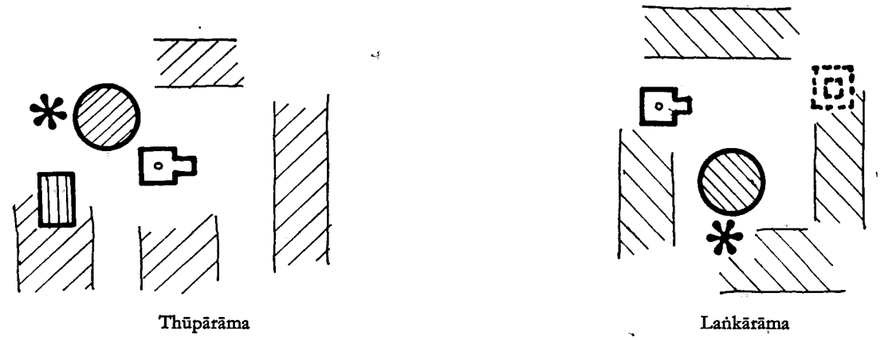


Fig. 13. Diagrammatic analysis of organic monasteries showing major monuments

historical records—is traditionally the place where Buddhism was first established in the island and the original abode of the apostle Mahinda and his group of Buddhist missionaries. No doubt many similar sites were chosen in imitation or emulation of this historic *vihāra*. Other factors, such as prehistoric cave-dwellings, ancient religious beliefs and rituals connected with mountain peaks, boulders, caves, etc., the natural isolation and protection afforded to hermit monks by these hillside caves and the example of similar monastic residences in India, specifically sanctioned by the canonical texts, must have played some part in the choice and preparation of the earliest monastic settlements in Ceylon. Curiously, this particular phase of Ceylonese architectural history is relatively better documented than many later periods, although there is little here that we can truly call architecture.

The Sinhalese cave-monastery was much more a cave, in the real sense of the term, than the excavated *vihāras* and *caityaśālas* of India. The cave was either a natural or man-made cavity in the rock-face, protected by a drip-ledge and a screen wall and, often, a lean-to roof. The wall which was built over the face of the cave took the form of a facade, with doors, windows, pilasters, etc. (see fig. 102, Pls. XXVIII, XXIX). Detailed instructions for the preparation and the construction of these cave-residences are found in Buddhist literature.[1] These dwellings were usually donated to the *saṅgha* by a variety of people ranging from kings and nobles to ordinary householders. The earliest epigraphical records in Ceylon are the numerous dedicatory inscriptions cut above these caves. They date from the 3rd Century B.C. to the 1st or 2nd Century A.D. which covers the earliest phase of Sinhalese architectural history. These cave-residences continued to be used throughout the later periods, although, with a few exceptions, no real development can be seen either in the scope of the cave-monastery or in the peculiar, half-excavated, half-constructed method used by the Sinhalese stonemasons.[2] Unlike the rock-cut Indian temples and monasteries, the Ceylonese *leṇas* scarcely give us any evidence about the form or design of the free-standing architecture of this early period. But it is apparent both from the architectural remains as well as from literary records that the caves were

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, p. 114.

[2] From the evidence of the inscriptions two important factors emerge regarding the cave-dwellings. One, that these caves were all, without exception, monastic residences, implying thereby a very distinct convention—one might almost say a sect—of cave-dwelling monks. Two, that the practice became less fashionable after the 2nd Century A.D. when the donation of caves seems to have been abandoned for more ambitious architectural undertakings. There is no doubt, however, that the caves continued to be used as monastic residences long after this period. Rahula even points to evidence which suggests that the monks who lived in the ancient caves were sometimes specially venerated (Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 113-114). The sanctity attached to these ancient *leṇas* and *guhās* seems to have been progressively transferred to the image-house with the development of image-worship from the 3rd and 4th Centuries onwards. As a result of this many of the old cave-dwellings were converted, even extended and enlarged, into cave-temples, some of the most impressive examples of which, such as Daṁbulla and Mulkirigala, continue to be in worship to this day. It is significant that many of the cave-temples that survive today still retain their original *Brāhmī* dedicatory inscriptions. One is never more vividly confronted with the historicity of the Sinhalese Buddhist monuments than in these cave-temples, which preserve not merely the historical associations which modern scholarship has resurrected but the very lineaments and atmosphere of a primitive age. It seems likely that monasteries such as Daṁbulla and Mulkirigala, unlike many other ancient sites, have remained in constant use for a period of 2000 years, a rare historical phenomenon.

We might mention in passing that one of the few monasteries in Ceylon that has been carved out of the living rock, somewhat in the fashion of the Indian *saṅghārāmas*, with several rock-cut chambers etc., is a little known *vihāra* at Nāgolla on the outskirts of Kuruṇāgala. The *vihāra* is a strange mixture of several excavated chambers, including a library and an image-house, attached to which is a free-standing residential structure of a familiar Kandyan Period type. Yet, it is one of the few monasteries, perhaps the only one, in which there are still residential apartments in the rock-cut chambers. The usual practice now is for monks to live in free-standing structures and for the caves to be used as shrines. It is interesting that the monks of the Nāgollavihāra claim pupillary descent from the ancient ascetic fraternity, the *Paṁsukūlikas* (see below, pp. 102-116 ff.).

not the only monastic dwellings and that in Anurādhapura and elsewhere a free-standing architecture developed alongside the cave-monasteries from an early date. This is the point at which the history of Ceylonese architecture, in the strict sense, begins.

Of the character and development of this early architecture we know very little and in the absence of any archaeological remains, other than the cave-dwellings, we can do little more than speculate on the basis of the kind of evidence we spoke of earlier.[1] Some of the most valuable records in this connection are the descriptions of the accommodation offered to Mahinda and his followers on their first entry into Anurādhapura, and of the original buildings in the Mahāvihāra. It is clear from this that the earliest monastic architecture was simply based on the existing secular buildings and that it was largely concerned with the residential and ecclesiastical needs of the monks. Amongst the first buildings offered to Mahinda were the hall of the state-elephant for preaching in, and a royal lodge in the Mahāmeghavana, as a temporary dwelling.[2] Again, the Kālapāsādapariveṇa, a monastic residence that was specially built for Mahinda, seems to have been of compressed mud or wattle and daub,[3] constructional techniques which are still used extensively in contemporary rural architecture and which were, until about the late 19th Century often used in the most substantial urban structures as well. The second public sermon in the city was preached in an open grove or park outside the southern gate, the elephant's hall having proved too small.[4] The first rainy season retreat was spent in specially prepared cave-dwellings at Mihintaḷē, perhaps, as Rahula suggests, due to the lack of other suitable accommodation.[5] The picture which emerges from all this, despite the miracles and metaphors of the chronicler's poetry, is one of somewhat mixed architectural perspectives—on the one hand, simple, rudimentary dwellings such as the caves at Mihintaḷē, and on the other, buildings of royal standards, usually at a suitable distance from the urban centre.

There is a conscious attempt, in the choice of sites such as the Mahāmeghavana and the rocky slopes of Mihintaḷē, to preserve the close association between the religion and the natural environment and yet there seems to have been no apparent inhibition in accepting and adapting the available secular architecture to the needs of the new religion. These formal needs are swiftly interpreted in terms of the local conditions. It is from this that derives what we might call 'the organic plan' of the major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura.

Chapter 15 of the *Mahāvaṁsa* describes the establishment of the Mahāvihāra by Mahinda, in the Mahāmeghavanārāma, the former royal park now dedicated to the *saṅgha*.[6] It begins with the king marking the limits of his donation with a ceremonial ploughing. A major natural feature, the Kadamba river (the modern Malvatu Oya), serves as a fixed limit and the boundary runs in a circle from the river and back to it. Mahinda fixes the *sīmā*, the sacred boundary stones which mark the formal establishment of the religion,[7] and designates various sites on which the main institutions of the great monastery are to be built. It would not be correct, however, to assume that Mahinda was setting out a *formal* plan for the Mahāvihāra. He was merely indicating the various buildings that would be necessary for a complete monastery and perhaps suggesting suitable sites. The description leaves us in no doubt that the location of

[1] See above, p. 20 ff.

[2] *Mhv.* 14.59-65; 15.11-13.

[3] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 15-16.

[4] *Mhv.* 15.1-5.

[5] *Mhv.* 16.12-14; Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 56-57.

[6] See *Mhv.* 15.24-56, 166-213.

[7] See Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 53-56.

the buildings was not controlled by a preconceived plan. We do not know what criteria determined the sites that Mahinda chose, if in fact he was actually responsible for the choice of all the sites accredited to him. There is probably a certain element of hindsight in the chronicler's account. The tendency to sanction a later institution by reference to an ancient origin is a well-known process in traditional historical records. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* account, Mahinda himself sanctions many of the locations he chooses by reference to visits by former Buddhas and the existence of sanctuaries in former epochs. We may well believe, however, that the choice was more or less arbitrary in the sense that the most convenient places at hand in the Mahāmeghavana would have been chosen as they offered themselves to the early planners and builders. Some indication of this pragmatic method is seen in the manner in which the *pariveṇas*, the various residential units of the monastery, were located in places associated with Mahinda's daily routine.[1]

There is no reason to doubt that the skeletal plan of the Mahāvihāra goes back to the period of Mahinda. The Bodhi-Tree, the Thūpārāma *stūpa*, an *uposathaghara* (possibly the original Lohapāsāda[2]), a refectory, all essential requirements of a *vihāra*, were actually established by Mahinda. The Chronicle claims that the site of the Mahāthūpa, or Ruvanvälisāya, had been determined by Mahinda, who also predicted its construction by Duṭṭhagāmanī, but this again seems very much like hindsight. Whatever the truth of the matter may be, the Ruvanvälisāya, and the Loḥapāsāda had been established by the 1st Century B.C.

In its essential features, the present plan of the Mahāvihāra consists of the Bodhi-Tree, the Lohapāsāda almost immediately to the north-east of it, a large refectory to the north of the Lohapāsāda, the Ruvanvälisāya directly north of the Bodhi-Tree and then finally the Thūpārāma at the northernmost point (see figs. 3, 4). The main axis of the *vihāra* runs almost in a straight line, north to south, connecting the Bodhi-Tree, the Mahāthūpa and the Thūpārāma. It seems very likely that these basic elements of the Mahāvihāra remain substantially unchanged. Despite the restorations and reconstructions that went on through the centuries, it is unlikely that the original location of such sacred and historic shrines such as the Bodhi-Tree, the Thūpārāma and the Ruvanvälisāya would have been changed.

The major element in the Mahāvihāra plan is the Mahāthūpa, which, from its establishment in the 1st Century B.C., has occupied the central position both in the history and in the topography of the monastery. The position of the *stūpa* as the hub or the central focus of the monastic plan is a major factor in the metropolitan monasteries of Anurādhapura. This central location, together with its monumental proportions, emphasises the ritual pre-eminence of the *stūpa* and expresses its symbolic role as the cosmic mountain at the centre of the universe, presided over by the presence of the Master. That such concepts were present in the architectural composition of the *stūpa* is witnessed by their multiple relic-chambers—representing the regions of the universe—and the directional symbolism associated with their four cardinally oriented frontispieces or *vāhalkaḍas*.[3] These developments took place between the 1st Century B.C. and the 4th Century A.D., a distinct historical phase which we might well call 'the period of the monumental *stūpas*'. By the 4th Century, the major *stūpas* of Anurādhapura had reached their present proportions. The ancient Thūpārāma, probably preserved from drastic reconstruction by its antiquity and historical associations, was soon outstripped by the new foundations—the Mahāthūpa and the Mirisavāṭi built by Duṭṭhagāmanī, the Abhayagiri

[1] *Mhv.* 15.205-214; see also below, pp. 91-92.
[2] *Mhv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., 1960, p. 112.
[3] Rowland, B., 1953(2).

and the Dakkhiṇathūpa by his nephew Vaṭṭagāmanī Abhaya, all founded in the 1st Century B.C., and progressively enlarged by successive rulers until the construction of the largest, the Jetavana, in the reign of Mahāsena (276-303 A.D.). Although these monuments have seen many changes in their outer fabric since that time, they had reached their optimum proportions by that date.

These developments reflect important changes in religious perspectives and architectural concepts. The *stūpa* with its complex symbolism brings into the organic architecture and planning of the *vihāra* elements of formalisation which do not seem to have existed to any significant extent hitherto. The *stūpa* starts to dominate the monastic complex and the plan of the *vihāra* begins to evolve around this focal centre. The actual history of this development must continue to remain a matter for conjecture until real excavations reveal to us the patterns of the various building phases in Anurādhapura. By about the 4th Century the basic monastic divisions concentrated around the major *stūpas* had already come into being. These major complexes were the Mahāvihāra, the Mirisavāṭi, the Dakkhiṇavihāra, the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana monasteries. To this we may add the smaller Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma, each integral parts of the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra respectively, but yet distinct within themselves.

The surface remains at Anurādhapura represent the latest phase in the history of these monasteries, but the grouping of monastic buildings that confront us today must have some bearing on the patterns of past construction. The basic plan that presents itself at each of these *vihāras* is one that consists of a central *stūpa* surrounded on three or four sides by *pariveṇas* or residential units. A substantial open area remains between the *stūpa* precincts and the surrounding residential area.

In its crudest form this *centric* plan can be seen in the small Laṅkārāma monastery (see fig. 9). Here, the central feature is in fact a *cetiyaghara*, a *stūpa*-temple, and the residential units are for the most part *pāsādas* of various sizes arranged in a rough quadrangle around the central shrine. The similarity which this arrangement bears to the plan of the classic Indian *saṅghārāma*, with its *stūpa*-court and surrounding ranges of cells, is at once apparent, despite the irregular shapes and orientation of the residential units in the Laṅkārāma. It is difficult to determine whether this arrangement owes its existence to planning concepts imported from the mainland or whether it was, as it appears to have been, an organic growth. We may observe, however, that this plan is a most natural and logical method of distributing several subsidiary architectural units around a central feature and to that extent it may well be a purely indigenous development. The principle of an open central space surrounded by cells is familiar to the Sinhalese tradition, being the common method of internal sub-division in the monumental *uposathagharas* and in some *pāsādas*.[1] Moreover, the cellular *saṅghārāma* of the classic Indian type is not unknown in Ceylon, there being two or three examples of it in the Anurādhapura area itself.[2]

As we shall see, the rectangular *pāsāda* is the most important single building type in the Sinhalese architectural tradition.[3] In essence it derives from the primitive rural architecture of the island. We may well imagine that buildings based on the *pāsāda* archetype comprised the bulk of the monastic architecture in the periods that preceded the final building phase at Anurādhapura, as they do in that last phase.

[1] See below, pp. 217, 258-259.
[2] See below, pp. 250-251.
[3] See below, pp. 251 ff.

In their most developed form the residential units of the major *vihāras* consist of a formal arrangement of *pāsāda* and *kuṭīs*, the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*. It would appear that the *pañcāyatana* grouping was the successor to an earlier *pariveṇa* type which consisted of *pāsādas* grouped together without any particular formal arrangement.[1] Today we can see how the *pañcāyatana* units were placed around the major *stūpas* very much on the same principle as the *pāsādas* surrounding the Laṅkārāma, only on a very much larger scale and in a somewhat more orderly fashion. We may conjecture that the predecessors of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* were similar residential units, perhaps originally consisting of single and later multiple groups of *pāsādas*. Thus, taking the *pāsāda* as the archetypal building type we may, conjecturally, summarise the growth of the Sinhalese *vihāra* as a progressive development from the isolated *pāsādas* of the first monastic settlements—buildings somewhat arbitrarily placed in the parks and gardens around the city—to groups of *pāsādas* drawn into the orbit of the great *stūpas* until, finally, these '*pāsāda groups*', or *pariveṇas*, harden into the formal *pañcāyatanas* surrounding the *stūpa* in a fairly orderly pattern.

The increasing influence of formal architectural concepts did not completely submerge the organic character of the *vihāra*. Although the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* is a highly sophisticated and formal concept, this formality, as we shall see, is more or less restricted to the nucleus of the monastic unit—the *pañcāyatana* itself and the inner precinct. The ancillary buildings and the outer boundaries of the *pariveṇa*, while observing certain conventions, display that unplanned or organic nature characteristic of the early *vihāra*. Similarly, the distribution of the various *pañcāyatana* units in the *vihāra* only follows a very general system. There is no strict geometry, no precise schematisation, but merely a rough master plan which places the *pañcāyatanas* next to each other in three ranges along the eastern, southern and western flanks of the area surrounding the *stūpa*. The central *pāsāda* of each unit is strictly oriented cardinally, facing the direction of the *stūpa*. A large boundary wall and a street or avenue runs along the inside limit of the *pariveṇas*, determining the extent to which they impinge on the open area between the *stūpa* and the residential sector. These boundary walls themselves do not follow a strict geometrical pattern and the interlinked *pariveṇas* of each sector intersect and overlap at the point where the different sectors meet. The northern sector, that is to say, the area to the north of the *stūpa*, is open parkland, free of buildings.[2]

This plan can be clearly observed in the Jetavanavihāra and the Mirisavāṭivihāra, where it has been preserved with all its general features intact (see figs. 5, 10). Both monasteries have been substantially excavated and have not been greatly disturbed by modern constructions. At the Abhayagiri, however, no complete plan of the monastery can yet be conceived—although this is perhaps the least disturbed of the great *vihāras* of Anurādhapura—as large sectors are still unexcavated (see figs. 6-8). Yet, despite these limitations and the extraordinary mass and density of buildings, we can still see that the same basic principles as in the Jetavanavihāra and the Mirisavāṭivihāra apply here, too, though much less obviously. Not only is the planning of the individual *pariveṇas* very much more complex than in any of the other monasteries,[3] but, probably due to the pressure on space, the open areas around the *stūpa* and to

[1] See below, pp. 98-99.

[2] It is possible that the cremation-ground of the monastery may have been located either in the open area between the *stūpa* and the residential area or in this open parkland to the north of the *stūpa*. The cremation-ground or *ādāhanamaḷuwa* is only rarely a *formalised* feature of the modern Sinhalese monastery, unlike in Thailand where it is invariably located to the south of the monastic complex.

[3] See below, p. 96.

the north of it have been 'encroached' upon by additional *pañcāyatana* complexes.[1] While in the other monasteries there is only one line or range of monastic units in each sector, here there seem to have been several layers, so to speak, of *pariveṇas*, some, such as the Kapārārāma monastery north of the Kuṭṭam-pokuṇa, being a considerable distance away from the range of the monasteries nearest the *stūpa*. And yet, the conventions are firmly adhered to and each *pariveṇa* is strictly oriented in the appropriate cardinal direction, facing the *stūpa*.[2]

The Mahāvihāra (see figs. 3, 4), unlike the other three major monasteries, dates from a period anterior to the epoch of the monumental *stūpas*. When the Mahāthūpa was built in the 1st Century B.C. it became the central focus of the monastery, but equally important monuments such as the Bodhi-Tree, the Thūpārāma and possibly the Lohapāsāda had already been in existence for nearly two centuries. These were institutions of the greatest historicity and their sacred sites, assigned according to tradition by Mahinda himself, could not be changed. The great *stūpa*, therefore, could not become the architectural hub of the *vihāra* as in the other three major monasteries. Instead, it occupies the central position in the linear north-south axis between the Thūpārāma, on the one hand, and the Bodhi-Tree and the Lohapāsāda, on the other. There is no doubt that the location of the Mahāthūpa was intentionally chosen for this reason for the central point of the *stūpa* is *exactly* equidistant from the Thūpārāma in the north and the Bodhi-Tree in the south. Unfortunately, the significance of this linear rather than centripetal emphasis cannot be fully understood today as the Mahāvihāra—once more, unlike the other monasteries—is a greatly disturbed and damaged site, at least, as far as the surface remains are concerned, on account of its being the site until recently of the modern town of Anurādhapura.

From what we can see of the monastic remains, the *vihāra* seems to be an elongated variation of the usual plan. There are two main rows of *pariveṇas* still remaining, one along the eastern periphery of the sacred avenue which runs from the Bodhi-Tree northwards past the Mahāthūpa and the Thūpārāma, and the other to the west of the *stūpa*. The first of these is a distinct row of monastic units which begins with the Lohapāsāda and continues northwards along the sacred avenue up to the Thūpārāma alms-hall.[3] The remains to the east of this range, that is to say, the eastern limits of the Mahāvihāra, are no longer discernible.

The Western sector, in contrast, is much better preserved and consists of a row of *pariveṇas*, mostly of the classic *pañcāyatana* type, all facing east, in the general direction of the *stūpa*. There seems to have been a further range of *pariveṇas* to the west, just below the bund of the Abhayavāva, some of them apparently of an older type than the *pañcāyatanas*. What lay between

[1] Those *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*, such as Mahasen's Pavilion Monastery and the Sector II Monastery B, which clearly encroach upon the open areas, represent some of the best preserved and most lavishly appointed *pariveṇas* and we may not be far wrong if we consider these amongst the latest additions to the Abhayagiri.

[2] Thus, the *pariveṇas* in the eastern range face west, those in the northern range face south, and so on. Even when those in (say) the south stretch so far to the west that they are almost west-south-west of the *stūpa*, they still maintain their strictly northern orientation (see fig. 6). The *pariveṇas* in this south-western area, comprising Sectors I and III, are interesting in that they demonstrate how the southern range of *pariveṇas* intersect those of the western range (see figs. 7 and 8). Thus, Monastery A of Sector I belongs to the southern range, together with the *pariveṇas* of Sector III, all of which face north. Monasteries B and D of Sector I, on the other hand, are the two southernmost *pariveṇas* of the western range and face east. (Monastery C is a subsidiary unit of Monastery A; so, although it faces east, it is in fact a part of the southern rather than the western range.) It is interesting to see with what ingenuity the interlocking units have been laid out (see below, p. 55 n. 1).

[3] *ASCAR* 1901, pp. 2-5; 1906, pp. 1-2. None of the excavated monasteries here are *pañcāyatanas* but they are all of a type peculiar to the Mahāvihāra, consisting of a *pāsāda* partially surrounded by cloisters. The remains in this area also include the refectories of the Mahāvihāra and the Thūpārāma.

these western *pariveṇas* and the main avenue to the east is a matter for speculation. There are remains of an ancient street running from the northern entrance of the *stūpa* precinct to the eastern entrance of the Thūpārāma and, probably, a similar avenue in the south. Recent excavations in this southern area exposed a number of entrance pavilions leading out into this street along its western periphery.[1] Behind the pavilions lay substantial monastic structures, including what appears to be a *pañcāyatana* complex.[2] Similarly, the main north-south avenue, running northwards from the Bodhi-Tree, may have had various monastic units along its western periphery, just as it does along its eastern periphery. Included amongst these would be the remains of the so-called Ransimālaka and the buildings exposed near the south-east corner of the *maḷuwa* of the Mahāthūpa.

It would appear from all this that the plan of the Mahāvihāra (see figs. 3, 4) seems to consist largely of parallel ranges of *pariveṇas* stretched out along the length of the monastery, more or less in keeping with its north-south orientation. Whether there was a southern and a northern range—represented by the Mayurapariveṇa and 'Piriveṇa B' of the Thūpārāma, respectively—running laterally to the north-south rows is, once more, a matter for conjecture. An unusual feature of the Mahāvihāra plan is that the Thūpārāma, the surviving *pariveṇas* of the eastern sector and all the major avenues are not aligned with the true north but a few degrees off the north-south axis. This deviation, which is maintained fairly consistently wherever it manifests itself, stands in a distinct contrast to the Mahāthūpa, the Lohapāsāda and the *pañcāyatanas* of the western sector, all of which are correctly oriented on the true cardinal directions. The effect this creates is almost that of two separate plans superimposed on each other. The question we may ask ourselves is whether this gives us some indication of the primitive alignment of the original monastery as against the more precise orientation of its later monuments.

The last of the great *stūpas* at Anurādhapura is the Dakkhiṇathūpa to the south of the Mahāvihāra (see figs. 2, 3). Little is known of the later history of this *vihāra*. Like the Mirisavāṭivihāra it was probably a self-contained monastery under the patronage of one of the major *vihāras*, but within its own distinct monastic precincts. However, apart from the *stūpa* itself everything else has been totally obliterated.[3]

Nevertheless, there is no lack of material from the other monasteries to formulate a common plan for the *vihāras* of Anurādhapura. In our consideration of this plan we have so far tended to ignore—largely for reasons of clarity and convenience—certain important elements which go to constitute a *vihāra*, other than the central *stūpa* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*: namely shrines such as the *bodhighara* and the *paṭimāghara*, ecclesiastical buildings such as the *uposathaghara* and *upaṭṭhānasālā* and central service buildings like the refectory. The colossal proportions and virtual indestructibility of the central *stūpa* meant that this feature continued to dominate the architectural disposition of the *vihāra* long after it ceased to be architecturally fashionable, that is to say, when *stūpa*-worship surrendered its position of singular preeminence (which it held between the 1st Century B.C. and the 4th Century A.D.) to the cult of the image.

Similarly, the *stūpa*, again by its very size and durability, appears to us today as a monument

[1] *ASCAR* 1962-63, pp. 53-55, plan I.

[2] The excavations were incomplete and therefore inconclusive. The *pañcāyatana*, or, to be more precise, what appears to be its central *pāsāda*, was not one of the buildings excavated, but it lies directly behind the northernmost of the excavated entrance pavilions.

[3] One of the monuments which may have been a part of the Dakkhiṇavihāra is the *bodhighara* discovered by Bell at a site to the south of the *stūpa* (see below, p. 182—monument on Anurādhapura-Kurunāgala road).

occupying a singular position amongst hundreds of relatively unimpressive ruins that lie around it. This tends to give us a very distorted picture of the original architectural character of the *vihāra* in which such important monuments as the *bodhighara*, the *paṭimāghara*, the *uposathaghara* and the *upaṭṭhānasālās* vied with the *stūpa*, if not in size, at least in sanctity and architectural magnificence. We may recall, in this connection, the original Mahāvihāra of Mahinda, in which the Bodhi-Tree, the Thūpārāma *stūpa* and an *uposathaghara* were the dominant institutions. Another early record in the *Mahāvaṁsa* provides an important clue to the basic elements of a schematic plan whose real significance is only apparent in later times but whose history goes back to the original Mahāvihāra. Speaking of a monastery built at Mihintaḷē by Kuṭakaṇṇatissa (41-19 B.C.), the Chronicle records that:

> He built upon the Cetiya-mountain a great building for the uposatha-festival and to the east of this building he raised a thūpa of stone, and in that same place on the Cetiya-mountain he planted a bodhi-tree.[1]

Thus, it would seem that a *bodhi* or *bodhighara*, a *stūpa* and an *uposathaghara* had become the essential nucleus of a *vihāra* before the appearance of the *stūpa*-centric monastery and that the original Mahāvihāra 'plan' had hardened in its basic principles at least by the 1st Century B.C., when the dominance of the *stūpa* was only just beginning to assert itself.[2]

The conflict, or rather the resolution of these two apparently contradictory tendencies is the logic behind the plan of the major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura as we see them today. In the Mahāvihāra we have already seen that historical factors made it necessary to maintain a 'longitudinal' plan with the major *stūpa* occupying the centre of the north-south axis. In other monasteries which were founded in the 1st Century B.C. or later, the *stūpa*, being contemporaneous with the founding of its monastery, could dominate the plan. However, occupying important and conspicuous positions—usually in the open area between the *stūpa* and the *pariveṇas*—were the *uposathaghara*, the *bodhighara* and, with the development of image-worship, the *paṭimāghara*. Together with these were also the other structures which played an important role in the central monastic organisation, such as the *upaṭṭhānasālā* and the *bhojanasālā*. If we examine the plans of the urban monasteries of Anurādhapura, we see how these buildings were deployed, not according to a strict scheme but rather on the basis of certain loose and freely interpreted principles. A diagrammatic analysis of the disposition of the major monuments in each of the six *vihāras* is presented in fig. 13.

In the Jetavana, where these monuments are best represented and clearly identifiable (see fig. 10), the *bodhighara* and the *uposathaghara* are contained in a large sacred precinct to the south of the *stūpa*. The *paṭimāghara*, clearly a later addition, an afterthought, lies to the west of the *stūpa*. In the open area between the *stūpa* and the sacred southern precinct are placed two *upaṭṭhānasālās*. The *bhojanasālā* is located within the residential area to the east of the *stūpa*. The arrangement generates, as it were, its own logic or method, which prevails over any preordained scheme or plan.

The clarity of the existing Jetavana plan helps us to understand the arrangements in the other *vihāras*. The monument most difficult to identify is the *bodhighara*. There are several such

[1] *Mhv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., 1960, p. 240.

[2] The absence of an image-house is easily explained by the early date, before the establishment of image-worship. Fa-hsien's description of the Abhayagiri (the monastery 'to the north of the city') suggests a similar plan—a pagoda *(stūpa)*, a monastery by the side of it (*uposathaghara*?), 'a Hall of Buddha' (image-house?) and alongside it a *bodhighara* (see Giles, H. A., 1923, pp. 67-68).

shrines in the Abhayagirivihāra (see fig. 6), but whether there was one that was pre-eminent, as in the Mahāvihāra and the Jetavanavihāra, is difficult to determine from the existing remains, unless we concede that position to the recently excavated site between the *uposathaghara* and the refectory.[1] The remains of a structure occupying almost exactly the same location in the Mirisavāṭivihāra (see fig. 5), the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma (see figs. 4, 9)—immediately adjoining the *stūpa* to the north-west—might be tentatively identified as a tree-shrine. The *uposathaghara* is the most easily identified monument and, the Laṅkārāma apart, occupies a south-easterly or south-westerly orientation in all the other *vihāras*. The *paṭimāghara* is a relatively rare shrine in these urban *vihāras*. The only surviving examples are in the Jetavanavihāra and the Thūpārāma, while that in the Mirisavāṭivihāra is of dubious identity. No remains of such a structure are to be seen in the Mahāvihāra proper or the Abhayagiri, although it must be kept in mind that these two monasteries cannot be properly investigated.

The assembly halls or *upaṭṭhānasālās* may not have attracted the same degree of ritual veneration as the shrines discussed above, but they served important ecclesiastical functions, and thereby occupy prominent locations in the monastic complex. Understandably, they seem to be a feature restricted to the four major monasteries. There were usually more than one such *sālā* in each *vihāra* and their location seems to have been much less systematised than that of any other building.

The refectory, in contrast, occupies virtually the same position to the east of the *stūpa* in three of the four major *vihāras*—the Abhayagiri being the exception—and possibly in the Laṅkārāma, too, although the relevant structure there is too badly ruined to be identified with any certainty. Moreover, in all these monasteries, it is consistently placed well within the residential area, unlike the other major structures. This suitably expresses its essentially *residential* character.

We shall see, in the subsequent chapter, that the basic characteristics of the *vihāra*, as they occur in the six urban monasteries we have been considering above, appear with much greater clarity in the so-called *pabbata vihāra* (see figs. 23, 24). The monastic plan which had evolved in the organic monastery over many centuries is developed there into a formal and largely standardised monastic type. The larger of the *pabbata vihāras* compare favourably in size with the Mirisavāṭivihāra, and are considerably bigger than the Thūpārāma or the Laṅkārāma. However, a comparison between these two monastic types only serves to emphasise the basic difference between a *vihāra* which is the product of formal and conceptual planning, preconceived and imposed on a predetermined site, and its historic precursor, the organic *monastery*. The latter has grown from age to age in response to a variety of factors, many of them perhaps contradictory. Faced with the exigencies, one might say, of the available sites and resources, the original monastic form evolved in answer to the fairly modest needs of the early monks. This left a certain skeletal form which, being sanctioned by tradition, was not easily dislocated by the inevitable changes that were brought about, not only by new religious and monastic concepts, but also by new wealth and a developing technology. The original structures were buried with each successive phase of construction, until, at their deepest, they lie some 15 ft. or so beneath the present surface, but the ghosts of the old tradition were never laid, the principle monuments never forgotten. What we see on the surface at Anurādhapura today is merely the final phase of a complex and dynamic process which extended over a period of more than ten centuries.

[1] See below, p. 180 n. 4.

In principle, the great *vihāras* of Anurādhapura may resemble the classic multi-cellular *saṅghārāma*. As in the *saṅghārāma*, we have rows of interlinked residential units arranged in a rough quadrangle, all facing inwards towards a large open area, in the centre of which stands the principle shrine, a *stūpa*. But here the resemblance ends. The Sinhalese *vihāra* is conceived on a monumental scale, the Abhayagiri alone being nearly 500 acres in extent and the Mahāvihāra-Mirisavāṭi-Jetavana complex about a mile square. The Indian *saṅghārāma* had a fairly standardised, symmetrical form. While this tendency towards a progressive formalisation is an important factor in Sinhalese architecture, too, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters, the overall plan of the Sinhalese *vihāra* in Anurādhapura retained its organic character. Thus, while the monasteries have a similar complement of major buildings, the location of these buildings varies according to the history and topography of each *vihāra*. Similarly, while the *pariveṇas* have their own element of formalisation in the nuclear *pañcāyatana* and are arranged according to a loose master plan around the central *stūpa*, each range has its own distinctive character. This can take the form, as we see in the Abhayagirivihāra, Sector I, of a highly complex interlinking of varied units, some small and some large, all carefully adjusted to the natural features of the site, ingeniously landscaped with ponds of varying shapes and sizes.[1]

The planners and architects of Anurādhapura display the imaginative strength and originality we might expect of a tradition that stretches over so long a period of time and which

[1] See figs. 6, 7. No photographs or plans can really convey the subtle relationship of architectural plan and natural site that has been achieved here, as elsewhere, by the Sinhalese architects. The site has a long ridge of rocky outcrops (Rocks A, B and C) running from north to south, in effect, separating the eastward-facing *pariveṇas* from the large northward-facing Monastery A. This ridge forms a kind of spine holding the whole complex together.

To the east, in a shallow valley between the ridge and the embankment surrounding the Laṅkārāma, lies Monastery B. *To the west*, is a large area divided into nine precincts, with subtle variations of ground level. This constitutes Monastery A and its subsidiary Monastery C. The natural drainage here is controlled by four pools, two standing at the head of the main avenue to the monastery and two by its western boundary. On the eastern flank of Monastery A, the ground slopes upwards over a low outcrop of rock to the main ridge of Rock A where there is a rock-cut *pāsāda*, probably an ancient *leṇa* subsequently turned into a rather neatly carved-out dwelling, with three chambers, and a masonry facade.

To the north, the ridge turns into a small elevated plateau on which is situated Monastery D. Against the eastern scarp of this plateau is built an elaborate entrance pavilion, the gatehouse of the monastery, with a steep flight of steps and a *hatthipākāra* or 'elephant-wall'. This entrance faces the 'Elephant Pokuṇa', the largest of the great ponds in the Abhayagiri. On the far side of this pond are the equally complex *pariveṇas* of Section III, one of which is dramatically perched on the precipitous east bank of the *pokuṇa*.

To the south of the ridge, at right angles to it, is the other large *pokuṇa*, now silted up but, as the plan shows, once a long narrow pond with asymmetrically placed rocky island, the sole survivor, perhaps, of the water gardens that must have been one of the features of these monasteries.

Finally, at the 'centre' of the whole complex, is the so-called 'Mound Ruin', occupying the highest elevation and the middle of the ridge. This is, both architecturally and topographically, the focal centre of the sector, bringing together what we might call the complex of visual and structural relationships that maintain in the various architectural units around it. The original shrine itself—I think there can be little doubt that it was a shrine—is of uncertain identity but from its size and location alone it is clear that it was a monument of considerable importance. Around the 'Mound Ruin' and the ridge are traces of terraces, paths and flights of steps which connected the *pariveṇas* to each other. (For a complete description of this sector see *ASCAR* 1911-12, pp. 18-28 and *ASC Third Prog. Rep.*, pp. 1-5.)

The whole complex is a monument to the skill and sophistication of the planning that is still manifest everywhere in the ancient Ceylonese cities and monasteries, but has received little attention so far. It is especially relevant to a study of the lost art of Sinhalese landscape- and water-gardening, better known in a secular context in the boulder-strewn area around the rock at Sigiriya and in the royal 'pleasure-gardens' there and in Anurādhapura. Although we do not imply any parallels, we might recall in this connection, the gardens associated with Buddhist (especially Zen) monasteries in Japan. It seems that a similar tradition existed in Ceylon in a highly developed form at least from the 5th to the 12th Century, that is to say from Sigiriya to the end of the great building phase at Polonnaruva.

bears at the furthest stage of its development the marks of its historic origins and continuity. How far this organic development is a parallel to similar developments in India itself, can be seen at such early Buddhist sites as the monastery of the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila[1] and the great monastery at Sāñcī.[2] At the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* the central shrine is completely encircled by a multitude of cellular chapels and votive *stūpas* of different shapes, sizes and dates. Thus, the immediate adjuncts to the central shrine are ritual structures which take a circular rather than a quadrangular orientation. However, at some distance away from this central area are the actual residential establishments, at first with very little formal design or orientation, but generally tending in fact towards a quadrangular 'encirclement' of the central shrine, although never as explicitly as in the Sinhalese *vihāras*. Similarly, the area in between is occupied by other ritual and residential buildings, representing various stages in the growth and expansion of the monastic complex. One of the major monuments in this area is the apsidal temple to the south-west of the *stūpa*.

Marshall's observations on the evolution of the Dharmarājikā monastery are particularly apposite in the light of developments that we have been studying in Anurādhapura. They present a picture of organic development that compares so closely with what seems to have happened in Ceylon that we reproduce it here at length:

> In the early days of Buddhism the *saṅghārāma* or monastery was merely a garden retreat with a number of buildings designed for the accommodation and convenience of the itinerant *bhikshus* who congregated there during the rainy season. The buildings... were detached one from another, and do not seem to have been laid out according to any particular plan or method... At the Dharmarājikā at Taxila... there is not a vestige of any residential quarters which can be assigned to a date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. That such quarters were, however, provided from the Maurya(n) period onward may be taken for granted, and it seems likely that evidence of their existence is furnished by some local copper coins of the Maurya(n) and autonomous periods which, if my interpretation of them is correct, depict the Dharmarājikā Stūpa with a row of monastic cells on either side. But however this may be, the earliest actual remains of such quarters that I have found on this site are those comprised in three ranges of buildings... on the west,... (and) on the north of the Great Stūpa... on the west of stūpa 4... There may also have been another row of apartments on the east side of the stūpa area, which have since been obliterated, but this is problematical. On the south side there seems to have been only a protecting wall.
>
> Thus, in the early part of the first century A.D., the Dharmarājikā exhibits a transitional stage in the rapidly changing character of the *saṅghārāma*. The flimsy, perishable buildings of the old garden-enclave have now been replaced by stone ones, but these have not yet taken shape as a quadrangular, self-contained monastery; they are merely dispersed in rows, in somewhat haphazard fashion, along the edge of the enclaves, while in the centre the only object of cult worship is the Great Stūpa and its ring of smaller satellites; for the day of the image-chapel has not yet arrived. That, in addition to the rows of cells or other small apartments facing on to the Great Stūpa, there were other and larger structures—assembly-halls, *maṇḍapas*, refectories etc.—in the area to the north of the stūpa-court, is virtually certain, though all traces of them have disappeared beneath the accumulated ruins of the later edifices which cover this part of the site.
>
> These later edifices are for the most part monasteries or *vihāras* of the quadrangular, walled-in type.[3]

[1] Marshall, J., 1951, pp. 230 ff. and pp. 274 ff.

[2] Marshall, J. and Foucher, A., (1947), pp. 15-17, pl. II; see also p. 1.

[3] Marshall, J., 1951, pp. 274-275. Marshall's use of the terms *vihāra* and *saṅghārāma* reverses the meanings attached to them in the present study.

I think it may be relevant to mention here that my analysis of the development of the Sinhalese *vihāras* and the conclusions that have been arrived at in the foregoing pages were made quite independently in the course of investigating the Ceylonese material and not through any attempt to impose processes seen elsewhere on local data, as my argument itself would demonstrate. In the circumstances, it was with a certain 'shock of recognition' that I read Marshall's description of the development of the Dharmarājikā site, a striking parallel from a distant corner of the subcontinent.

A similar arrangement can be seen at Sāñcī. There the central ritual area is occupied by the main *stūpa* and the adjoining temple, and a considerable distance away, to the south and the west of this central shrine precinct, are the residential *saṅghārāmas*. Between these living quarters and the central precinct are other subsidiary shrines. In both these great monasteries we have the same basic plan, in a much looser and more embryonic form, as that of the major monasteries of Anurādhapura.

The evolution of this plan as a whole, as opposed to certain constituent elements or individual building types, was a fairly organic process determined by a variety of factors at each particular site. The correspondences or parallels that exist between the Sinhalese and the Indian monasteries are not the result of any conscious borrowing or imitation but rather that, given common concepts such as the monumental *stūpa* and a certain level of technological development, a similar pattern of evolution is inevitable. The ritual and ecclesiastical framework of early Buddhism, still largely undifferentiated despite its sectarianism, posed certain architectural problems that were capable only of a limited number of solutions. The transmission of ideas from the mainland took place largely within the conceptual core. Thus, the *centric* plan of the Sinhalese *vihāra* may well have been a largely self-contained development. Certainly, in its own fashion, it seems to have carried the kind of unformed or unfinished idea that we see in Taxila and Sāñcī to a logical conclusion. The centric plan of the monastery is a seminal concept in all architectural traditions that are related to Indian Buddhist architecture, as we see in the early Japanese monasteries or the Thai *vihāra*, to choose at random. Each of these traditions has discovered and fashioned this idea in its own terms. The major monasteries of Anurādhapura are amongst the oldest historical sites associated with the Buddhist religion and in keeping with their antiquity they have developed the centric concept as a formal idea but in doing so have not surrendered the organic character of the ancient *vihāras*.

CHAPTER TWO

PABBATA VIHĀRA

A parallel development to that of the major monasteries which seems to have reached its culmination in the last phase of the Anurādhapura Period is the so-called *pabbata vihāra*, a distinct monastic type found in the outlying areas of Anurādhapura itself and in a number of provincial sites (see figs. 14-24). The distinctive and homogeneous layout of these monasteries was immediately apparent to the early excavators. As early as 1891 Bell observes of the Vijayārāma, a monastery to the north of Anurādhapura, that it was 'a typical *saṅghārāma*, or Buddhist establishment, perfect in itself, with its shrines and meeting hall, its priestly residences, bath-house, storerooms, ponds, &c'.[1] Thirty years later Hocart isolated these monasteries as a distinct type, which he listed under the term 'moated sites', by virtue of the fact that in many of the excavated examples either the entire monastery or a major part of it is surrounded by an irrigated moat.[2] The term *pabbata vihāra* (or mountain monastery), as these monasteries are now referred to by Ceylonese archaeologists, was first applied to these *vihāras* by Paranavitana and subsequently elaborated by Prematilleke.[3] The term often appears in the Chronicles and in a few inscriptions[4] and, no doubt, preserves, if only nominally, the ancient practice, both in India and Ceylon, of choosing mountain sites for the location of monastic settlements. The association of hills and mountains with religious belief and practice goes deep into human history. In developed Buddhist and Hindu architecture the symbolism of the mountain lies at the very heart of architectural thinking. That this concept, in various forms, had an important place in the Sinhalese religious sensibility is still apparent everywhere, not least in the choice of the site of several major monastic complexes in Ceylon such as Mihintaḷē, Riṭigala, etc., and, outside an exclusively Buddhist context, in such famous religious centres as Samantakūṭa or Adam's Peak[5] and Kataragama.[6] In its purest form the symbolism of the cosmic mountain is to be found in the Sinhalese *stūpa* of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.

What part these concepts played in the architectural organisation of the *pabbata vihāra* it is no longer possible to determine. But what is apparent is that the plan of the *pabbata vihāra* was of an order somewhat different from the strictly geometrical cosmology of the *temple-mountain* as we know it in Java or Cambodia. It is even possible that *pabbata* in the Sinhalese context has a topographical rather than a symbolic connotation.

Topographically, however, the term has no immediately obvious meaning when applied to the monasteries under consideration. Generally, these *vihāras* are not laid out on elevated

[1] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 4.
[2] *CJSG* II, pp. 10-12, 87-88.
[3] *ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 22-23; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 77-80.
[4] Specifically at Puliyankuḷam and Pācīnatissapabbata (*EZ* I, pp. 182 ff.; *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 22), and also at Rāmakālē, which an inscription of the 10th Century identifies as the Mahānāpav-vehera or Mahānāgapabbatavihāra (*ASCAR* 1899, p. 5; *UHC* p. 396; see also *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 41). Despite the inscription, the remains at this site near Sīgiriya have not so far been associated with a monastery of the *pabbata vihāra* type. However, even though it is largely unexcavated, a cursory examination of these ruins clearly shows that this was no less than a large monastery of this type.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1958, pp. 11-28.
[6] Wirz. P., 1966.

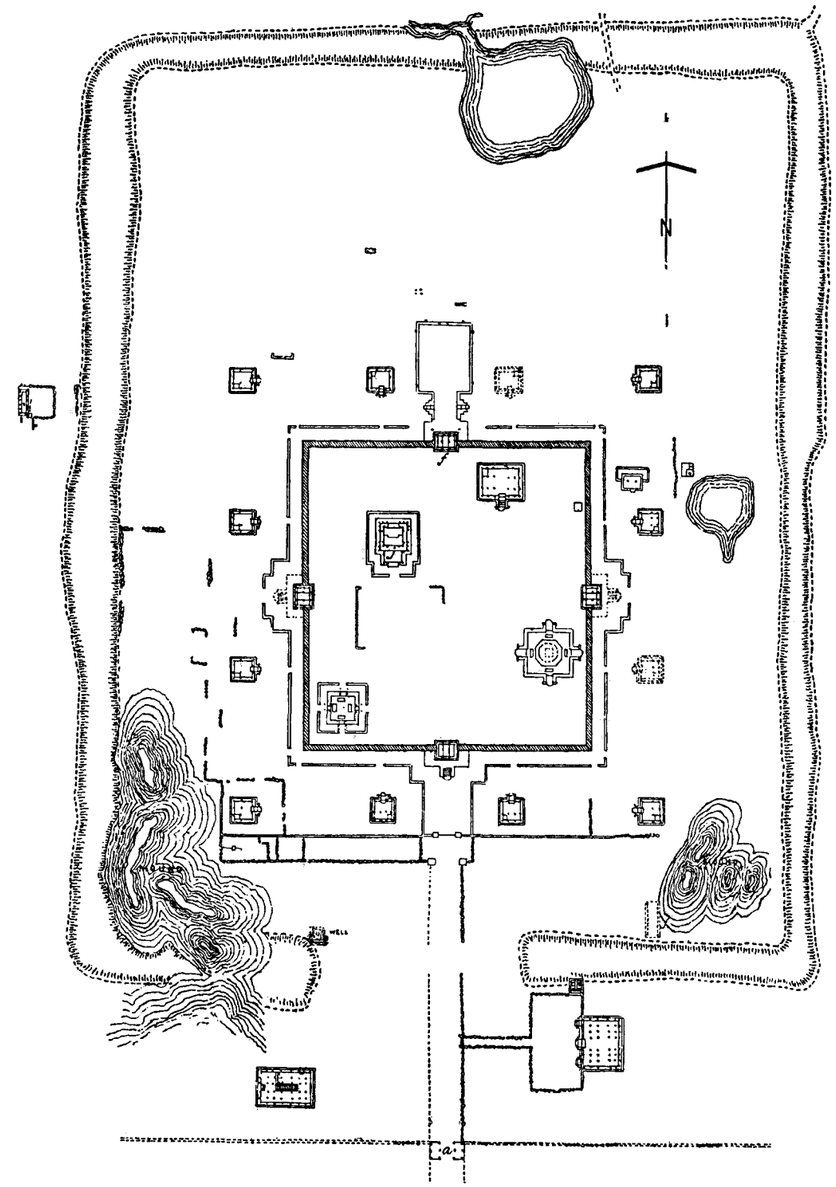


Fig. 14. Vijayārāma

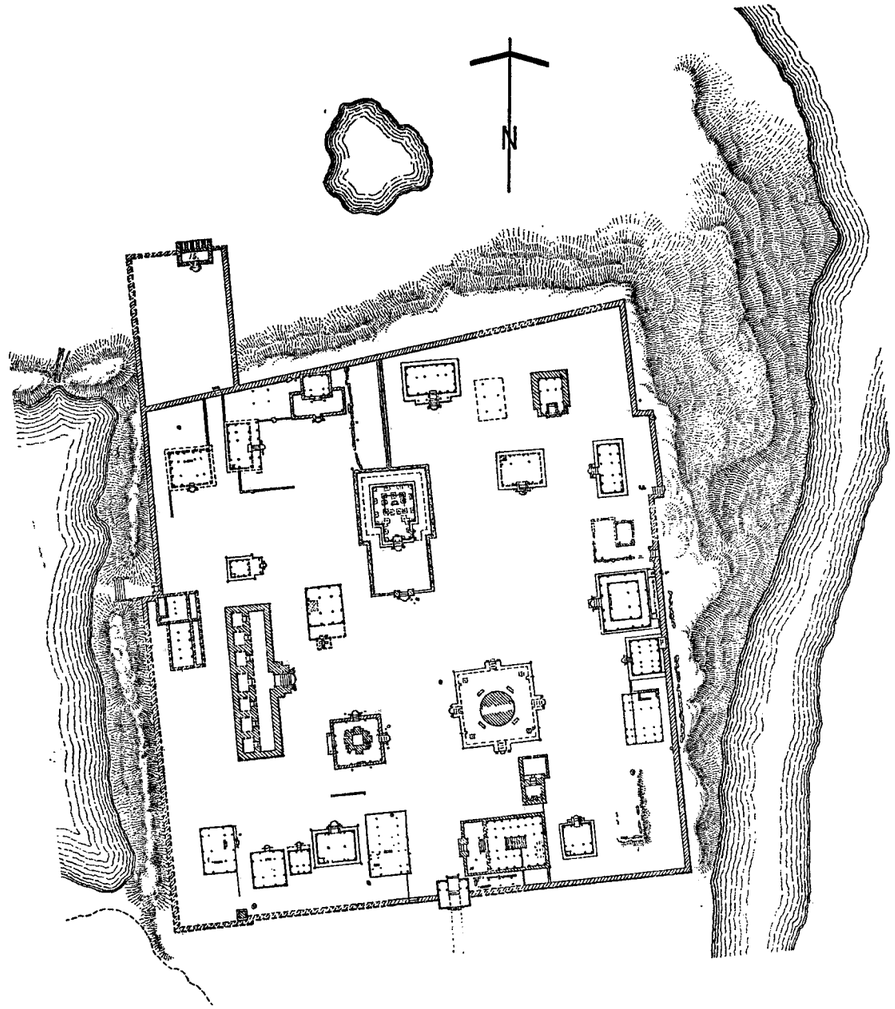


Fig. 15. Pankuliya

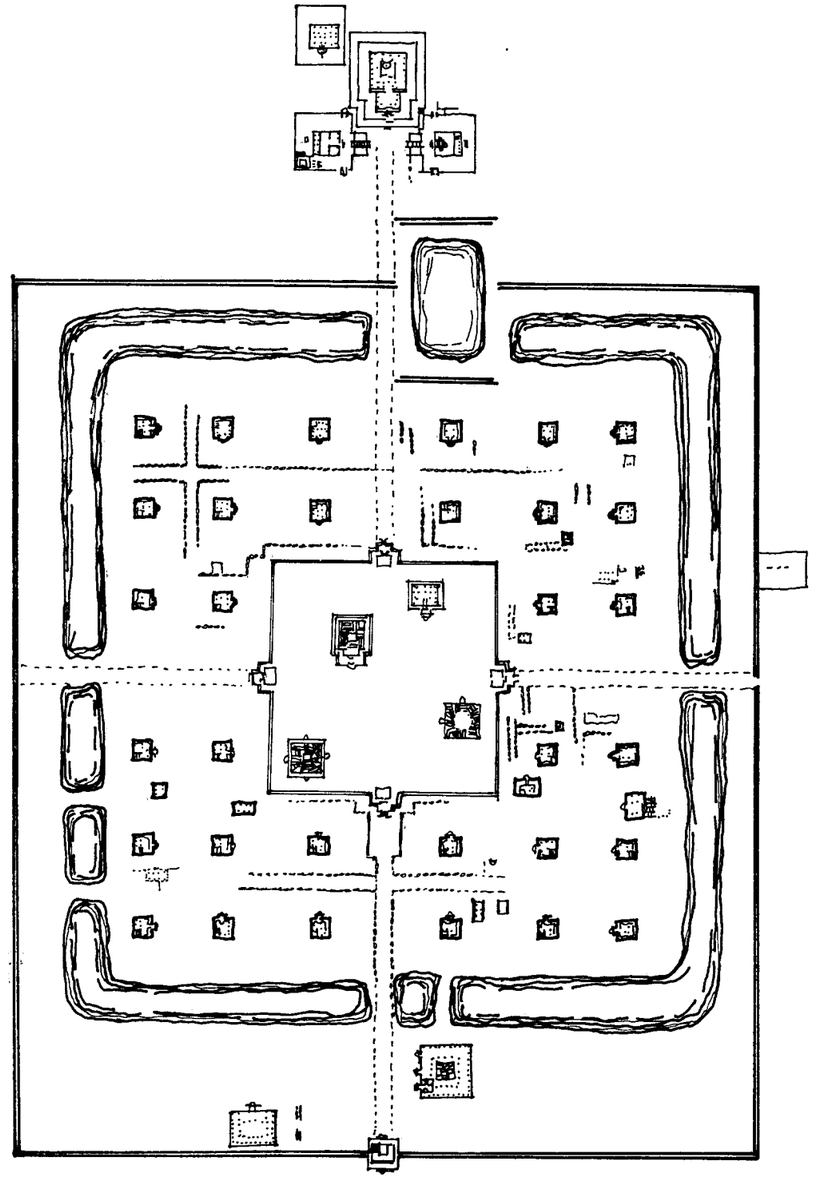


Fig. 16. Puliyankuḷam

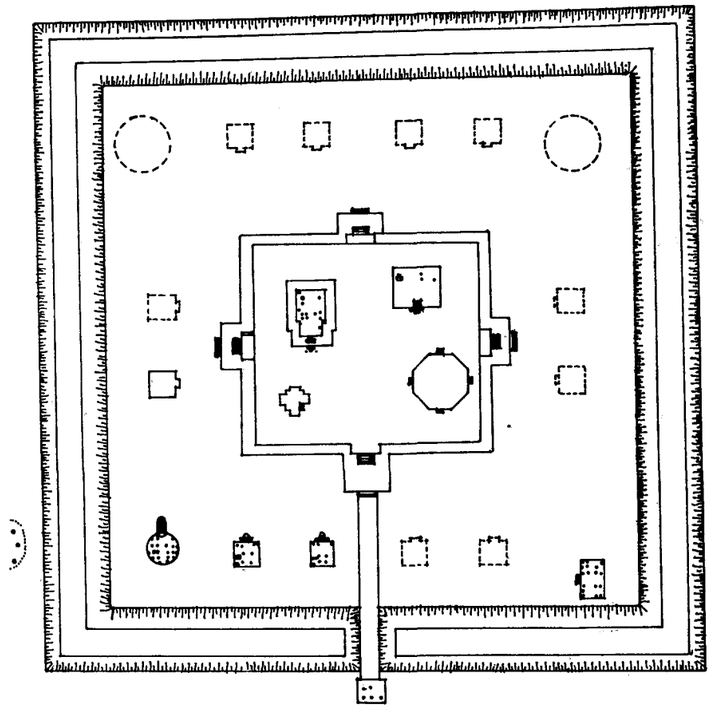


Fig. 17. Pācīnatissapabbata

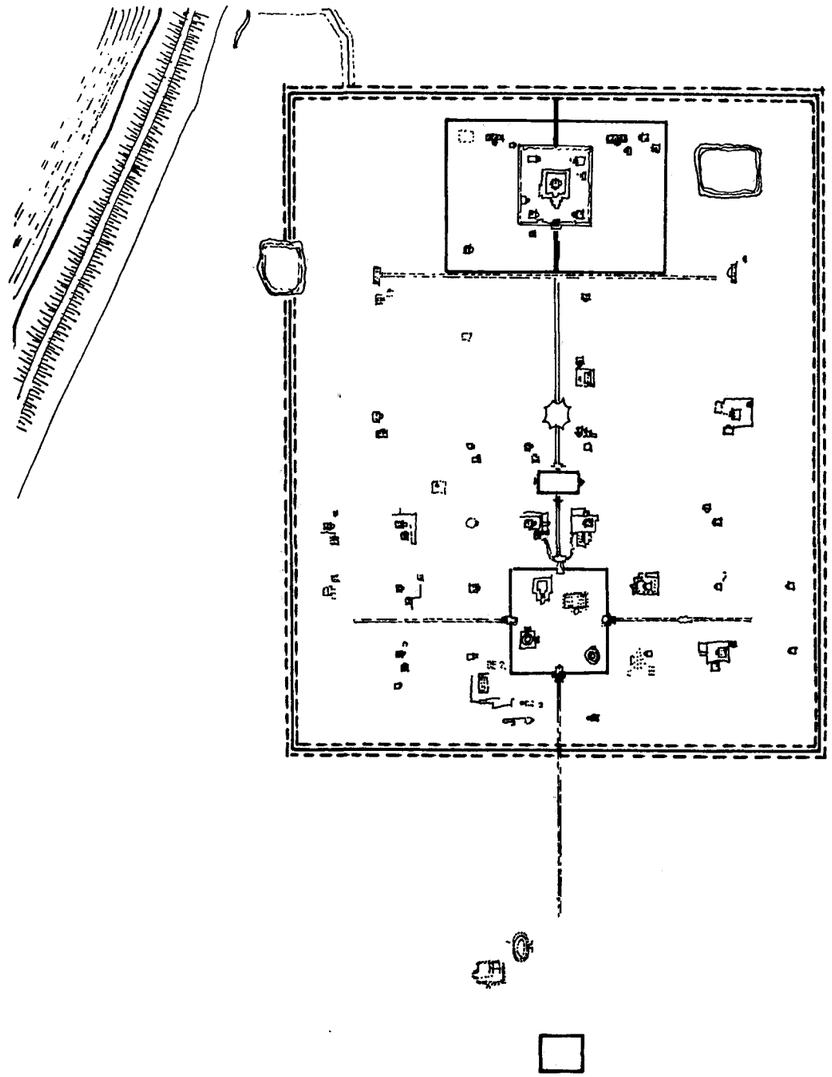


Fig. 18. Toluvila

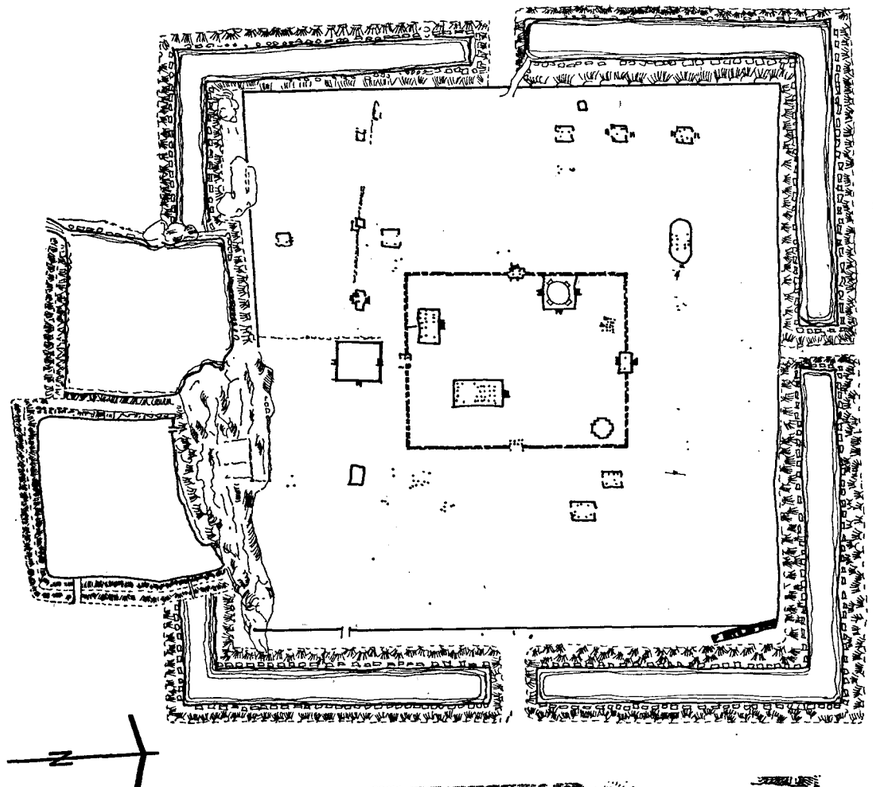


Fig. 20. Magulmahāvihāra (Ruhuṇumahāvihāra)

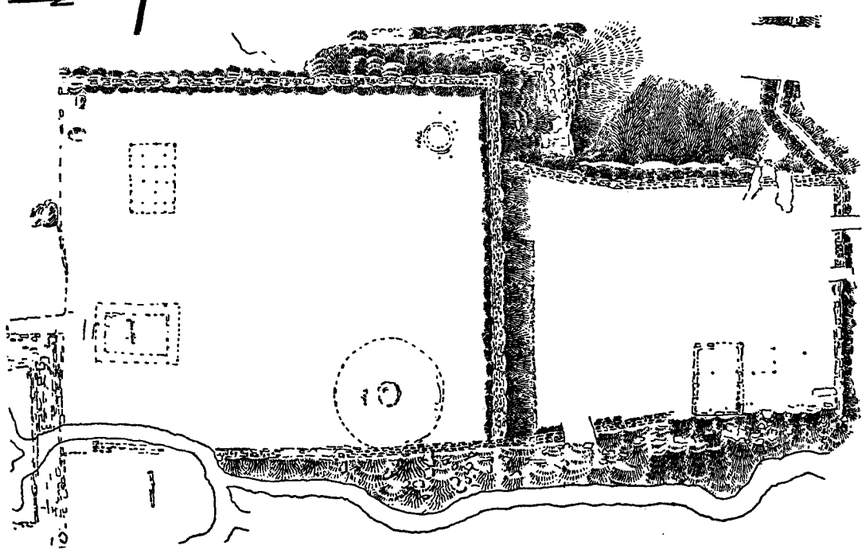


Fig. 19. Kaḷudiyāpokuṇa (Dakkhiṇagirivihāra)

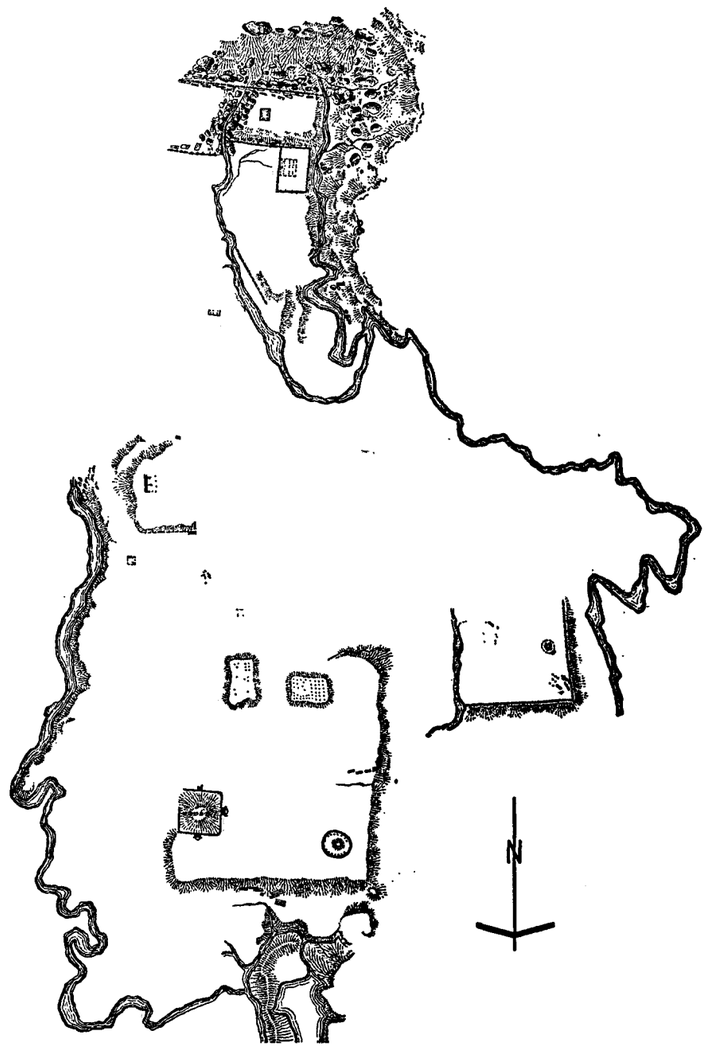


Fig. 21. Māṇikdeṇa

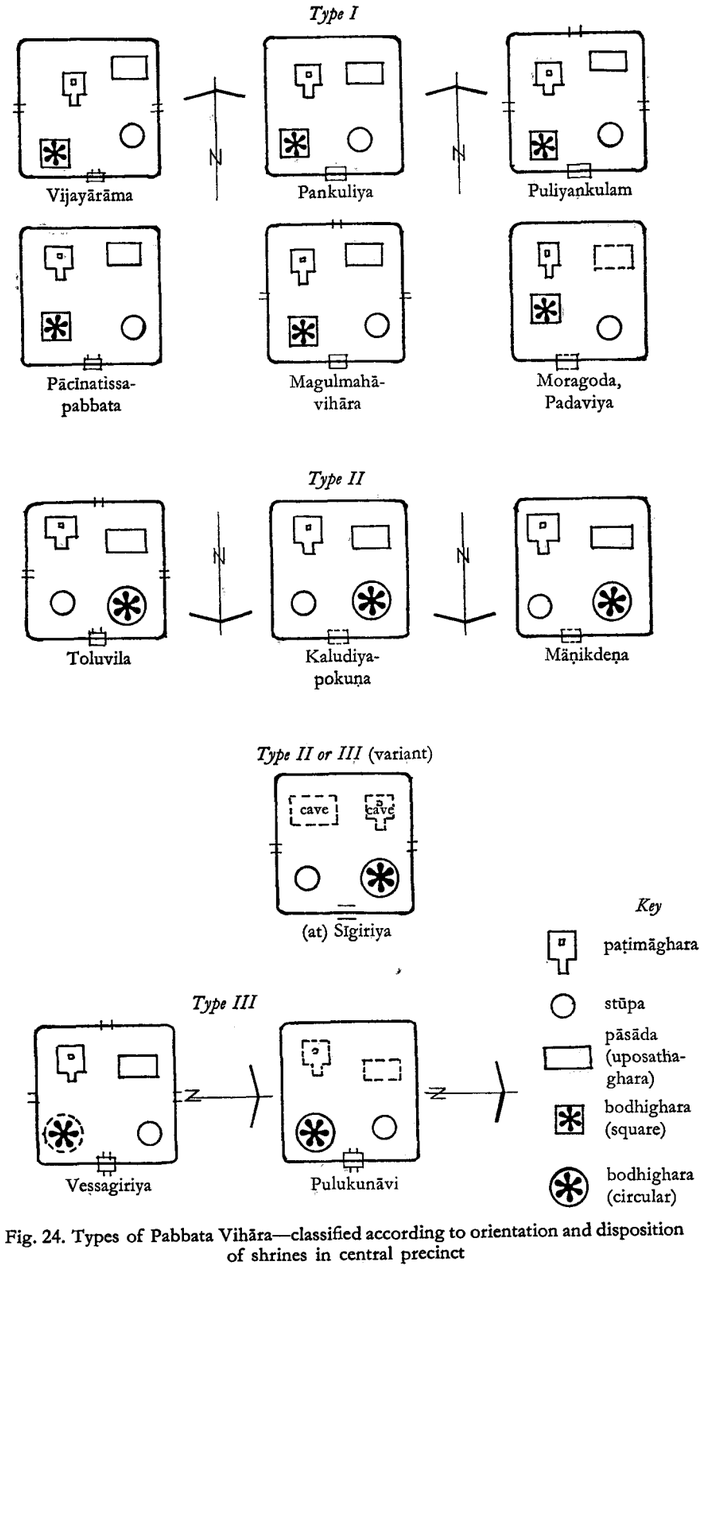


Fig. 24. Types of Pabbata Vihāra—classified according to orientation and disposition of shrines in central precinct

ground nor terraced in any way that deviates from usual Sinhalese architectural practice. The explanation may lie in an earlier convention when monasteries such as these were in fact situated on hills or mountains in forested areas. The *pabbata vihāras* are essentially suburban or provincial. They are not to be found in their pure form within the strictly urban complexes of Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva or, as far as we can judge, the southern capital, Tissamahārāma. A distinction between urban and rural monasticism is implicit in earlier Sinhalese monastic architecture. We can well imagine a marked difference in character between the freestanding monastic buildings of early Anurādhapura and the numerous cave-dwellings of the period B.C. and the early centuries A.D. which have survived in a number of largely provincial sites. This differentiation is characterised in the terms *grāmavāsin* and *vanavāsin*, indicating a city-dwelling sect and a forest-dwelling sect. In time, with the increase in population and the growth of towns and villages, this distinction may well have become rather blurred,[1] and the *pabbata vihāra*, now a suburban and provincial rather than a forest or mountain monastery, retained its original connotation only in name rather than in architectural form. As we shall see, there is no basic difference between the *pabbata vihāra* and the major urban monasteries, either in their overall plan or in the types of buildings they contain.

The *pabbata vihāra* has been the subject of a study by Prematilleke and Silva, who published their findings at some length in a recent paper.[2]

Our basic disagreement with Prematilleke and Silva concerns their observations relating to the schematic nature of these monasteries and the implication that Mahāyānist influence played some part in this process of schematisation. There is, of course, no doubt that these monastic complexes display a 'pre-planned' scheme. Whether this schematisation stands, as Prematilleke and Silva would have it, as a distinct and isolated form in contrast to 'the numerous Buddhist monastic ruins of Ceylon found at Anurādhapura and elsewhere' which 'generally do not show a pre-planned scheme as such but are distributed irregularly around the colossal *dāgābas*' is a matter which needs more careful scrutiny.

It is true that the organic or evolutionary nature of the major monasteries of Anurādhapura precludes the possibility that the planners of those *vihāras* were in a position to completely reconstruct a particular monastery according to a preconceived plan, to begin, as it were, with a clean sheet. As we have seen, however, the organisation of those monasteries was not entirely fortuitous. Certain clear patterns emerge and of these the most important here is the presence of the *stūpa*, the *uposathaghara*, the *bodhighara* and, less obviously, the image-house as the four dominant features of a *vihāra*, surrounded on three if not four sides by residential units. This, in essence, is the same scheme as that adopted in the *pabbata vihāra*. Admittedly, in the major *vihāras* the four principal elements are not always present nor do they always display a strict pattern of orientation. The pre-eminence of the *stūpa*, its massive physical presence alone regardless of its historic value, could scarcely be ignored in any reorganisation and the relative importance of the other elements varied to a greater or lesser degree according to the particular traditions and architectural history of each monastery. In the *pabbata vihāras* we are dealing with monasteries located in suburban or rural areas, on sites, which by virtue of their size and their lack of historical or mythological antecedents can scarcely have exercised the same restraints on reconstruction and remodelling as the four great *vihāras* of Anurādhapura, the epicentres of Sinhalese Buddhism. In other words, it was possible in these provincial

[1] See below, pp. 70–71.

[2] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968. My description and interpretation of this monastic type draws upon the systematic account presented by these authors.

monasteries to begin an entirely new phase of construction, even if there were earlier buildings on the site. This is equally true of the major monasteries if we look at the individual parts of these monasteries rather than at the overall plan. The *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, the individual residential unit of the major monasteries, shows as precise and 'pre-planned' a scheme as the *pabbata vihāra*. Thus, not only is the plan of the *pabbata vihāra* anticipated in the major monasteries but the latter display as high a degree of schematisation as we might reasonably expect of institutions that have a history continuing over a period of ten centuries or more.

The plan of the *pabbata vihāra* does not emerge in a ready-made form at a given point of time. Between the highly symmetrical planning of the monasteries at Puliyankulam and Toluvila (see figs. 16, 18) and the untidy cluster of buildings at Pankuliya (see. fig. 15)[1] lies an entire history of development, if not in time at least in the degree of formalisation. As we shall see, it is in the monastery at Pankuliya, where the formal elements of the *pabbata vihāra* plan are least apparent, that we see how closely this pattern approaches that of the major *vihāras*. The plan of the *pabbata vihāra*, whose essential design is the existence of a sacred precinct, containing a *stūpa*, an *uposathaghara*, a *bodhighara* and an image-house, surrounded by residential and other ancillary buildings (see. figs. 23, 24), is in fact the archetypal form of the Sinhalese monastery throughout the entire history of Buddhist monasticism in Ceylon. The *pabbata vihāra* is thus not a peculiar or specialised monastic type but the archetypal monastic plan expressed in the clearest and the most formal terms.

Examining a number of unexcavated or partially excavated sites in the North-Central Province and elsewhere, all presumably of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods, it seemed to me that a third or more of the sites I visited were *pabbata vihāras*, or at least displayed some of the basic features of this monastic type. Thus, with the exception of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* and those sites where historical or topographical factors intervene, one might go as far as saying that the *pabbata vihāra* represents the *typical* Sinhalese monastery. Even if it is not possible to be so definite as yet, there is no doubt that the type is more widely prevalent than would appear from the number identified so far.

Inevitably, this makes it necessary to question the general implications of Prematilleke's and Silva's contention that Mahāyānist influence may have played some part in the layout of these monasteries. They, themselves, qualify the use of the term 'Mahāyāna' in the Ceylonese context, observing that the existence of certain 'esoteric practices and teachings, however, did not succeed in setting up a strict Mahāyāna order in Ceylon' and that 'even though these monasteries display a well organised community life apparently due to Mahāyānist inspiration, yet the ideal of the *vanavāsī* (forest-dweller) seems to have prevailed throughout'.[2]

Although this is scarcely the place to deal with such matters at length,[3] as they are not merely questions of terminology but have some bearing on Sinhalese monasticism and monastic architecture, it is perhaps necessary to examine briefly the implications of the terms 'vanavāsī' and 'Māhāyana' in the Ceylonese context. The *vanavāsins* or *araññavāsins*, on the one hand, and the *grāmavāsins*, on the other, are two counterposed monastic tendencies. As Rahula observes, this distinction cuts across the three sectarian divisions or *nikāyas* of the Sinhalese *saṅgha*, headed respectively by the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra.[1] It represents two different *classes* of monks which in later times became merely two different lines of pupillary descent, with no basic differences in their traditions or monastic character. Contrary to what Prematilleke and Silva maintain, there is nothing to suggest, either in the literary history or the architectural remains, that the Abhayagiri *nikāya* had any particular preponderance of *araññavāsins*. The *Mahāvaṁsa* specifically mentions the *araññavāsins* of the Mahāvihāra, just as it mentions the *Paṁsukūlikas* of both the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri.[2] If we attribute the *pabbata vihāras* to the *arañña* tradition it can only be on the basis of their rural rather than urban origins. However, it would seem that by the Late Anurādhapura Period, if not earlier, these *vihāras* were no longer serving the purely monastic needs of an isolated or eremetical sect but also the religious needs of the community at large, as the conventional Ceylonese temple does today, both in town and country. If we ask ourselves which monastic type in Anurādhapura might have represented an ascetic tradition it is the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* rather than the *pabbata vihāra* that comes to mind.[3]

The study of the history of Buddhist monasticism is as neglected as the part played by certain 'unorthodox' Buddhist doctrines in the historical development of Buddhism in Ceylon. Although a substantial part of the available historical material relating to the influx of new ideas, from the founding of the Abhayagirivihāra in the 1st Century B.C. onwards, and the presence of various elements pertaining to the 'New Wisdom School'[4] or 'Mahāyāna' within the essentially 'Old Wisdom School' or 'Theravāda' tradition in Ceylon, has been brought together by a number of scholars, no real attempt has been made to analyse the complex and composite character of Sinhalese Buddhism.[5] How, we might ask, were these new elements, such as the cult of the Bodhisattva, absorbed into the existing framework and how were they distributed amongst the various *nikāyas* and *vihāras*? What effect did they have on the monastic character, the ritual, the art and architecture? What was the true nature of Sinhalese Buddhism as it adjusted itself to these new concepts, in what degree were they absorbed or rejected and how did the mainstream of the Sinhalese tradition evolve from age to age, both under its own momentum and in response to these new influences from abroad? These are the questions that have yet to be asked, even if they cannot be fully answered, in any appraisal of Sinhalese Buddhism.

There is no short reply to these questions, but as far as we can see, Mahāyānism was an overlay or intrusive element which entered Sinhalese Buddhism from time to time, and to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the particular flexibility or orthodoxy of the different *nikāyas*.[6] Generally, the Abhayagirivāsins together with the monks of the Jetavana *nikāya* are presented as being more amenable to change and innovation, while the Mahāvihāra is held to

[1] See below pp. 76 ff.
[2] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 63-64.
[3] The nature of Sinhalese monasticism in the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods has scarcely been studied exhaustively. The few important studies to date include Rahula, W., 1956, Adikaram, E. W., 1953, and Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1965.

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 195-197.
[2] *Mhv*, 52.21-22, 47.66, 51.52.
[3] See below, pp. 102, 116-118, 130 ff.
[4] Conze, E., 1963, pp. 119 ff. (see also pp. 89 ff. for 'Old Wisdom School').
[5] Apart from a handful of articles on isolated examples of Mahāyānistic art, architecture, etc., the literature on Mahāyānism in Ceylon does not include much more than Paranavitana's pioneering essay on the subject in 1928, and two recent works, Dohanian, D. K., 1965, and Mudiyanse, N., 1967; see also *UHC* pp. 245 ff., 378 ff., 563 ff., 745; Obeyesekere, G., 1965, pp. 139 ff.; Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1965, pp. 302-348.
[6] The association of Vedic, Brahmanical and local gods and theistic or animistic cults with Buddhism may be seen as an analogous process. The complex and confusing history of religious beliefs in Ceylon is well exemplified in the genealogy of the popular Ceylonese deity, Saman, the God of Samantakūṭa or Adam's Peak, which is also venerated for its Footprint of the Buddha. Paranavitana has identified Saman with Yama (see Paranavitana, S., 1958) while van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has argued that although aspects of Yama have played a part "in the formation of the character of Saman", Saman is more closely associated with the Mahāyānist deity Samantabhadra (see van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E., 1965, pp. 259-261).

be the centre of the more orthodox and conservative tradition. This orthodox bias of the Mahāvihāra is reflected largely in the chronicles such as the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the *Nikāya-Saṁgraha* which were writings issued from the Mahāvihāra. This does not mean that new ideas and practices did not enter the tradition represented by the Mahāvihāra—it would appear, for instance, that image-worship began in the Mahāvihāra[1]—but rather that the basically Theravāda orientation of Ceylonese Buddhism was never overthrown by heterodox elements which were either absorbed or discarded from time to time. Thus, when we speak of Mahāyānism in Ceylon we cannot yet be sure whether we are speaking of a distinct and separate tradition that temporarily supplanted the mainstream of the Theravāda in certain sectors of Sinhalese Buddhism, or whether we are merely seeing certain Mahāyānist elements manifesting themselves in those monasteries whose basic Theravādin character remained unchanged, but which were, at the same time, more amenable to new and heterodox ideas. The latter seems the more likely alternative both in any general consideration of Sinhalese Buddhism as well as in the more specific context of the *pabbata vihāra*.

The hypothesis that Mahāyānist influence had an important part to play in the formal aspects of the *pabbata vihāra* plan is intimately connected with the theory that these *pabbata vihāras* were monasteries under the patronage of the Abhayagiri.[2] The 'literary and archaeological evidence' that Prematilleke and Silva quote, in this connection, only establishes that the monastery at Puliyankulam and possibly the Pācīnatissapabbata were connected with the Abhayagiri. In the light of the observations that we have made so far concerning the origins, the character and the distribution of this monastic type, any special connection between the Abhayagiri and the *pabbata vihāra* is seriously thrown into doubt. Similarly, the association of this monastic plan—as opposed to individual monasteries themselves—with Mahāyāna has to be questioned. There is no doubt, of course, that there are distinct Mahāyānist elements associated with at least two of the *pabbata vihāras*. The 9th Century copper plates from the *stūpa* at Vijayārāma, containing invocations of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā, etc., and the slabs from Puliyankulam referring to *dharmadhātu*[3] reveal the 'Mahāyānist affiliations' of these monasteries. But whether this Mahāyānist element was widespread in all *pabbata vihāras*, whether it had any special connection with this monastic type and had any bearing on the architectural character of these monasteries are all questions that have to be asked.

The answer may well lie in the architectural character of the Abhayagiri monastery itself. There is clear evidence that the *pariveṇas* in the Abhayagiri were generally more eleborate and had more ritualistic elements in their architecture than those elsewhere.[4] But, architecturally, the difference between the Abhayagiri and the other major monasteries only applies to the degree of elaboration, to the complexity of the layout, rather than to basic concepts of plan or form: a difference of degree, not of kind. If architecture is an index to religious character, then the Abhayagiri differs from the other *vihāras* in its 'richer' and more 'ornate' ritualism. This is not to imply that the Mahāvihāra and the Jetavana were themselves devoid of ritualistic elements. There were in fact elements in these other monasteries, such as the monumental *geḍigē* in the Jetavana, which, as it were, went a long way to redress the ritualistic imbalance. Again, the Iṅdikaṭusāya monastery, where the most famous Mahāyānist documents in Ceylon were found,[5] is in fact a *pañcāyatana* little different from those found in all the major monasteries

[1] See below, p. 210 n. 3.
[2] Prematilleke, L., and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 62-63.
[3] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 4; *ASC Sixth Prog. Rep.*, pp. 12-15; *CJSG* II, pp. 45-46; *EZ* IV, p. 74.
[4] See below, pp. 96-98.
[5] *CJSG* I, pp. 166-167; Paranavitana, S., 1928, pp. 43-44.

of Anurādhapura. The only indication, if any, of its special Mahāyānist character is the extra complement of shrines it carries, a feature which also appears in many *pañcāyatanas* in the Abhayagiri. Thus, the principle which emerges from these examples seems to be that, as far as the architecture of a monastery is concerned, cult peculiarities merely require marginal additions or variations, not basic changes or new planning concepts.

The relevance of this to the *pabbata vihāra* is immediately apparent. We do not know whether the Mahāyānist element in Sinhalese Buddhism was more dominant in the *pabbata vihāra* than in any other monastic type and there is no evidence to show that the *pabbata vihāra* stood out as a particularly deviant form from the mainstream of the Sinhalese architectural tradition. There seems little reason to single it out as a type subject to a greater Mahāyānist influence or inspiration than any other. On the contrary, it would be more reasonable to argue that it was the natural product, the culmination even, of the main lines of Sinhalese architectural development, a part of the general process of increasing formalisation in the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period. But before we discuss the implications of this statement any further, it is necessary to examine the general characteristics of the *pabbata vihāra* in some detail.

Prematilleke and Silva list six *pabbata vihāras* in Anurādhapura—Vijayārāma, Pankuliya, Puliyankulam, Pācīnatissapabbata, Toluvila and Vessagiriya—and two provincial sites—Kaḷudiyapokuṇa or Dakkhiṇagirivihāra near Sīgiriya and Ruhuṇumahāvihāra or Magulmahāvihāra in Ruhuṇa (see figs. 12, 14-20).[1] To this we may add four other published sites which have not been hitherto identified as *pabbata vihāras*, the monastery around the so-called *vaṭādāge* at Māṇikdeṇa,[2] Pulukunāvi in the Gal Oya valley,[3] a group of shrines at the foot of the rock at Sīgiriya[4] and another group at Moragoda, Padaviya[5] (see figs. 21, 22, 24). The basic feature of these monasteries is a large rectangular precinct or sacred quadrangle which contains the four major shrines, a *stūpa*, a *bodhighara*, a *paṭimāghara* and a *pāsāda* which has been identified as the *uposathaghara*. The precinct itself is a large raised terrace supported by a stone or brick retaining wall and entered by a single entrance or four cardinally oriented entrances in the centre of each side. The dimensions of this precinct vary considerably but on average measure around 350 ft. by 300 ft.

The disposition of the four shrines follows certain regular patterns, each shrine occupying one of the four quadrants of the precinct. The variations in these patterns are, by and large, systematised and we are in a position to classify the monasteries into three distinct types on the basis of these variations (see figs. 23, 24). Type I, which includes Vijayārāma, Pankuliya, Puliyankulam, Pācīnatissapabbata, Magulmahāvihāra and Moragoda (see figs. 14-17, 20-24), has the main entrance to the quadrangle from the south, with the *stūpa* in the south-east quadrant, the *bodhighara* in the south-west, the image-house in the north-west and the *uposathaghara* in the north-east. Type II, represented by Toluvila, Dakkhiṇagirivihāra and Māṇikdeṇa (see figs. 18, 19, 21, 24), has the main entrance to the north, the *stūpa* in the north-east,

[1] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 61-62. With the exception of Vessagiriya and the Pācīnatissapabbata, the monasteries in Anurādhapura were all excavated by Bell, mostly in the first ten years of the Archaeological Survey. Detailed accounts of these excavations can be found in the *Progress Reports* and in the *Annual Reports* from 1890 to 1899. Vessagiriya was excavated by Bell between 1906 and 1912. The Pācīnatissapabbata was investigated by Paranavitana—see *ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 22-25. For the monastery near Sīgiriya see *CJSG* II, pp. 87-88. There is no published account of the Magulmahāvihāra apart from a few brief references in *ASCAR* 1926-27 and 1964-65 and a plan in *CJSG* II.
[2] *ASCAR* 1908, pp. 13-14 and plan; see also *ASCAR* 1960, p. 77, 1960-61, p. 28.
[3] *ASCAR* 1961-62, pp. 77-78.
[4] *ASCAR* 1899, pp. 6-7.
[5] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 10; *ASC Seventh Prog. Rep.*, p. 43 and plan.

the *paṭimāghara* in the south-east, the *uposathaghara* in the south-west and the *bodhighara* in the north-west. An important distinction between these two types, apart from the fundamental change in orientation, is the interchanged positions of the *stūpa* and the *bodhighara* and a basic variation in the design of the latter. In both Types I and II the image-house and the *pāsāda* are at the upper end of the quadrangle, with the image-house to the left and the *pāsāda* to the right. The *stūpa* and the *bodhighara* are at the lower end of the quadrangle—that is to say, nearest the main entrance. In Type I the *stūpa* is on the right and the *bodhighara* is on the left while in Type II these positions are reversed. This difference is emphasised by the fact that the *bodhighara* in Type I is square while that in Type II is circular.[1]

Type III is an uncertain category and by no means exhausts all the possibilities; there may well be other types that have yet to be discovered. The two monasteries which exemplify Type III are the partially excavated sites at Vessagiriya and Pulukunāvi (see figs. 12, 22). Here, the monasteries face east while the disposition of the shrines seems to be the same as in Type I, allowing for the difference in orientation. At the same time the *bodhighara* seems to be of the circular type as in Type II. This is apparent at Pulukunāvi, where the *bodhighara*, or the so-called *āsanaghara*, is basically of the circular type,[2] but not at Vessagiriya, where the corresponding monument is still a shapeless mound covered over with grass.

The monastery to the west of the rock at Sīgiriya[3] does not fit into any of these schemes, although topographical reasons may well explain this unusual arrangement. Here, the image-house and the *pāsāda* are cave-shrines—Caves 9 and 10 respectively—and the usual arrangement has been reversed, with the image-house to the right, when entering from the main entrance, and the *uposathaghara* to the left. This may well have been dictated by the character of the caves themselves rather than a pre-determined plan. The freestanding *bodhighara* lies opposite the image-house, as in Types I and III, but to the right of the main entrance, as in Type II. The shrine itself is circular as in Types II and III. By the orientation of the two cave-shrines, as well as the general layout, we can assume that the monastery faced west, in which respect it resembles no other identified *pabbata vihāra*. Considering the unusual location of this monastery and the topography of the site we may tentatively classify this as an unorthodox example of either Type II or III.

Significantly, there seems to be no attempt in any of these *vihāras* to place these central shrines in a strictly symmetrical relationship to each other, of the kind that is familiar in Mahāyānist or Brahmanical temple complexes. There is, so to speak, no strict ritual co-ordination but rather a more casual arrangement within the quadrant scheme, very much in keeping with the simpler, more organic Theravāda character of Sinhalese Buddhism, rather than the formal patterns of Mahāyānist architecture. Whatever schematisation exists is more a kind of architectural tidiness of mind than a cosmological geometry like that of the Central Javanese or Cambodian shrines. This is not to imply, of course, that there may not be some ritual or conventional logic in the positioning of each shrine within its own quadrant. As Prematilleke and Silva observe:

> The *paṭimāghara* in the second quadrant generally takes a more central position, almost directly facing the visitor on entering the quadrangle from the main entrance but still lying within its own quadrant. The *bodhighara* in turn takes a position more towards the south-west corner of its own quadrant. The *stūpa* positions itself close to the eastern entrance but still within its own quadrant. Likewise, the *uposathaghara* takes a position closer to the northern entrance.[1]

[1] See below, pp. 167 ff.; see esp. p. 173.
[2] See below, pp. 176 ff., 180.
[3] *ASCAR* 1899, pp. 6-7.

This is more a general tendency than a precise and measured arrangement and, in fact, only seems to apply to monasteries of Type I. In Type II, on the other hand, the *uposathaghara* takes a more prominent position in line with the image-house, and sometimes, as at Toluvila, it is even more centrally placed and closer to the main entrance than the image-house. It is easy enough to observe and categorise these arrangements but more difficult to ascertain whether they had some functional or ritual purpose behind them or were merely architectural conventions. In the words of the authors quoted above:

> The reason for this particular arrangement which is obviously non-symmetrical, may be explained from functional, aesthetic, religious or superstitious points of view. The functional aspect may be viewed on the basis of the convenience of the devotees moving from one shrine to another... The aesthetic consideration may be the aspect of one viewing the four buildings as a unit of artistic composition. The religious aspect may perhaps be that the buildings had to be so positioned that the worshipper moved from one shrine to another in a certain sequence of worshipping the bodhi tree, the image of Buddha and finally the *stūpa*. The superstitious consideration, too, may have demanded that these buildings have a non-symmetrical accent.[2]

Of the actual shrines themselves there is little that we need say here as they are all shrines which are familiar enough in the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period. There is no ambiguity whatsoever in identifying the *stūpa* and the *paṭimāghara* which, in general, display the usual characteristics of these monuments. Prematilleke and Silva have suggested that the *stūpas* in the *pabbata vihāras* have certain distinctive features such as an octagonal base and a lotus petal moulding at the base of the dome, indicating that these might be a special type of Sinhalese *stūpa* or *dāgāba* of the *padmākāra* type. They also point out that the basal terraces of these monuments are not processional paths as in the monumental *stūpas* but merely heavy base-mouldings. Whether these peculiarities did in fact apply to the *stūpas* in all *pabbata vihāras* it is no longer possible to determine from the one or two examples that have provided this data.

The *pāsāda* has been identified by Paranavitana and by Prematilleke and Silva as the *uposathaghara*.[3] Although no argument has been offered in support of this identification, there is no reason to reject this hypothesis. On the contrary, we have already seen that the *uposathaghara* is one of the three or four major buildings which constitute the central monastic institutions of the Sinhalese *vihāras* from ancient times and we shall see that a *pāsāda*, in every respect similar to that in the *pabbata vihāra*, is the central feature of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, and that this building too may well have been an *uposathaghara*.[4] Similar arguments can be adduced to

[1] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 64-65.
[2] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, p. 65.
[3] *ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 23-24; Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 65, 67-68.
[4] See below, p. 94. The *pāsādas* in the *pabbata vihāras* are mostly of Category D with some exceptions: Māṇikdeṇa has a *pāsāda* of the largest type, Category A, those at Toluvila and Vessagiriya fall into Category C, while the structure at Pankuliya belongs to Category E (for the various categories of *pāsādas* see below, pp. 261 ff.). Paranavitana and other Ceylonese archaeologists have interpreted the *pāsāda* as a type of image-house. The invalidity of this view and the question of images installed in *pāsādas* and *uposathagharas* is discussed at length below (see pp. 86 ff., 267 ff.). Prematilleke and Silva note the presence of *sīmā* or sacred boundary stones around the *uposathaghara* in the *pabbata vihāra*. It must be pointed out, however, that, although the *sīmā* are a characteristic feature of an *uposathaghara*, in the Anurādhapura Period they are not restricted to these monuments but are also attached to a variety of shrines and even residential buildings such as the *kuṭī*. Similarly, one cannot agree with these writers that the stone-paved corner in the *pāsādas* was a cupboard for books or that the stone paving along the inner periphery of the structure was a seat or bench. We have

establish the identity of the *bodhighara*.[1] The existence of such monuments as the *uposathaghara* and the *bodhighara*, both characteristic of the early Buddhism of the Old Wisdom School, confirms the continuing Theravādin traditions in the monasteries of the Late Anurādhapura Period, despite the intrusion of Mahāyānist elements into their cult practices.

The shrines of the sacred quadrangle, however, are not the only part of the *pabbata vihāra* which serves the ritual needs of the monastery. Either directly attached to the sacred precinct or joined to it by a wide avenue or processional path is another major shrine or complex of shrines which, in at least two instances, becomes a very prominent feature of the monastery. This shrine is always placed at the back of the quadrangle, that is to say, on the side which is opposite the main entrance. The presence of this 'shrine complex', as it has been called by Prematilleke and Silva, is not easy for the archaeologist to explain. It is not only its significance, its ritual raison-d'être, that is difficult to understand, but also its actual form and character. This is only partly due to the fact that this shrine complex has not been properly excavated except in the Anurādhapura monasteries. Even if we limit ourselves to the Anurādhapura examples we see that this structure was a new or intrusive feature added to the *pabbata vihāra* at some stage of its development. It does not exist at all in the Pācīnatissapabbata, in spite of the fact that this monastery displays a neat and fully evolved plan and cannot be merely a transitional stage in the evolution of the *pabbata vihāra* plan. One can only explain this by saying that the builders of the Pācīnatissapabbata did not choose to include the innovation in their scheme—perhaps reflecting some ideological differences between this *vihāra* and those in which this feature is prominent. At Pankuliya, which seems to represent a half-formed and apparently early stage in the development of the *pabbata vihāra* plan, it is difficult to decide whether this feature exists. It might be suggested that either Building 11 or Building 12 represents an embryonic version of this shrine (see fig. 15). It is at Vijayārāma (see fig. 14) that we first see this building appearing in a rudimentary form. Here, it is no more than a large, hypaethral hall with an elaborately decorated plinth and half-wall in heavy but extremely well-finished stonework. There are no signs of any other structure beside the plinth and half-wall of the perimeter, and several *makara*-headed water-spouts in the wall indicate that the hall was entirely unprotected from the elements. The sculptured decoration on this wall, whose plastic qualities have attracted much appreciative comment, depicts *nāgarājas* as well as certain Brahmanical or Mahāyānist deities with their *śaktis*, now all too worn to be identified with any certainty. The actual purpose of this hall is still a matter of conjecture. It bears little resemblance to any other known structure of this period and neither its form nor its ornamentation, nor the context in which it exists, throws any light on its identity. Bell thought it might have been an ambulatory hall for meditation, a *caṅkamanasālā*, which is possible, or an *uposathaghara*, which it certainly was not.

Prematilleke and Silva have generally characterised the main structure in these shrine complexes as *paṭimāgharas*. This is certainly the case at Puliyankulam. We have here and at Toluvila (see figs. 16, 18) the only two examples where the shrine complex is a fully developed part of the *pabbata vihāra* plan. The shrine at Puliyankulam is a conventional image-house with two subsidiary buildings in front, a formal arrangement found elsewhere in Anurādhapura.[1] This complex stands some distance away from the *pabbata vihāra* proper and is connected to it by a wide avenue which is strictly aligned with the main north-south axis of the monastery. It leads directly from the northern entrance of the quadrangle, through the residential area and across the moat which surrounds the *vihāra*. It is immediately apparent, when considering the plan (see fig. 16), that although a neat and balanced layout has been achieved, this shrine complex remains only a partly integrated feature. This plan shows a large square area demarcated by a moat, with the nucleus of shrines in the centre surrounded by rows of *kuṭīs*. Surrounding this entire complex is a rectangular outer wall which has been extended on the south to include the service buildings there. The whole conception is remarkably homogeneous and logical. In contrast, the shrine complex to the north of the monastery stands out, dominating the monastery by its elevated location but awkward and unintegrated, adding nothing to the complex symmetry and balance of the main *vihāra*.

It is only at Toluvila that this extraneous feature becomes a fully integrated part of the overall plan (fig. 18). Here the shrine complex is within the outer *prākāra* of the monastery. The sacred quadrangle in the north and the shrine complex in the south are two areas of equal architectural emphasis, standing at either end of the monastery, with a major part of the residential and ancillary buildings distributed in the area between them. Joining these two focal points, so to speak, is a long avenue which traverses almost two-thirds of the monastery and whose central point is marked by a star-shaped halting place.

But Toluvila presents other problems. While Bell and other archaeologists in Ceylon have interpreted the shrine complex here as an image-house,[2] with four ancillary buildings or *kuṭīs* in a quincunx arrangement, there seem to be some grounds for questioning this identification. The central shrine is certainly not an image-house of the conventional pattern and arguments will be presented elsewhere to show that there are equally good reasons to suggest that it was a *bodhighara*.[3] There is some support for this argument in that the corresponding shrine at Vessagiriya is in fact a *bodhighara*. This *bodhighara* at Vessagiriya is separated from the sacred quadrangle by the long ridge of rock, which traverses the entire architectural complex at this site, and is not strictly aligned with the central axis of the sacred quadrangle, in this case running east-west. There is no doubt, however, from the various gateways, terraces, flights of steps and excavated passage which connected the *bodhighara* and the quadrangle, that there exists the same relation between the two as between the shrine complex and the sacred precinct in other *pabbata vihāras*.[4]

As far as other *pabbata vihāras* are concerned, some sort of shrine complex may be detected at the Magulmahāvihāra (see fig. 20), where it bears some resemblance to the 'hall' at Pankuliya in that it stands fairly close to the sacred precinct, and at Māṇikdeṇa (see fig. 21), where it lies a considerable distance away as in Puliyankulam or Toluvila.

It becomes increasingly apparent as we consider these various examples, both excavated and unexcavated, that this so-called 'shrine complex' or 'image-house' varies in character from monastery to monastery, just as it varies in the degree to which it has been absorbed into the *pabbata vihāra* plan. In this respect, it resembles a feature which we shall see in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* where an individual monastery may have one or two shrines attached to

shown elsewhere in this study (see below, pp. 256-257) that the paved square was probably the base of a staircase. The stone paving along the edges of the *pāsāda* interior is on the same level as the landing slab inside the entrance door. The paving probably indicates the interior floor level of the chamber and provides some support for the brick walls.

[1] See below, pp. 164 ff.

[1] See below, pp. 200-202.

[2] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 5; Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, p. 68.

[3] See below, pp. 182-183.

[4] We have to disagree here with Prematilleke and Silva (*op. cit.*, p. 68) who seem to identify the shrine complex at Vessagiriya with the 'cave and two circular structures on the top of the rock'. The cave is in fact a kind of excavated passage and the circular structures are the bases of two *stūpas*.

it, one of which is usually a *stūpa* or image-house but, in at least one instance, it is a *bodhighara*. More often than not this shrine stands in a prominent and elevated position behind the monastery proper. It is not, however, a feature common to all *pañcāyatanas* and even where it does exist it is not quite analogous to the shrine complex of the *pabbata vihāra* insofar as the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* is not a self-contained monastery like the *pabbata vihāra* but one of several monastic units grouped around a major *stūpa* and other central shrines. One can well understand why such an individual *pariveṇa*, with its own residential buildings, refectory, bath-house etc., would also have its own private devotional centre. No such easy explanation offers itself, however, in the case of the shrine complex of the *pabbata vihāra*.

The residential buildings of the *pabbata vihāra* present no problems of interpretation. The small, square *kuṭis*, of conventional size and shape, which are ranged round the sacred precinct, are undoubtedly the residential monastic cells. At Vijayārāma, Puliyankuḷam and Pācīnatissa-pabbata (see figs. 14, 16, 17) these cells are placed concentrically around the quadrangle in a strictly geometrical arrangement, one at each corner and two or four on each side in between the corner cells. At Puliyankuḷam there are two concentric ranges of cells. An unusual feature at the Pācīnatissapabbata is that three of the four corner *kuṭīs* are not the usual square cells but circular structures. Similar circular cells are found elsewhere in Anurādhapura, both at Vessagiriya and Toluvila and also in certain *pañcāyatana* and *padhānaghara pariveṇas*.[1] Prematilleke and Silva have suggested that these were *padhānagharas* or meditation houses.[2] Similar cells in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were thought to be either watch-towers or residential cells.[3]

The plan at Toluvila (see fig. 18) is now somewhat obscured, but was originally more complex, although there is no doubt that a fairly symmetrical arrangement of cells was maintained on either side of the main north-south axis, represented by the central processional path, and around the northern and southern quadrangles. Elements of this can still be seen in the existing plan. At the same time there are some indications of different periods of building which may account for some of the inconsistencies in the plan.

It is at Pankuliya, once more, that we see the schematic arrangement of cells in the process of being formed (see fig. 15). Here a mixture of *kuṭīs* and *pāsādas*, as well as an elongated, multi-cellular structure (Building No. 21) and other ancillary buildings, are placed along the periphery of the large quadrangular enclosure which constitutes the outer limits of the monastery. There is no apparent order or scheme in the arrangement, except that all these buildings face inwards towards the four shrines which occupy the central area of the complex. There is no substantial, elevated precinct separating the shrines from this residential area, as in other monasteries, but merely the faint and uncertain traces of a simple, demarcating wall. The residential buildings themselves are of various shapes and sizes. And yet, despite the apparent lack of an orderly plan, the basic principles of the *pabbata vihāra* are clearly discernible.

A distinctive feature of the *pabbata vihāra* plan is the substantial moat which surrounds the monastery. Of considerable width and depth, it forms a regular square or, more rarely, a rectangle around the central precinct and the residential *kuṭīs*. It is bridged either by a single causeway in line with the main entrance or by four cardinally oriented causeways in the middle of each side. With the exception of Vessagiriya and Sīgiriya, for topographical reasons that are immediately apparent, it would appear that this moat is to be found in all *pabbata*

[1] See below, pp. 98 n. 1, 124.
[2] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, p. 82.
[3] Ramachandran, T. N., 1953, p. 20; Sarkar, H., 1962, p. 82.

vihāras.[1] Of the excavated monasteries in Anurādhapura only Pankuliya does not conform to the strictly square or rectangular form. This *vihāra* today stands between a river to its east and a large pond to its west, but there are indications, that it was once entirely surrounded by water.

In general, the moat of a *pabbata vihāra* usually lies inside the outer *prākāra*. The one exception to this amongst the monasteries available for study is the Magulmahāvihāra, where the moat is situated outside the *prākāra*. The existence of *pokuṇas* or ponds and of moats plays an important part in Sinhalese monastic planning, as we shall see in the ensuing chapters. The use of a moat as a distinctive feature of a monastery is also to be found in the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, although it takes a form somewhat different from that employed here.[2]

The correspondences between the *pabbata vihāra* and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* are not limited to their moats. The decorated urinals, that are such a characteristic feature of the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* and are thought to be evidence of cult practices peculiar to these monasteries, are also found at Toluvila and Vessagiriya. Toluvila is particularly significant in this respect, not only because several examples of these urinals have been discovered here[3] but also on account of the winding paths that are another characteristic of the *padhānaghara* monasteries.[4] It is perhaps no mere coincidence that Vessagiriya and Toluvila are two of the three monasteries displaying the circular cells mentioned above. Similar cells occur in the *padhānaghara* or meditation monasteries and both the decorated urinals and the circular cells have been interpreted as features possibly connected with meditation rituals.[5]

The two major service buildings of the monastery, the *bhojanasālā* or refectory and the so-called *jantāghara* or bath-house,[6] occupy varying positions within the *pabbata vihāra* scheme. At Pankuliya, where there is neither an inner precinct nor a distinct moat, they stand within the monastic enclosure, integrated with other residential buildings. Again, in the Magulmahāvihāra, they are placed with the residential buildings, between the inner precinct and the outer *prākāra*; at Vijayārāma and Puliyankuḷam they are situated outside the residential area and the moat but inside the outer boundary; and, finally, at Toluvila they stand outside the main precinct altogether (see figs. 14-16, 18, 20).[7]

These two structures, usually placed on either side of the main avenue leading to a monas-

[1] Although there seems to be no moat at Toluvila today, Hocart observed irrigation channels surrounding the monastery on three sides (*CJSG* II, p. 12). Perhaps we may interpret these as the vestigial remains of a moat. Hocart's description of the Kaḷudiyapokuṇa monastery, which he categorically lists as a 'moated site', shows us how natural features such as streams and gulleys can be used in the construction of these moats and how the moats, themselves, in turn, can be silted up and obscured with the passage of time (*CJSG* II, pp. 87-88). On the other hand, if Hocart was mistaken about the Kaḷudiyapokuṇa site, it is just possible that *pabbata vihāras* of Type II—represented as they are by Toluvila, Kaḷudiyapokuṇa and Māṇikdeṇa—did not possess moats. An examination of these sites in their present condition proves inconclusive. Only excavation could decide this matter.
[2] See below, pp. 121, 132.
[3] A collection of these urinals can be seen in the modern temple to the north-east of the *vihāra*, once more being put to their original use.
[4] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 16.
[5] See above, p. 78 and below, pp. 122-123, 132-133. It is probably not without relevance, in this context, to speculate whether the unidentified stone and brick structures, in fact, two square platforms, on Rock A at Vessagiriya could not have been an unusual type of double-platform building or *padhānaghara* (see fig. 12 and *ASCAR* 1906, pp. 8-10). If this was so, then we have at Vessagiriya an extraordinary combination of *pabbata vihāra*, *padhānaghara pariveṇa* and features, such as an *upaṭṭhānasālā* and a semi-*pañcāyatana* complex, appropriate to an organic monastery.
[6] See below, pp. 297 ff.
[7] At the Pācīnatissapabbata (see fig. 17), which has not been fully excavated, the character or location of these buildings remains unknown.

tery and directly opposite each other, are a regular feature in the more important *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*.[1] In this type of monastery, the shape and position of these two buildings is fairly rigidly adhered to—the *pāsāda*-shaped refectory with its single or multiple entrances in one of its wider faces standing to the right when entering the monastery, and the elongated *jantāghara*, with its entrance in one of its narrower sides, standing to the left. In the *pabbata vihāras*, these particular structures have not always been fully excavated. Where they have been exposed or investigated, the conventional orientation as it is found in the *pañcāyatana* monastery, is not strictly adhered to and even the design of the buildings themselves is not standardised. It is only at Vijayārāma and Puliyankuḷam (see figs. 14, 16) that the conventional pattern stands out clearly and without ambiguity. At Pankuliya (see fig. 15), the position of the buildings seems to be reversed. At Toluvila, Magulmahāvihāra and Pulukunāvi (see figs. 18, 20, 22) an oval or elliptical structure takes the place of the bath-house or refectory.

Elliptical structures are rare in Ceylonese architecture and as yet no other known examples of this type of building have come to light in Ceylon. Their existence in ancient Indian Buddhist architecture is well attested to and probably goes back to the very earliest phase of Buddhism in India.[2] Prematilleke and Silva have suggested that the Ceylonese examples may have been refectories.[3] The Toluvila and Pulukunāvi examples stand to the left of the main avenue in the place usually assigned to the *jantāghara*—but at broadsides to it, corresponding to the usual orientation of the refectory. Completely the reverse position and orientation is displayed by the building in the Magulmahāvihāra. Thus, neither of these factors helps us to come to any positive conclusion about the identity of these buildings. A possible clue at Toluvila lies in a building placed very near the elliptical structure (see fig. 18). This building is elongated and not unlike the usual *jantāghara* both in shape and orientation. It is very likely, from their close proximity, that there is a close connection between the two edifices and, if we ignore the fact that they are unconventionally placed on the same side of the path, there is little to prevent us from identifying them as an elongated *jantāghara* and an elliptical refectory. However, with the data available at present, the identity of these structures remains a matter of speculation.

The variations and uncertainties we are faced with in considering the refectories and the bath-houses of the *pabbata vihāra* reflect, in an extreme manner, both the distinctiveness and the diversity of the *pabbata vihāra* plan and the extent to which our knowledge of it is limited. On the one hand, we see a certain clarity of conceptual planning and the standardisation of some basic elements; on the other, we see variations which we can only partially explain or understand. Often we are faced with the fact that there is a hopeless lack of material. But despite the scarcity of data concerning both this monastic type of the Late Anurādhapura Period and earlier phases of Sinhalese building, we have to consider the origins and development of the *pabbata vihāra* within the wider context of the history of Anurādhapura architecture. Earlier, we discussed the general process of increasing formalisation in the architectural planning of the later period. The *pabbata vihāra*, the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, the three characteristic types of the Late Anurādhapura Period, all display a high degree of conceptual planning, symmetrical layout and standardisation. Elements of formal architectural planning—sometimes, as in Sīgiriya, of great sophistication —exist from at least the 5th-6th Centuries, but the history of this development can still scarcely be studied systematically. There is, however, a general impression, on surveying

[1] See below, p. 97.
[2] Sarkar, H., 1966, pp. 15 ff.
[3] Prematilleke, L., and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 81, 82.

the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period, of a consistent evolution towards a formal plan. As we shall see, this is best documented in the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* where some sort of evolutionary sequence can be observed.[1] One may arrive at similar conclusions with regard to such ancient sites as Mihintaḷē, Vessagiriya and even the major monasteries of Anurādhapura itself, where the latest phase of building appears as a distinct overlay of regular planning on the more organic layout of earlier periods. In the case of the *pabbata vihāra* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* the available data scarcely permits more than speculation. There is, however, a case to be made out that the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* evolved out of the imposition of the *pañcāyatana* concept on the existing architectural forms,[2] just as the *pabbata vihāra* was, as we have suggested earlier, a formalisation of the archetypal Sinhalese monastery. If we consider the plan of the *pabbata vihāras* in Anurādhapura, we are presented with a fairly obvious sequence of formalisation from the loose conglomeration of buildings at Pankuliya and a transitional stage at Vijayārāma to the highly schematised arrangements at Pācīnatissapabbata, Puliyankuḷam and Toluvila.[3]

Thus, it would seem more and more apparent that the evolution of the *pabbata vihāra* must be seen within the context of similar developments throughout the architecture of the Late Anurādhapura Period. We cannot attribute its origins to some special and isolated stimulus such as the influence of Mahāyāna. This is not to imply that the larger process, not merely in the case of the *pabbata vihāra* but also over the whole architectural spectrum of the period, was entirely self-generated, and unaffected by developments both on the Indian subcontinent and in South-East Asia, where the resurgence of Brahmanism and the growth of Mahāyānism were major historical phenomena in an economic and cultural expansion that marks one of the richest and most complex epochs of Asian history. The spate of building activity that begins in Anurādhapura about the mid-8th Century and continues into the Polonnaruva Period till the end of the 12th Century must be seen as an integral part of this widespread transcontinental or South Asian phenomenon.

The generalities of the cultural and economic interconnections between the various coun-

[1] See below, pp. 127-130.
[2] See below, pp. 98-101.
[3] Any attempt to date this sequence is, at present, futile. Whatever inscriptional evidence there is generally confirms our observations. The plates from the *stūpa* at Vijayārāma date from the 9th Century (Paranavitana, S., 1928, p. 44) as do the fragmentary inscriptions from the *stūpa* at Magulmahāvihāra (*CJSG* II, p. 74; see also pp. 112-113 for other 10th and 14th Century records from this monastery) bearing out certain undeveloped elements in the plans of these monasteries. A 10th Century slab inscription from Puliyankuḷam (*EZ* I, p. 182 ff.) as well as other fragments of that date both from this site and from Toluvila (*ASCAR* 1898, p. 4; 1895, p. 2) provide an appropriate date for these two *vihāras* which, we might say, are the most 'developed' examples of the Anurādhapura monasteries. The earliest inscription at Pankuliya is from the 8th Century and bears out our speculation that this monastery represents a 'prototype' (*CJSG* II, p. 28). This is not contradicted by two 10th Century records from this site (*CJSG* II, p. 29); Bell found definite evidence of an earlier level of building (*ASC Sixth Prog. Rep.*, p. 10) and there are many architectural and decorative elements in the ruins here which are obviously from very different periods. It is a disturbed and confusing site, typical of many others in Anurādhapura where there has been rebuilding directly over an existing complex. The Pācīnatissapabbata provides us with the earliest inscriptional evidence—from the 5th Century—and Paranavitana testifies to the 'archaic' character of the architecture which often uses brick in places where the buildings at many other sites use stone (*ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 22-23). This may well explain the lack of a shrine complex in this monastery. At the same time, its neat and symmetrical plan seems to represent a fairly developed stage of the *pabbata vihāra* concept and a date in the 5th Century seems too early for the present buildings at this site. At Vessagiriya, where we have inscriptions from the period B.C. onwards (*EZ* I, pp. 10-39), at least some of the structures in its *pabbata vihāra* complex represent a very late building phase of the 10th or 11th Century, to judge from letter fragments that Bell found in the brick debris of the *stūpa* and from the size of the *pāsāda* which matches that of Toluvila (*ASCAR* 1907, pp. 3-5).

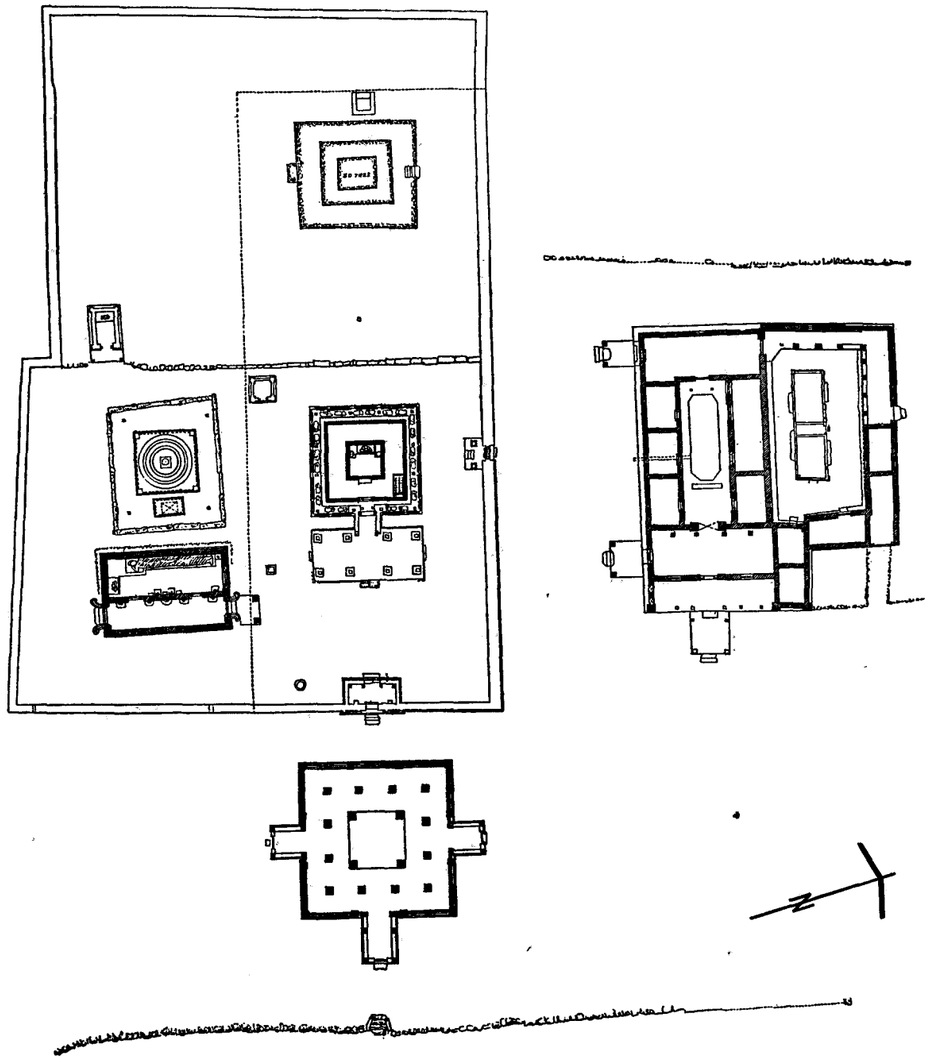


Fig. 25. Budumuttāva, Nikaväraṭiya

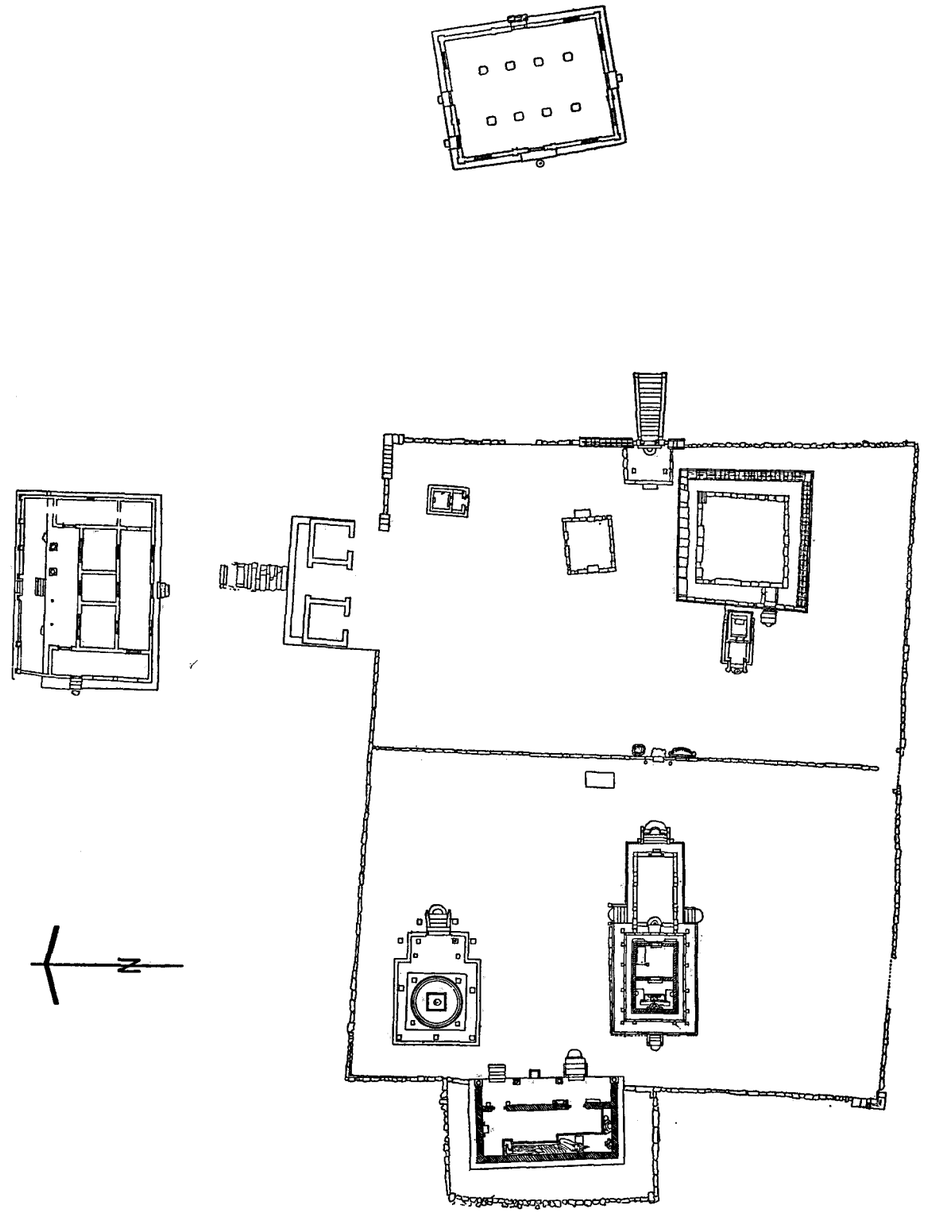


Fig. 26. Daṁbadeṇiyavihāra

tries of this area are a historical commonplace but the question of specific parallels between the Sinhalese monuments and their counterparts elsewhere is an entirely different matter. The influence of any other architectural tradition on the basic concept of the *pabbata vihāra* remains purely speculative.

Prematilleke and Silva point to some resemblance between these monasteries and the temple-mountains of Indonesia and Cambodia. We do have positive evidence of intimate contact between Ceylonese and Indonesian Buddhists in the 8th Century, but this seems largely a matter of a flow of ideas from Ceylon to these South-East Asian countries.[1] We might compare the moated *pabbata vihāra* to such Khmer monuments as Banteai Srei[2] or to certain moated sites in North-East Thailand.[3] But these are links of the most tenuous kind and points of correspondence or resemblance of such a general nature that it seems scarcely worthwhile pursuing this line of enquiry. The relationship between the Javanese and the Khmer monuments, on the one hand, and the Sinhalese *pabbata vihāras*, on the other, is only collateral, in so far as they all stand within the South and South-East Asian architectural milieu. However, this does not necessarily imply that instructive comparisons cannot be made by historians, comparisons which are particularly significant in the light of the similar climatic conditions and material culture that pertain in Ceylon and the countries of South-East Asia.

An example of how a distant and unrelated—or collateral—tradition may throw light on local Sinhalese developments can be seen in a comparison between the *pabbata vihāra* and the early Japanese monasteries. The plan of the earliest Buddhist monasteries in the Asuka Period (593-644)—preserved in such examples as the Hōryūji monastery—consists of a nucleus of buildings laid out symmetrically on a north-south axis and held together by a four-sided cloister. The main structure enclosed by this *hōrō* or cloister consists of the *tō* or pagoda (the Far Eastern equivalent of the *stūpa*), the *kendō* or Buddha Hall and a large dual purpose hall which was used 'both for the exposition and discussion of the Buddhist scriptures, and for the general maigre feasts which formed an important part of early Buddhist ceremony'.[4] The enclosed area was rectangular, or occasionally square. It was entered by a centrally placed gatehouse. Later developments include the separation of the refectory from the *kōdō* or lecture hall. This refectory or *jikidō* is now placed outside the nucleus, while still remaining an important building. The orientation of the residential quarters is at first uncertain but by the 8th Century 'the standard plan provided a large U-shaped block of dormitories on axis at the rear'. Although this bears a remarkable similarity to the *pabbata vihāra*, there is no necessity to suggest any direct contect between the two traditions. We should rather interpret these data by assuming that they issue not merely from a common source of ideas but that parallel forces are at work in widely separated regions. The Japanese monastery, like the Sinhalese *vihāra*, is a formalisation of an organic conception that derives ultimately from the religious needs and character of early Buddhism.

Paradoxically, it is this kind of comparison which enables us to realise that, while the *pabbata vihāra*, like many other Sinhalese architectural conceptions, cannot be treated as a purely self-contained or isolated regional development, it has to be understood primarily within its own context, that is to say, within the momentum of the Sinhalese tradition.

What this signifies is illustrated as much in the past history of the *pabbata vihāra* as in subsequent developments during those periods in which the tradition is in recession. As yet we know next to nothing of the history of the *pabbata vihāra* in the Polonnaruva Period, except that the essential principles of this monastic type are clearly displayed in two major building complexes of that period that have been excavated, the Daḷadāmaḷuva or sacred quadrangle and the Āḷāhana Pariveṇa,[1] both in Polonnaruva itself. But it is in the Kandyan Period that the continuation of this monastic type is once more clearly observed. In many of the older monasteries of this period, some of which are probably of considerable antiquity, as well as in more recent foundations, the basic plan of the *pabbata vihāra* remains intact. Clear survivals of this monastic type are the temples at Nikavāraṭiya and Daṁbadeṇiya where an elevated rectangular precinct houses three of the four edifices associated with the *pabbata vihāra* nucleus (see figs. 25, 26).[2] Similarly, in the modern Sinhalese temple, the *stūpa*, the *bodhi*-tree and the *paṭimāghara* are still the central ritual buildings occupying a demarcated precinct.[3] The *uposathaghara*, whose ritual importance is now much reduced, usually stands outside this precinct, if it exists at all. Modern monastic residences, in common with those of the Kandyan Period, are entirely secular in character and have little or no formal orientation to the central precinct. What is most evident in these later developments is the progressive loosening of the formal aspects of the *pabbata vihāra* plan. The Sinhalese monastery reverts once more to its organic character, particularly in its overall layout, and the tradition no longer manifests itself in the same formal conceptions as those of the Anurādhapura Period. Yet, the essential characteristics which it shares with the ancient monasteries still persist to underline the fact that the *pabbata vihāra* is merely a stage—albeit a high point of development—in a long and continuing tradition.

In the *pabbata vihāra* we are faced with what is probably the commonest monastic type of the Anurādhapura Period and one that occupies a central place in the history of Sinhalese monastic architecture. We may not be too far wrong in describing it as the classic Sinhalese monastery. Its basic plan derives from the earliest periods of Sinhalese Buddhist architecture and continues into the Kandyan Period, in fact right down to modern times. No doubt, future excavations will reveal more fully the true character and importance of this monastic type and fix more precisely its place in Sinhalese architectural history.

[1] de Casparis, J. G., 1961, p. 241 ff.
[2] Parmentier, H., Goloubew, V. and Finot, L., 1926, pl. 60.
[3] Thailand: *Plan and Report*, etc., 1960, pp. 62-64.
[4] Soper, A. C., 1942, pp. 23 ff.

[1] The sacred quadrangle is not a monastery in the strict sense but an extraordinary cluster of shrines associated with the Temple of the Tooth-Relic. The major monuments here include a *stūpa*-temple, a *stūpa* of an unusual design (the Satmahalprāsāda), four image-houses, including a *geḍigē* (the Thūpārāma) and a *pāsāda paṭimāghara* for a recumbent image, and an unidentified shrine (Building No. 11) which is almost certainly a *bodhighara*. Thus, we see here three of the four nuclear elements of the *pabbata vihāra*, in various and multiple forms, brought together in a raised, quadrangular precinct. (See *ASCAR* 1903, pp. 7-32.) The Āḷāhana Pariveṇa is the greatest monastery in the new capital and it can be interpreted as a *pabbata vihāra* on a monumental scale. The nucleus includes a *stūpa* (the Kirivehera), an image-house (the Laṅkātilaka), an *uposathaghara* (the Baddhasīmāpāsāda) and possibly a *bodhighara* (which I see as the true identity of the so-called *maṇḍapa* in front of the Laṅkātilaka). The monastic residences of the Āḷāhana Pariveṇa have not been fully excavated, but as far as we can see, they consist of *pāsādas* systematically arranged around the nucleus as in a *pababta vihāra*, rather than the loosely ranged *pañcāyatana* groups which we associate with the great monasteries of Anurādhapura. (See *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 28-38.)
[2] Hocart, A. M., 1931, pp. 38-40.
[3] For a brief but concise account of the modern Sinhalese monastery see Bareau, A., 1957, pp. 1-27.

CHAPTER THREE

PAÑCĀYATANA PARIVEṆA

If the *pabbata vihāra* is the commonest monastic type of the Anurādhapura Period, the most typical grouping of monastic buildings in Anuradhāpura itself is the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*,[1] a cluster of four large, square cells or *kuṭīs* symmetrically placed around a larger, oblong structure or *pāsāda* (see figs. 27-30 and Pls. I-III). Yet, in spite of its familiarity and its seemingly exclusive Sinhalese character, the meaning and purpose of this quintuple group has scarcely received the critical attention it deserves. Burrows was the first to publish a description of the type and his account indicates that this particular orientation of buildings had already been noticed as a feature commonly found in the architecture of Anurādhapura.[2] He speaks of a central 'vihāra' and 'the usual four chapels'. Smither, in his description of the Mahasen's Pavilion group in the Abhayagirivihāra, 'a cluster of five detached buildings', dismisses the then popular idea that this was a secular palace and suggests that they were religious edifices connected with the nearby *stūpa*.[3] Bell, in his numerous reports on Anurādhapura, systematically isolates the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* as a distinct type to which he applies the charming if curious term 'quincunx monastery'. In his early reports he follows Burrows in describing them as 'this cluster of shrines... fairly representative of the class of fanes most favoured in the sacred architecture of Anurādhapura.'[4] From the outset, however, he suspects the appellation 'chapels' which Burrows gave to the four *kuṭīs*,[5] and in time applies the term '*piriveṇa*', clearly implying that the four annexes were monastic dwellings.[6] Bell seems to be clear in his own mind that the *pañcāyatana* complex as a whole was a group of residential buildings and on more than one occasion he refers to it as a *saṅghārāma*.[7]

On the other hand, Bell retains Burrows' term *vihāra* (or '*vihāré*') for the central *pāsāda* of the group. His use of *vihāra* carries with it some of the ambiguity that the term has in Indian Buddhist architecture, though it would seem from his indiscriminate application of the term to *paṭimāgharas*, *bodhigharas* and unidentified shrines that he uses it more in the sense of a sacred or ritual structure than a habitational one. The implications of this are reflected in the work of later archaeologists. Paranavitana is most explicit in his contention that the central *pāsāda* represents 'a type of temple'.[8] The only qualification he makes is that 'there is no

[1] The term *pañcāyatana* is used in preference to *pañcaprāsāda* or *pañcapāsāda* which seems to be the term used in Burma to designate a similar type of royal or monastic residential complex. As the highly formalised *pañcāyatana* group carried a certain ritual sanction, the use of the suffix *āyatana* in what may have been a purely residential context is not inappropriate. Moreover, the use of *pañcāyatana* rather than *pañcapāsāda* avoids the confusion that may arise from the fact that the Sinhalese *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* consisted, in fact, of only a single *pāsāda* and four *kuṭis*.

[2] Burrows, S. M., 1886, p. 4.

[3] Smither, J. G., (1894), p. 59.

[4] *ASC Third Prog. Rep.*, p. 4.

[5] *ASC Third Prog. Rep.*, p. 4.

[6] In his account of the Vijayārāma Monastery Bell clearly defines the meaning he attaches to *pariveṇa* or *piriveṇa*—"extra lodgings for monks not able to find shelter in the chief *pansala*" (*ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, p. 10, *ASCAR*, 1891, p. 5).

[7] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 3, 1897, p. 1; 1898, p. 1.

[8] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 12.

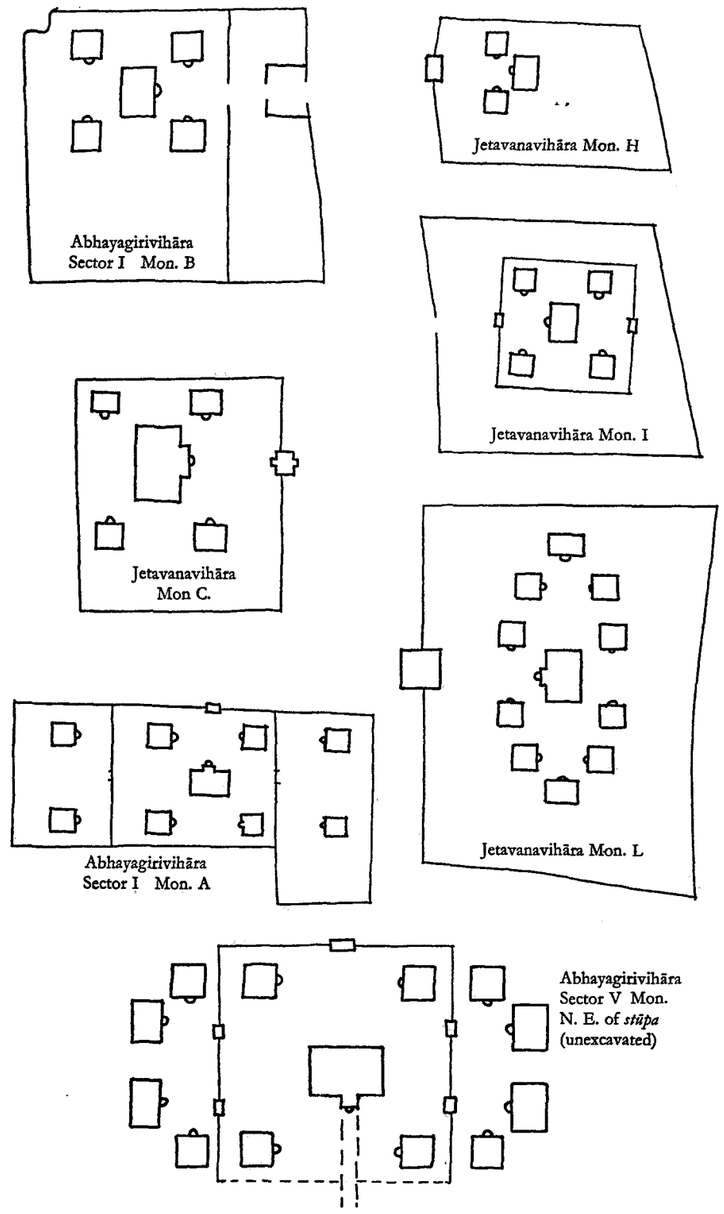


Fig. 27. Types of Pañcāyatana Pariveṇa

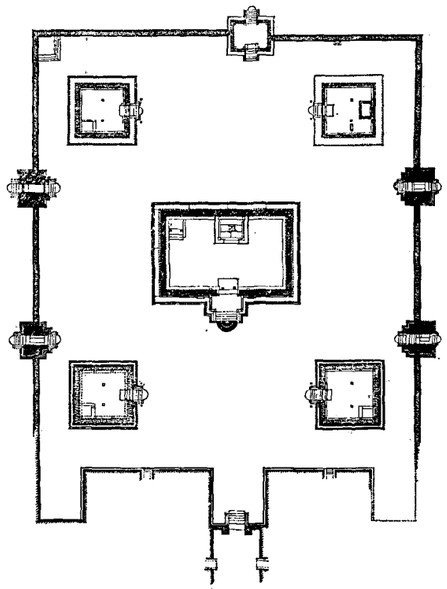


Fig. 28. Mahasen's Pavilion Monastery, Abhayagirivihāra

evidence to establish that all buildings of this type were intended to house images, but in many of the principal edifices of such groups of five buildings, there was a Buddha image on the *garbhas* with compartments yet found *in situ*'. He cites the Mahasen's Pavilion group in the Abhayagirivihāra as a representative example. Following Paranavitana, both Aryasinha and Prematilleke isolate a category of image-houses, the *pāsāda* (or *prāsāda*) *paṭimāghara*, in which they include such examples as the Queen's Pavilion and Mahasen's Pavilion in the Abhayagirivihāra, 'Vihāra B' of the Jetavanavihāra and 'Vihāra No. 3' in the central enclosure at Vijayārāma,[1] which last Prematilleke himself and Silva have subsequently identified as the *uposathaghara* of that monastery.[2] Prematilleke also suggests that the four *kuṭīs* were subsidiary shrines 'detached from the main shrine'.[3]

We see then that there is a consensus of opinion that the *pāsāda*, as the central edifice of a *pañcāyatana* group, is a shrine and not a habitational building. We may examine, briefly, the various arguments by which this conclusion has been arrived at. Paranavitana's contention rests on the evidence of the '*yantragal*' or stone reliquaries found in a few *pāsādas*. Aryasinha deals at some length with the etymology and history of the word '*prāsāda*' in Buddhist and Hindu literature, where it invariably signifies a dwelling or residence of the Buddha, of the

[1] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 105 ff.; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 125-128.
[2] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 67-68.
[3] Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 127.

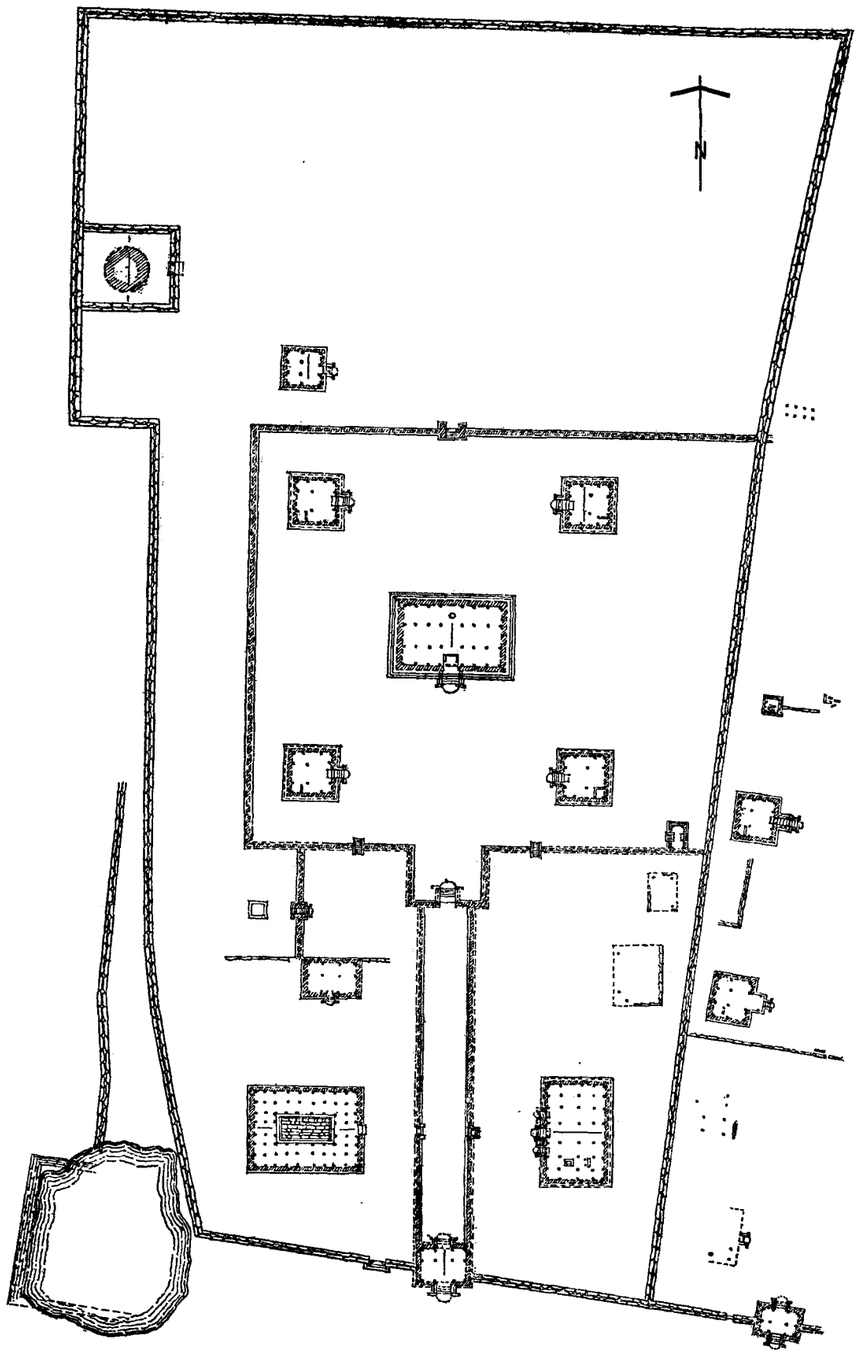


Fig. 29. Monastery B, Abhayagirivihāra. Sector II

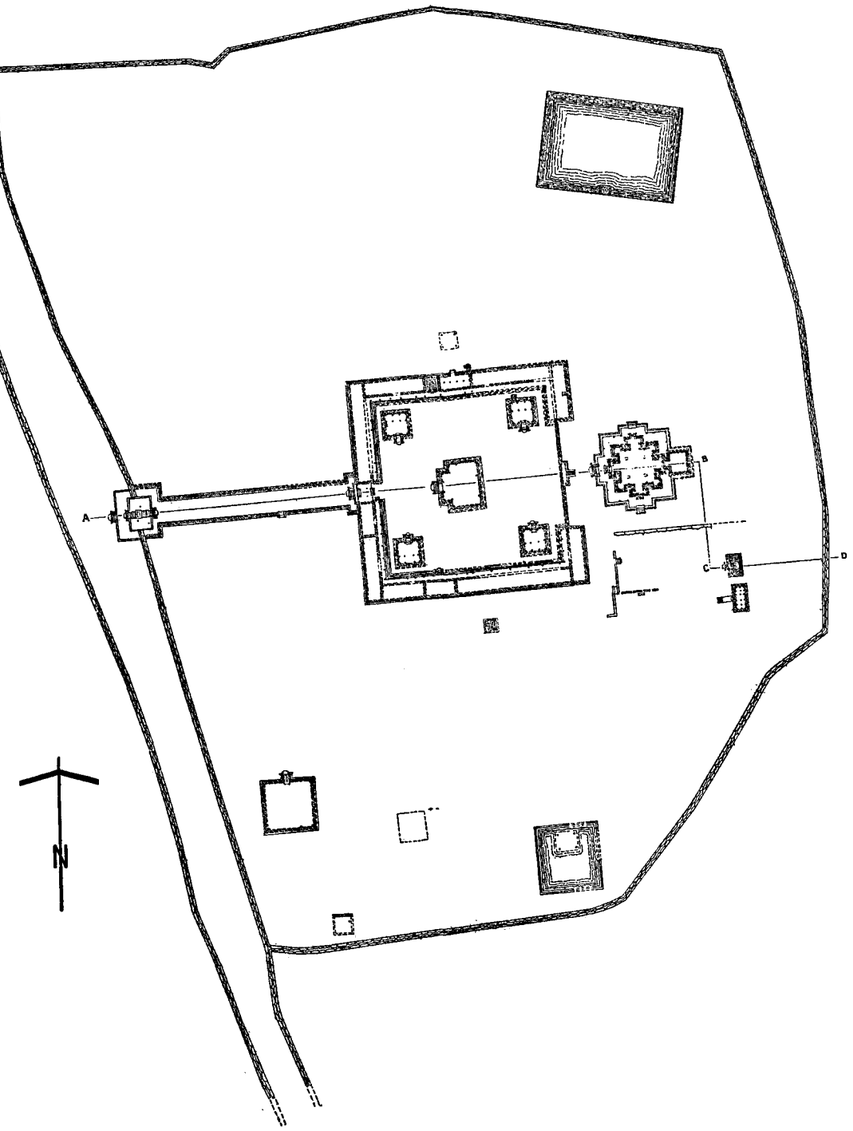


Fig. 30. Kapārārāma, Abhayagirivihāra

Saṅgha, of a god or a king, and refers to a number of Hindu temples of the *śālā* or *prāsāda* type. Prematilleke observes that '*pāsāda* like Gandhakuṭi has been used to designate the residence of Buddha' and that, as in the case of *gandhakuṭī*, 'the term *Pāsāda* has been applied to an image-shrine after the Buddha's residence in such a building'.[1]

Aryasinha's and Prematilleke's arguments that the Anurādhapura *pāsādas* were image-houses do not depend so much on the historical background (which, in any case, consistently presents the *pāsāda* as a dwelling) or on a study of the existing material remains in Ceylon but on two documents which testify to the use of the word *pāsāda* in connection with images and image-shrines—one, a description in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of the installation of a golden image of the Buddha in the Ratanapāsāda,[2] the other, a reference in an inscription at Vessagiriya to an image-house of the *pāsāda* type.[3] Neither of these documents, however, provides us with conclusive evidence as to the nature of the *pāsāda* in the *pañcāyatana*. The Ratanapāsāda was an ecclesiastical and residential building in its own right and the establishment of a Buddha image in it does not necessarily render it an image-shrine. The *Mahāvaṁsa* reference to the installation of this figure is immediately followed by another record of a silver Bodhisattva placed in a convent for nuns.[4] It is true that the *pāsāda* form was adapted to a particular type of image-house for a recumbent Buddha but this is clearly not what is meant by the reference to the Ratanapāsāda and as yet no remains of this type of image-house have been discovered at Vessagiriya or elsewhere in Anurādhapura.[5] The usual signification of the word *pāsāda* in the Chronicles or other documents is a dwelling or an ecclesiastical building incorporating certain residential apartments. The presence of reliquaries—usually associated with images and with the relic-chambers of *stūpas*—in a few *pāsādas* of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* and at least one instance of a fairly well-preserved central sanctuary or shrine-chamber present more cogent reasons for considering Paranavitana's original suggestion, viz. that the *pāsāda* represents 'a type of temple'.[6]

The crucial factor in resolving the true nature of the *pañcāyatana* complex as a whole is not the identity of the central *pāsāda* but the fact that there are so many of these groups or units in a single *vihāra*, arranged next to each other in one or several rows or, as in Sector I of the Abhayagirivihāra (see fig. 7), in a composite form. Each group, standing within its own clearly demarcated boundaries, is equipped with a central *pañcāyatana*, a gatehouse or entrance pavilion and a number of accessory buildings, including a refectory, a bath-house, lavatories, ponds and occasionally its own shrines.

In each of the four major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura there still remain the skeletons of at least a dozen or more of such monastic units (in the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra originally at least two or three times that number; in the Jetavanavihāra and the Mirisavāṭivihāra, probably half as much more; see figs. 4, 5, 6, 10) arranged in a roughly logical manner around the great central *stūpa*. The orientation, the layout, the equipment and the frequency of these groups can only point to their essentially residential nature.

The Chronicles frequently record the donation of *pariveṇas* by royal or noble patrons. The *Mahāvaṁsa* account of the founding of the Mahāviḥāra concludes with two passages describing the various *pariveṇas* that were established there:

[1] Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 126.
[2] *Mhv.* 48.137.
[3] *EZ* I, pp. 25, 28.
[4] *Mhv.* 48.139.
[5] See below, pp. 209-210.
[6] See also below, pp. 267 ff.

> And in the very first days the king commanded that a pāsāda be built for the thera in the Tissārāma, and he had the bricks of clay dried speedily with fire. The dwelling-house was dark-coloured and therefore they named it the Kālapāsāda-pariveṇa... He built many pariveṇas in an excellent manner, and bathing-tanks and buildings for repose, by night and day, and so forth. The pariveṇa on the brink of the bathing-tank (which was allotted) to the blameless (thera) is called the Sunhāta-pariveṇa. The pariveṇa on the spot where the excellent Light of the Island used to walk up and down is called Dīgha-caṅkamana. But the pariveṇa which was built where he had sat sunk in the meditation that brings the highest bliss is called from this the Phalagga-pariveṇa. The (pariveṇa built there) where the thera had seated himself leaning against a support is called from this the Therāpassaya-pariveṇa. The (pariveṇa built) where many hosts of gods had sought him out and sat at his feet is therefore called the Marugaṇa-pariveṇa. The commander of the king's troops, Dīghasandana, built a little pāsāda for the thera with eight great pillars. This famed pariveṇa, the home of renowned men, is called the Dīghasandanasenāpati-pariveṇa.[1]

We see here that from the very beginnings of the Buddhist tradition in Ceylon a large *vihāra* contained a number of distinct and separate residential units or *pariveṇas* and that a *pāsāda* was a central feature of these *pariveṇas*. That this tradition continued right through the classic epoch of Sinhalese architecture can be seen when we compare this description with the account of Parākramabāhu I 's building activities in Polonnaruva.[2]

Literary and lithic records together with the architectural remains, show that the large *vihāras* of Anurādhapura were considerable establishments accommodating several thousand monks together with their personal attendants, servants, slaves and other employees.[3] In the 5th Century, Fa-hsien reports that there were 3000 monks in the Mahāvihāra, 5000 in the Abhayagirivihāra and 2000 at Mihintaḷē.[4] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the Mirisavāṭivihāra had 500 monks in the reign of Kassapa V (914-923).[5] The *Nikāya-Saṁgraha* says that there were 364 *pariveṇas* and *pāsādas* in the Mahāvihāra[6] and an inscription at Kataragama records 363 *pariveṇas* in the Tissamahāvihāra in Ruhuṇa.[7] Of the major monasteries built in Polonnaruva by Parākramabāhu I, the Jetavanavihāra had 1 monumental multi-chambered *pāsāda*, 8 three-storeyed *pāsādas*, 75 two-storeyed *dīgha-pāsādas* in 75 *pariveṇas* and 178 *culla-pāsādas*;[8] the Āḷāhanapariveṇa had 1 monumental three-storeyed *pāsāda*, 40 *dīgha-pāsādas* and 8 *culla-pāsādas* as well as the twelve-storeyed, residential *uposathaghara*; the Baddhasīmāpāsāda,[9] and the Pacchimārāma had 22 two-storeyed *dīgha-pāsādas* in 22 *pariveṇas* and 41 two-storeyed *culla-pāsādas*.[10] Although some of these figures may well be exaggerated and others arrived at by including buildings or parts of buildings no longer recognisable, they leave us in little doubt that the commonest buildings in a *vihāra* were the monastic dwellings and that the larger monasteries of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva accommodated a great number of monks and other residents. Of course, the terms *pariveṇa* and *pāsāda* are capable of different interpretations,[11] and there is no certain way of establishing that these descriptions refer to the

[1] *Mhv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., 1960, pp. 112-113.
[2] See *Mhv.* 78.31-95.
[3] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 136-152.
[4] Beal, S., 1906, pp. lxxiii, lxxvi; Giles, H. A., 1923, pp. 67, 72.
[5] *Mhv.* 52.46.
[6] *Nikāya-Saṁgraha*, p. 12.
[7] *EZ* III, pp. 222-225.
[8] *Mhv.* 78.33-37.
[8] *Mhv.* 78.49-51, 55-56.
[10] *Mhv.* 78.71-73.
[11] See above, p. 28; Gunawardana points out, with reference to the Anurādhapura monasteries, that the *Sāratthadīpanī*, a 12th Century Ceylonese commentary on the *Samantapāsādikā*, defines a *pariveṇa* "as a site enclosed within its own boundary walls but situated within a *mahāvihāra*" (Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1965, p. 28).

pañcāyatana groups under consideration. However, there are no groups of buildings in the architectural remains of Anurādhapura other than the *pañcāyatana* complexes which more aptly fit these descriptions and, indeed, no other structures offer themselves as suitable alternatives.

If we, then, accept the essentially residential nature of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, we have still to establish the individual functions of the buildings in the actual quincunx group itself. The question arises as to whether the central *pāsāda* and the four *kuṭīs* were in fact the habitational buildings or whether this quincunx was some sort of formalised ritual or ecclesiastical nucleus at the centre of a residential monastery. If we allow the latter possibility we are then faced with the problem of finding alternative structures which we might interpret as the actual residences. In a number of fairly well-excavated monastic complexes, particularly those of the Jetavanavihāra and the Mirisavāṭivihāra, there are clearly no substantial buildings other than the *pañcāyatana*, or its diminutive version, the semi-*pañcāyatana*, and the gatehouse. In those *pariveṇas* where there are other buildings, especially in the monasteries of the Abhayagirivihāra, none of these buildings are of a standardised shape, size or orientation as we might well expect of a regular residential feature. From the haphazard nature of these structures we may infer that they were irregular additions of an essentially subsidiary character and designed, in each instance, to serve the particular needs of the individual *pariveṇa*. The only exception to this in some, though not in every, monastery are the two juxtaposed edifices placed on either side of the main avenue leading from the entrance pavilion to the quincunx group. Of these two buildings, one a *pāsāda* and the other an elongated, rectangular structure with an entrance in one of its narrower sides, the latter had a clearly utilitarian purpose and probably served as a bath-house or *jantāghara*.[1] On the other hand, it could be suggested that the *pāsāda* might possibly have been a dwelling. However, if it was the only dwelling in the complex, we would then have to admit that there was an unusual preponderance of non-residential buildings in these *pariveṇas*; alternatively, if it was a subsidiary residence we would have to account for its unusual position outside the central group. Its purpose, however, is best explained if we identify this accessory *pāsāda* as the refectory of the *pariveṇa*.[2]

It is necessary, of course, to consider the possibility that the residential quarters of these monasteries were temporary structures all traces of which have long since disappeared. This seems unlikely for a number of reasons. In an architectural tradition in which elements such as the gatehouses, refectories, bath-houses, lavatories and boundary walls were rendered in permanent materials, and this not only so extensively but in such substantial proportions, it is quite reasonable to expect that the living quarters, in some if not in all examples, would themselves have been constructed in a similar manner. There are, in fact, a few examples in Anurādhapura itself and at various provincial sites of monastic residences with masonry facades and stone-faced doors and windows, built against partially excavated rocks or boulders (see fig. 102 and Pls. XXVIII, XXIX). Again, the monumental *uposathagharas* contained substantial residential apartments.[3]

The above descriptions of *pariveṇas* and *pāsādas* give us some idea of the relative importance of these residential units in the monasteries of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. In the cir-

[1] See below, pp. 297 ff.
[2] See below, pp. 297 ff.
[3] See below, pp. 217 ff.

cumstances, it is unlikely that the living quarters of the elaborate *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* would be relegated to entirely temporary structures. The only traces of cells or cloisters associated with a *pañcāyatana* are to be found in the elevated 'walk' surrounding the Kapārārāma in the Abhayagirivihāra[1] (see fig. 30), in a similarly elevated terrace at the back of Monastery B of the Abhayagiri Sector I[2] (see fig. 7), and in the isolated range of 'cells' behind Monastery H of the Mahāvihāra[3] (see fig. 4). These are all exceptional examples. If temporary residences were a regular feature of these *pariveṇas* they could be expected to conform to a fairly symmetrical and standardised pattern corresponding to the precise geometry of the quincunx. It is difficult, however, to visualise such an arrangement in several instances where the outer boundary walls of the monastery impinge so closely on the *pañcāyatana* group, as for example in Monasteries C, J and K of the Jetavanavihāra (see fig. 10), Monastery B of the Mahāvihāra and Monastery K of the Mirisavāṭivihāra (see figs. 4, 5). If these residences were erected within the *pañcāyatana* itself, a somewhat cramped and unlikely arrangement, it is strange that this form was not even once expressed in permanent architectural materials, considering the predilection of the Sinhalese builders for elevated platforms and stone detailing. It is possible that the *kuṭis* of the *pañcāyatana* were joined to each other by rows of temporary cells, somewhat in the manner of the cloistered *pāsādas* of the Mahāvihāra, but this would imply that the arrangement of the *kuṭis* should have conformed to the rectangular shape of the *pāsāda* rather than their present four-square orientation.[4] Moreover, the same objections to the existence of temporary structures that we have put forward above would apply here.

In the final analysis, then, it would seem more reasonable to accept the *pañcāyatana* group itself as a residential feature. We have so far arrived at this hypothesis by a process of elimination or, one might say, negative reasoning. There is, at the same time, a certain amount of positive evidence which confirms the view that the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī* were used as monastic residences. These considerations have been dealt with at some length in the relevant sections below, where these individual components of the *pañcāyatana* are examined in a larger context. The conclusions arrived at there are briefly these: the *kuṭī* is rarely employed elsewhere in Sinhalese architecture as a ritual or ecclesiastical feature and there is every reason to believe that it was a purely habitational structure; the *pāsāda* is a more versatile form widely applied in ritual, ecclesiastical and residential contexts; in its role as the central edifice of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* its purpose remains ambiguous, but there is no reason to reject the possibility of its having served as the residence of the chief monk or abbot of the *pariveṇa*; at the same time, it may well have incorporated certain ritual and ecclesiastical elements, a process not incompatible with a highly formalised monastic system and, in fact, not without parallel in the Indian *saṅghārāma* and the monumental Sinhalese *uposathaghara*; thus, we may well conclude that the *pāsāda* in these *pariveṇas* was probably a *pāsāda/uposathaghara*, as in the case of the *pabbata vihāra*.[5]

The *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* in its usual form is found in three of the four major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura and at Mihintaḷē. It consists of a central *pāsāda*, varying in size but, as we shall see, adhering to certain regular specifications, and four *kuṭīs* standing some distance away

[1] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 5; 1954, p. 11.
[2] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 26.
[3] *ASCAR* 1900, p. 2.
[4] Kramrisch, for instance, argues that the *pañcāyatana* concept in Indian architecture is in fact a subsequent development from the arrangement of a central shrine surrounded by continuous rows of cells (see below, p. 100.)
[5] See below, pp. 231-233, 267-271.

from the four corners of the *pāsāda* (see figs. 27-30 and Pls. I-III). The *kuṭīs* are invariably placed in the corners of an imaginary square, the diagonals of which meet in or near the centre of the *pāsāda*. The *pāsāda* usually faces in the general direction of the great *stūpa* which forms the focal centre of the entire monastic complex, while the attendant *kuṭīs* face inwards towards the sides of the *pāsāda*. Both *pāsāda* and *kuṭīs* are strictly arranged according to the four cardinal directions.

The *pañcāyatana* with its various accessory buildings stands within its own clearly demarcated boundaries, and in the case of the more elaborately appointed *pariveṇas* an inner precinct surrounds the quincunx group itself.[1] In the Mahasen's Pavilion Monastery (see fig. 28) this inner *prākāra* takes a most elaborate form, with a main entrance bay and two subsidiary entrances in front, an entrance at the rear and two sets of entrances in either side. A simpler version, in Monastery I of the Mahāvihāra, has a central entrance in each of its four sides.[2] Monastery B of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector II (see fig. 29), like Monastery I of the Jetavanavihāra (see fig. 10), has a central entrance at front and rear, but in addition two subsidiary front entrances. At the Kapārārāma (see fig. 30) this *prākāra* forms the outer face of the elevated walk or cloister referred to above. It has central entrances at front and rear and may have had other subsidiary entrances. A common feature of these inner precincts (with the single exception of Monastery B of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector II) is that they form a neat quadrangle, in contrast to the generally irregular layout of the main boundaries.

If the *pañcāyatana* with an inner precinct was an elaboration of the classic quincunx form, there were at least two major variations on this basic plan, representing respectively a simpler and a more complex type (see fig. 27). The simpler type of *pañcāyatana* monastery, which for reasons of convenience we have termed the 'semi-*pañcāyatana*', consists of a *pāsāda* and two, rather than four, *kuṭīs*, standing off the two front corners of the *pāsāda*. These semi-*pañcāyatana* monasteries are to be found in all the major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura, existing side by side with the *pañcāyatana* type proper. In the Mirisavātivihāra, both in terms of its architecture and its extent the poorest of the major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura, every one of its surviving thirteen *pariveṇas* is of the semi-*pañcāyatana* type (see fig. 5). Their *pāsādas* and *kuṭīs* differ in no significant respect from those of the *pañcāyatana*, except in being more simply equipped both in their stone and brick detailing and in the number of their accessory buildings. Their central *pāsādas* are generally confined to the smaller types, only rarely exceeding the dimensions of buildings in Category E.[3]

There is, today, no apparent reason why this type of monastic unit was sometimes preferred to the more complex *pañcāyatana*, but we might say, simply, that these variations in plan and dimensions were dictated by reasons of economy and monastic status. By the very nature of the *pañcāyataṅa* concept and the apparent contemporaneity of the semi-*pañcāyatana* and *pañcāyatana* types, there is little evidence to suggest that the semi-*pañcāyatana pariveṇa* presents an earlier stage in the development of the *pañcāyatana*.[4] On the contrary, it would be more true to say that it probably represents a simplification or reduction of the usual quincunx plan, a two-dimensional rendering, as it were, of the evolved *pañcāyatana*, or, quite simply, an alternative form.

[1] E.g. Mahāvihāra Monasteries B, C, H, I (see fig. 4); Abhayagirivihāra, Sector II, Mahasen's Pavilion, Monastery B, Sector V, Kapārārāma (see figs. 28-30); Jetavanavihāra Monasteries I, F (see fig. 10); Mihintaḷē Iṅdikaṭusāya Monastery (see fig. 11).
[2] *ASCAR* 1900, p. 3.
[3] For the various categories of *pāsādas*, see below, pp. 261 ff.
[4] See below, pp. 98-101.

The opposite process of multiplication, familiar to Indian architecture, occurs in a few examples in the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra (see fig. 27). Unlike the semi-*pañcāyatana* monasteries, these are not a standardised derivative from the regular *pañcāyatana* but individual elaborations on the basic plan. The complexity and richness of the buildings and the layout of the Abhayagiri monasteries have already been noticed. Sectors I and III of the southern sector provide us with several variations on the *pañcāyatana* grouping (see figs. 7, 8, 27).

The most straightforward of these is Monastery A of Sector I, where the central quincunx group, surrounded by its own *prākāra*, is flanked on either side by two pairs of *kuṭīs* directly aligned with the four immediate *kuṭīs* of the *pañcāyatana* (see fig. 27). These 'duplicate' *kuṭīs* are contained within two clearly delimited rectangular precincts, each entered centrally from the premises of the main *pañcāyatana* group. Similarly, the other accessory buildings of this *pariveṇa*, including an image-house, an unidentified shrine (possibly the base of a pyramidal *stūpa* of the Nakhāvehera and Satmahalprāsāda type,[1] several isolated *pāsādas* and the usual accessory buildings, privies, etc., standing within a number of subdivided precincts, are ranged on either side of the avenue which leads from the main entrance of the *pariveṇa* to the *pañcāyatana*. At the head of the avenue, to the west, is a semi-*pañcāyatana* group, Monastery C. It faces the avenue and was probably balanced by an identical group to the east, now obliterated. As these semi-*pañcāyatanas* face the avenue leading up to Monastery A rather than the Abhayagiri *stūpa* itself, they must have been ancillary *pariveṇas* attached to the main Monastery A. Thus, the components of the *pañcāyatana* are here separated, multiplied, added to or enlarged and reassembled into a many-compartmented unit without disrupting the organic structure and its nuclear quincunx group.

The layout of the monasteries in the adjoining Sector III (see fig. 8) is difficult to understand fully due to the incompleteness of Burrows' excavations. Subsequently neglected, the area is once more covered over with earth and grass and it is no longer possible today to supplement the original plans drawn in 1885, but what information they provide is sufficient to show that here too we have a similar complexity of organisation. Of particular interest is the coterie of eight buildings grouped around 'Vihāras Nos. 2 and 3'. 'Vihāra No. 2' is surrounded by the usual set of *kuṭīs*. The two southern *kuṭīs* are duplicated by another pair of *kuṭīs* and somewhat further south an image-house in 'Vihāra No. 3' is flanked by two more *kuṭīs*. This latter pair, like the image-house itself, faces north, while the two other *kuṭīs* face either east or west.

The monasteries of the Jetavanavihāra (see fig. 10) do not exhibit the same intricacies of planning and orientation as those of the Abhayagiri, but at least one of its *pariveṇas* provides us with an example of a composite type. Monastery L, the southernmost of the eastern group of *pariveṇas*, consists of a central *pañcāyatana* group to which are attached two smaller semi-*pañcāyatana* groups (see fig. 27). The *pariveṇa* precincts, as far as we can judge today, were not subdivided and apart from its composite nature the monastery deviates in no way from the usual pattern.

In all the variations of the *pañcāyatana* plan, the *pāsāda* remains the central edifice around which the *kuṭīs* and other subsidiary structures are grouped.[2] Both in its role as the central

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1946, pp. 98-101.

[2] A single exception to this principle can be found in the so-called 'Monastery above the Stone Bath' at Mihintalē (see fig. 11), where for obvious reasons of topography the central *pāsāda* has been omitted from a group of four *kuṭīs* (*ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 25).

edifice of the *pañcāyatana* and as an accessory or isolated building, the *pāsāda* is one of the major architectural forms of the Sinhalese tradition and needs to be examined in detail, together with its attendant *kuṭīs*.

The ancillary buildings of these monasteries do not display the same degree of standardisation as the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī*. The only significant exception to this is the two accessory buildings, standing in front of the *pañcāyatana*, which have been identified as the refectory and, more tentatively, as the bath-house of the monastery.[1] These buildings are not found in every *pariveṇa*. But there is good reason to believe that they were more frequent than the archaeological reports and the excavated remains indicate. The various outhouses which are a feature of most *pariveṇas* can scarcely be studied or identified today, with the exception of the lavatories whose original purpose is clearly indicated by the urinal stones and water closets which have survived in several examples. Rahula mentions the existence of buildings such as broom-sheds (*sammajjanī-aṭṭa*) and firewood-sheds (*dāru-aṭṭa*) in monasteries[2] and there were probably other such structures serving various utilitarian purposes, as well as subsidiary residences for monks and for servants or slaves; all these functions we may collectively attribute to these outhouses and other extra buildings.

At the main entrance to the monastery precincts was a gatehouse, or entrance pavilion, often a substantial edifice in its own right. These gatehouses were usually positioned directly in line with the entrance to the central *pāsāda* of the *pañcāyatana*. Where there was an inner precinct, the front and rear entrances to that precinct, too, were placed on the longitudinal axis of the *pāsāda* and street entrances. Although the inscription found at the so-called 'Buddhist-Railing-Site', in the Jetavanavihāra does not pertain to a *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, it refers to a storeyed 'Water Pavilion at the Gate' (*doraṭu-pän-maḍiya*) which was a structure large enough to provide lodgings in its upper and lower storeys.[3] Although these gatehouses do not always conform to a set pattern, they are substantial structures of some interest. Many of them have certain common features such as a paved central passage and groups of pillars on either side. (Pls. II, IV and fig. 141 show two examples of the more regular type of gatehouse, as well as a more elaborate version from Monastery D of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector I.)

These various ancillary components of a monastery are in their own way no less essential to a residential unit than the central edifices, but as they display considerable variations of size and shape and are much less the vehicles of architectural expression than the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī*, they do not attract the same degree of attention as the more formalised types of residential buildings. Their importance lies chiefly in the fact that their identity provides an essential clue to the residential nature of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and its existence as a distinct unit.

This does not in any way signify that they were self-contained monasteries of the same order as the *pabbata vihāras* in the outlying regions of Anurādhapura. The latter type is a completely self-contained entity bearing no formal relation to any other shrines or groups of monastic buildings outside its boundaries. The *pañcāyatana*, on the contrary, was essentially a conglomeration of residential buildings forming a part of a larger monastic whole, whose focal centre was invariably a monumental *stūpa* and its attendant ritual and ecclesiastical edifices. Some of the *pañcāyatanas*, however, were equipped with their own ritual buildings, including image-houses, *stūpas* and probably *bodhigharas*. This is particularly noticeable in the

[1] See below, pp. 297 ff.

[2] Rahula, W., 1956, p. 134.

[3] *EZ* III, pp. 226-229.

pariveṇas of the Abhayagirivihāra,[1] and at the Iṉdikaṭusāya Monastery at Mihintaḷē (see fig. 11). The Mahāyānist character of the Iṉdikaṭusāya Monastery is well established,[2] and considering the persistent Mahāyānistic tendencies associated with the Abhayagiri,[3] the presence of these additional features in the *pariveṇas* of this *vihāra* may well be explained as an expression of the greater ritualistic leanings of the Abhayagirivāsins.

A feature common to most *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* and with a very different purpose and signification was the presence of numerous ponds and pools scattered in and amongst the monasteries. It is quite understandable that a society, whose economy depended largely on an ingeniously engineered system of dams, artificial reservoirs and canals, to whom water was not only an essential sustenance but a refuge and relaxation from the rigorous heat of a tropical day, should equip its great architectural monuments with a profusion of ornamental ponds and pools for bathing and drinking. The best-preserved of these is the now restored Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa, near the Kapārārāma, a monument to the creative genius of the Sinhalese designer. That the Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa is no exception is proved by the existence of a multitude of other ponds, both smaller and larger, in the *vihāras* of Anurādhapura and elsewhere. The largest of these, measuring over 500 ft. by 150 ft., is the so-called 'Elephant Pokuṇa' in the southern sector of the Abhayagirivihāra (see fig. 6).

The elements of ritual and physical purity in this ubiquitous presence of water underline the simultaneously sacred and functional aspects of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*. In keeping with the Theravāda traditions of Sinhalese Buddhism, these palaces or mansions for the *saṅgha* were as sacrosanct as the purely ritualistic or ecclesiastical buildings. The religious character of these edifices is no better expressed architecturally than in the *pañcāyatana* grouping itself. The directional symbolism of this five-fold orientation is well established in Indian religious architecture both Buddhist and Hindu, though its application in a residential context seems to be a special Sinhalese development of the Anurādhapura Period. Outside Ceylon it is only known in the *pañcaprāsādas* of Burmese architecture in the Pagān Period.[4]

The origin and development of the *pañcāyatana* group, though not necessarily of its individual components, remains more or less beyond the scope of our present knowledge. In

[1] *Sector I* (see fig. 7): Monastery A has an image-house, Building No. 7, and a rectangular structure, Building No. 8, which may well have been the base of a pyramidal *stūpa* of the Nakhāvehera and Satmahalprāsāda type (see Paranavitana, S., 1946, pp. 98-101); Monastery C has a square basement, Building No. 1, on which stood, according to Bell, a small *stūpa*; in the precinct attached to the north of Monastery B, is a small square structure, pillared all round and with a brick vestibule to the west, which may have been a *bodhighara*; between Monasteries A and B is the so-called 'Mound Ruin', a substantial edifice, perhaps another pyramidal *stūpa*, on an elevated, rocky mound (see *ASCAR* 1911-12, pp. 19-28).

Sector II: To the south of the Queen's Pavilion Monastery is the so-called 'Duṭugämunu's Tomb' (see fig. 6), which is probably a shrine complex; Monastery B (see fig. 29) has a *stūpa* in the north-west (see *ASCM* I, pp. 54-55, *ASCAR* 1894, p. 3).

Sector III: Behind 'Vihāra No. 2' is the image-house 'Vihāra No. 3' (see fig. 8).

Sector V: The Kapārārāma (see fig. 30) has a very complex *caturmukha* shrine placed immediately behind the *pañcāyatana* group; we have suggested elsewhere that this may be a *bodhighara* (see below, pp. 183-184).

In the light of the present excavations, shrines of any sort are notably absent from the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* of the Mahāvihāra, Mirisavāṭi and Jetavana, with two exceptions; Monastery I of the Mahāvihāra (see fig. 4) has a shrine, some distance away to the west, which Bell describes as a 'piḷimagē', an image-house, not unlike the shrine at the southern end of the Toluvila monastery; the presence of an image in the centre of the shrine is witnessed by the existence of a stone reliquary, 3 ft. square and with 25 compartments; Monastery C of the Jetavana (see fig. 10) has a small circular building in its south-west corner, similar to those found at Vessagiriya and Puliyankuḷam [see *ASCAR* 1900, p. 4; 1894, p. 4 and *PPAR* 1892 *(Tenth Report)*, pl. IV].

[2] *CJSG* I, pp. 166-167; Paranavitana, S., 1928, pp. 43-44.

[3] *UHC* pp. 248-254, 378-384.

[4] Luce, G. H., Vol. I, 1969, pp. 69, 252.

the innumerable examples of this standardised grouping of monastic buildings in the *vihāras* of Anurādhapura, there is no perceptible development *in time* of the *pañcāyatana* form. The variations in size and grouping that have been noticed do not seem to represent any evolutionary process that can be expressed in significant chronological terms. As we shall see later, there is good reason to believe that the *pāsāda* is an ancient and probably indigenous form of monastic residence.

We may speculate that the original *pariveṇa* consisted of a single *pāsāda* with the necessary outhouses and ancillary buildings. This is certainly implied in the *Mahāvaṁsa* description quoted above.[1] In time, when it became necessary to accommodate large numbers of monks, subsidiary dwellings in the form of *kuṭīs*—or smaller *pāsādas*—may have been added to the original nucleus. Thus, the *pariveṇa* would then appear as a cluster of buildings loosely ranged around a central *pāsāda*. With the increasing formalisation of Sinhalese architecture in Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period, this group of monastic dwellings could have evolved into the formal *pañcāyatana* arrangement. Such an explanation, however, is purely speculative. Apart from the fact that some of the earlier monastery types consist of *isolated pāsādas* grouped around a central shrine,[2] there is no evidence of any such development available to us at present.

The existence of isolated *pāsādas*, serving as ecclesiastical and residential buildings, certainly indicates that the *pāsāda* form was independent of and probably pre-dated the *pañcāyatana* grouping. This is further borne out by the apparent contradiction in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* between the rectangular form of the *pāsāda* and the square orientation of the *kuṭis* that surround it. The combination of an elongated central building with a square arrangement of peripheral structures is unusual in Indian or South-East Asian architecture. Conventionally, an elongated central edifice (or edifices) would have its attendant structures arranged in a correspondingly rectangular pattern, as for instance in the mid-9th Century Indonesian temple complex of Caṇḍi Plaosan Lor.[3] The confidence with which the Sinhalese architects adopted a plan that was composed of two conflicting geometrical elements seems to suggest that the *pañcāyatana* concept was taken over in an already evolved form and applied to existing architectural types; that is to say that the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī* had an independent existence as monastic structures before they were deployed in the familiar quincunx arrangement.

Our present lack of information concerning the form and orientation of urban residential monasteries in the earlier centuries does not allow us to determine with any degree of certainty at what stage in the evolution of Sinhalese architecture the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* became the characteristic residential unit in the *vihāras* of Anurādhapura. When the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* comes into view it appears in a fully developed form. The high degree of standardisation and the strictness with which the *pañcāyatana* plan is applied would suggest that the form was the product of some centuries of development. The present monasteries almost certainly date from the last two or three centuries of the Anurādhapura Period and we may conjecture that the original form of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* was evolved by the architects of Anurādhapura somewhere between the 6th and 8th Century. Such a date would not be unacceptable if we consider that in India the *pañcāyatana* was largely a late Gupta architectural concept.

Concepts of directional symbolism are present in Sinhalese architecture at least from about the 2nd Century A.D.,[4] in their simplest form in the *āyakas* or *ādimukhas* (*vāhalkaḍas*) of the

[1] See above, pp. 91-92.

[2] See below, pp. 266-267.

[3] Kempers, A. J., Bernet, 1959, pp. 56-57, fig. 5.

[4] Rowland, B., 1953 (2). Incipient directional ideas exist in Ceylon from the pre-Christian period, as witnessed by the 'Buddhist' Svastika coins (see Hettiaratchi, D. P. E., 1965, pp. 230-242).

monumental *stūpas* and, at their most complex, in the multi-compartmented stone reliquaries or *yantragalas* placed in the shrine-chambers of *stūpas* and beneath image-pedestals. The *pañcāyatana* concept, itself, is rarely found in the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period outside the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*. A few exceptions to this are three or four image-houses with attendant *kuṭīs* in a semi-*pañcāyatana* or *pañcāyatana* form.[1] The so-called 'Daḷadāgē' in the Citadel of Anurādhapura, which we suggest was in fact the palace of the Anurādhapura kings, seems to have been based on a semi-*pañcāyatana* plan.[2] A singular example of four appendages around a *stūpa* can be seen in the diminutive *stūpas* at the corners of the Ruvanvälisāya *maḷuva*, two of which, in a badly ruined condition, are indicated in Smither's plans of this monument.[3] The Potgulvehera in Polonnaruva is the only example of a major shrine in Ceylon in which the *pañcāyatana* concept is fully expressed.[4] It could be envisaged that the concept of 'the Saṅgha of the Four Quarters' ('*catuddisa saṅgha*'[5]) the ancient dedicatory formula found in Ceylonese and Indian cave inscriptions or the tradition of Mahinda and the four *theras*, who accompanied him on his mission to Ceylon,[6] had some bearing on the quincunx arrangement but, notwithstanding the conservatism and continuity of Sinhalese tradition, to establish such a connection over so long a period of time would be to extend a plausible argument beyond the bounds of legitimacy.

Kramrisch has suggested that the Hindu temple consisting of a central shrine surrounded by four or more chapels was a survival of the hypaethral shrine surrounded by a continuous range of cells.[7] As the hypaethral temple itself was probably derived from the Buddhist cellular monastery, one could possibly suggest that the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* had been derived from a cloistered monastery with a central *pāsāda* or from a monumental *pāsāda* with an internal range of cells.

Pāsādas partially surrounded by ranges of contiguous cells instead of *kuṭīs* have been found in Anurādhapura, though only in the Mahāvihāra and that, in Bell's opinion, dating only from a later and somewhat more makeshift phase of building than that of the original central edifice.[8] It seems possible that these 'cloistered *pāsādas*' of the Mahāvihāra, incomplete, half-obliterated or hastily built as they are today, preserve an older architectural type that was rendered wholly or partly in perishable materials. We may visualise this monastic residence as a version of or a variation on the classic multi-cellular *saṅghārāma*, not unknown in Ceylon, with a dominant central *pāsāda* enclosed on three or four sides by continuous rows of cells. This would constitute an intermediate form between the multi-cellular *saṅghārāma* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*.[9] On the other hand, the monumental *pāsādas* or *uposathagharas* of the major monasteries did have some form of internal cellular arrangement, including, probably, a range of cells along their outer walls.

If we look to the *pāsāda* surrounded by cloisters or the cellular *uposathaghara* for the origins of the *pañcāyatana* arrangement in the Sinhalese *pariveṇa*, on the basis of the principle suggested by Kramrisch, the four *kuṭīs* of the quincunx could then be understood as a symbolic pro-

[1] See below, pp. 200-203.
[2] See below, pp. 380 ff.
[3] Smither, J. G., (1894), pl. XXIII.
[4] *ASCAR* 1906, pp. 14-17.
[5] Dutt, S., 1962, p. 56; see also *EZ* I, pp. 18-21.
[6] *Mhv.* 12.7-8, 13.4.
[7] Kramrisch, S., 1946, p. 200; see also p. 197.
[8] *ASCAR* 1896, pp. 1-2; see also 1895, p. 4, 1901, pp. 3-5.
[9] We have already considered the possibility that the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* had its *kuṭīs* joined together by rows of cells (see above, p. 94); see also below, p. 269.

jection (reflecting a simultaneous process of reduction and exaggeration) of an external or internal row of surrounding cells. Such an argument, however, would require that the positioning of the *kuṭīs* corresponded to the shape of the central *pāsāda*. The fact that it does not—i.e. the *pāsāda* is rectangular, the *kuṭīs* arranged in a square—compels us to revert to our original and much simpler suggestion that the *pañcāyatana* concept, already fully formed, was artificially imposed on the existing *pāsāda*.

Thus, the Sinhalese *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* seems to be an adaptation of an indigenous architectural vocabulary to express an imported idea. The builders of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva were responsive to the changing architectural fashions on the mainland—which they adopted from time to time to satisfy their own necessities—but such was the strength and relevance of the local traditions that new developments were often filtered through existing forms. This is a process that we should expect to see time and time again in the history of Sinhalese architecture.

CHAPTER FOUR

PADHĀNAGHARA PARIVEṆA

A third type of monastery, quite unlike the *pabbata vihāra* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, to which we have here applied the term *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, is to be found in several groups of monastic buildings mainly situated in the western 'suburbs' of Anurādhapura, an area apparently unoccupied by other religious or secular settlements (see fig. 2). The distinguishing feature of these monuments, variously referred to as 'Outer Circular Road Palaces', 'Western Ruins' or 'Western Monasteries', 'Double-platform buildings', 'Tapovana Monasteries', etc., is that their central edifices are made up of two sections, a *pāsāda* and a *mālaka*, joined together by a relatively narrow passage. As with most other Sinhalese monuments of this period, all that remains of these buildings are their stone-faced basements, two rectangular stylobates connected by a stone 'bridge', thereby giving rise to the useful if somewhat insufficient term 'double-platform'.

First discovered by Dickson,[1] a few of these sites were 'excavated' by Burrows, who was convinced that they were secular palaces.[2] Bell notices them very briefly in 1890, observing 'that they possess a distinct individuality differentiating them from the sacred buildings grouped around the sacred dāgabas'.[3] The notes he made at the time are published more fully in the last of his *Reports*.[4] These give us the only available measurements for these buildings, apart from the scale drawings published later and reproduced here (see figs. 31-43 and Pls. IV, V). Bell's successor, Ayrton, began a systematic study of these structures and had them completely excavated, but his work was interrupted by his untimely death. Several years later, Hocart edited Ayrton's notes and published them in the first volume of the *Memoirs* of the Archaeological Survey.[5] Together with Bell's notes, this description—unfortunately edited with a surprising lack of care and critical attention but accompanied by excellent plans—remains the most substantial account we have of these monuments. Hocart retained the interest generated by Ayrton in these double-platform buildings, as they now became generally known, and published an account of an earlier or more primitive type from Veherabäḏigala.[6] He also used the double-platforms to analyse the development of Sinhalese base-mouldings and stone-work[7] and related their architectural form to later developments in Sinhalese image-houses.[8]

The essentially religious nature of these establishments is no longer in doubt.[9] Bell had suggested an important link between these monasteries and the *Paṁsukūlika bhikkhus* on the basis of similar buildings at Riṭigala, a site identified with the Ariṭṭhapabbata of the *Mahā-*

[1] *ASC Second (Prog.) Rep.*, p. 1.
[2] Burrows, S. M., 1886, pp. 3-4.
[3] *ASC Second (Prog.) Rep.*, p. 1.
[4] *ASCAR* 1911-12, pp. 1-17.
[5] *ASCM* I, pp. 18-47.
[6] *ASCM* II, pp. 22-30, 36.
[7] *CJSG* I, pp. 3-8, 45-48.
[8] *ASCM* IV, pp. 38-40; see also *CJSG* I, pp. 9, 143-145, pl. LXV; II, p. 85.
[9] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 2, 16; *ASCM* I, pp. 43-45, 47.

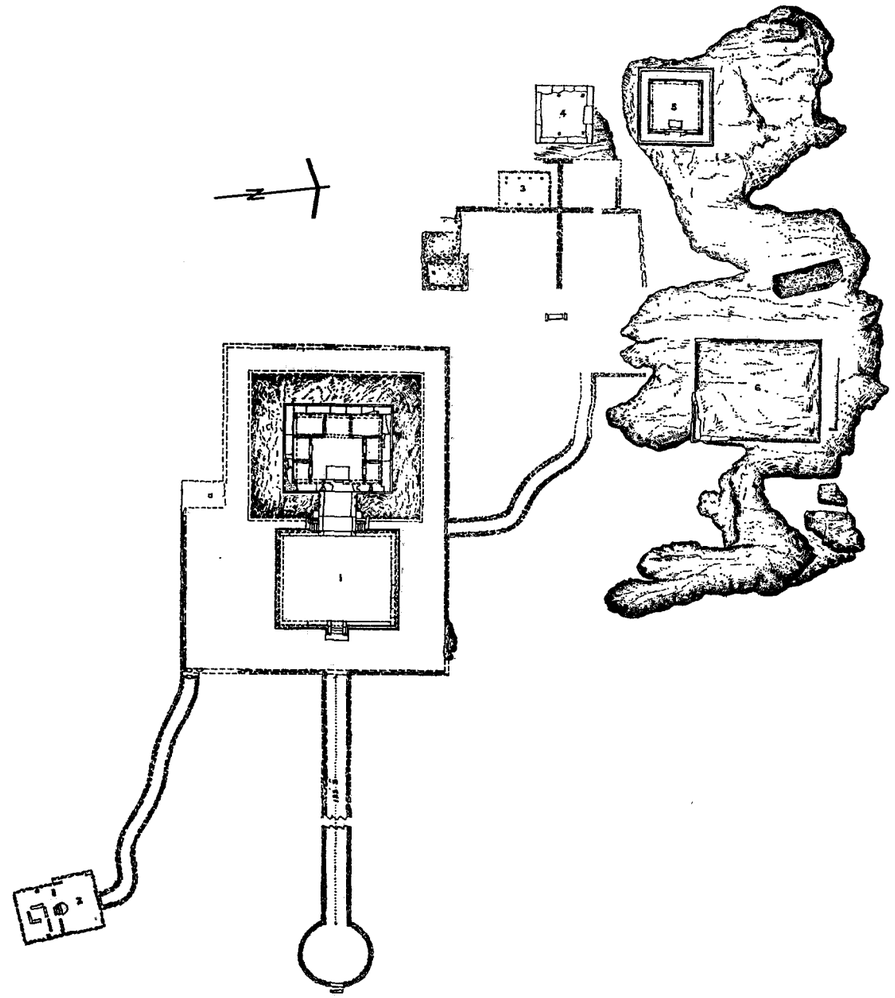


Fig. 31. Western Monastery A

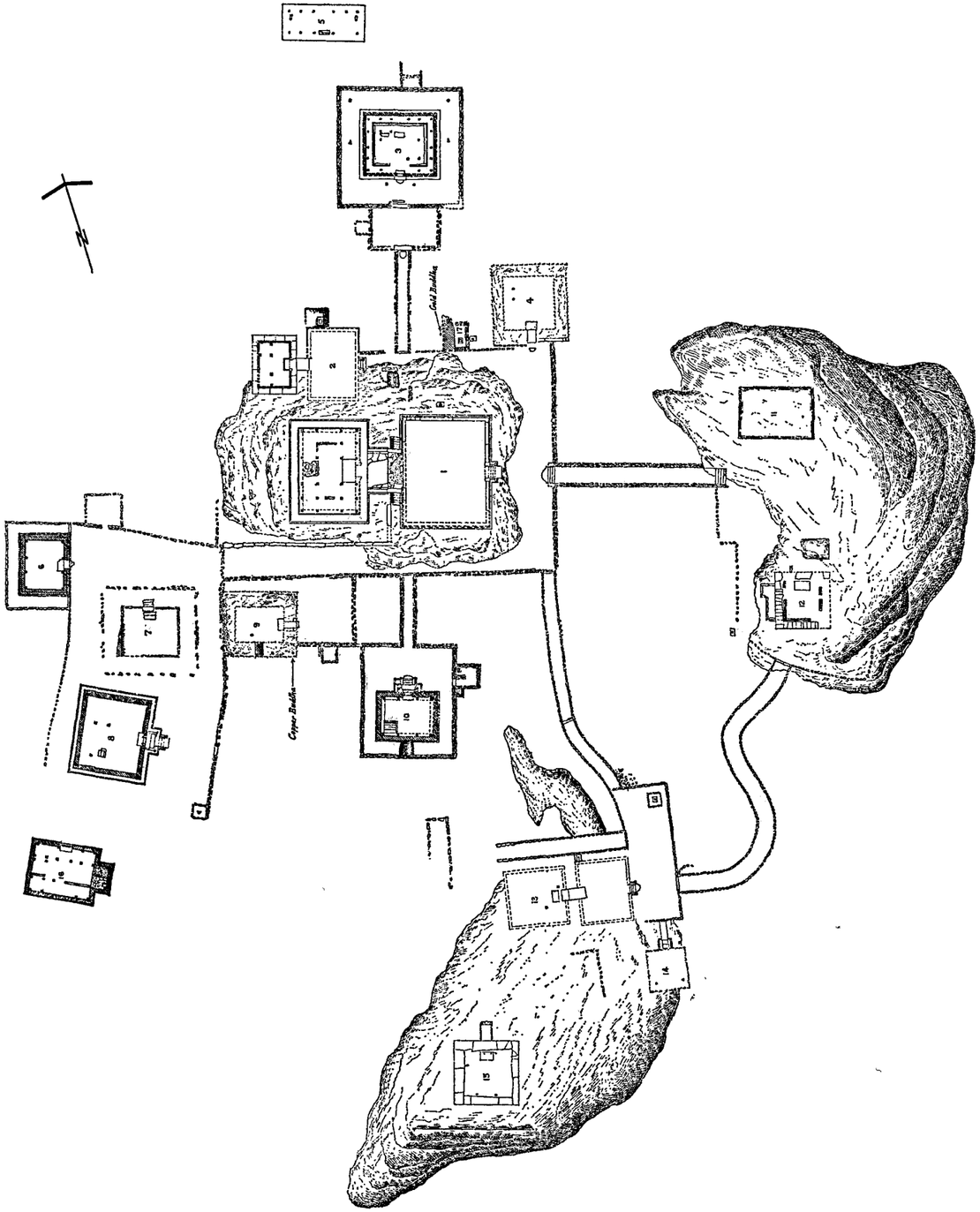


Fig. 32. Western Monastery B

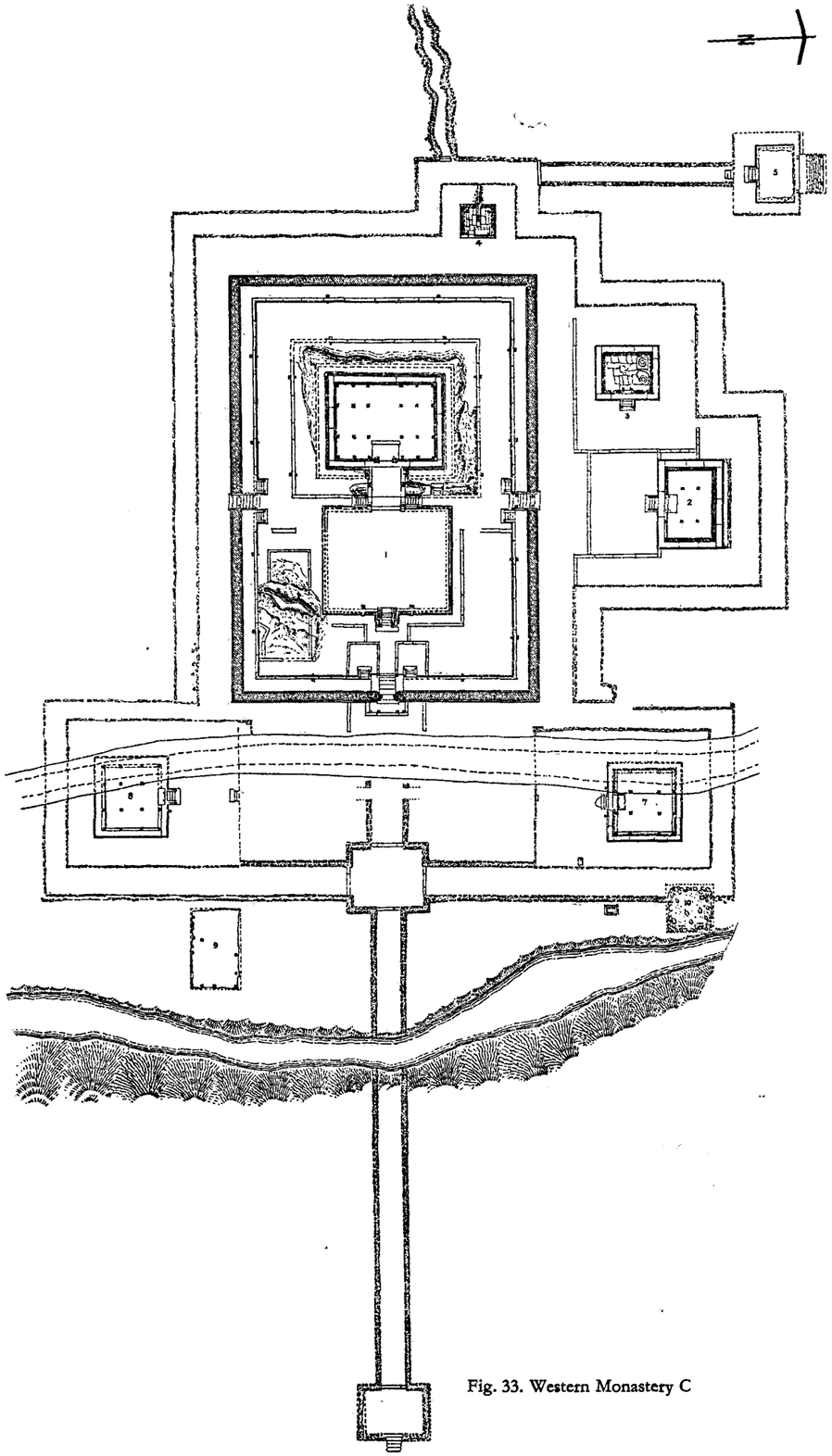


Fig. 33. Western Monastery C

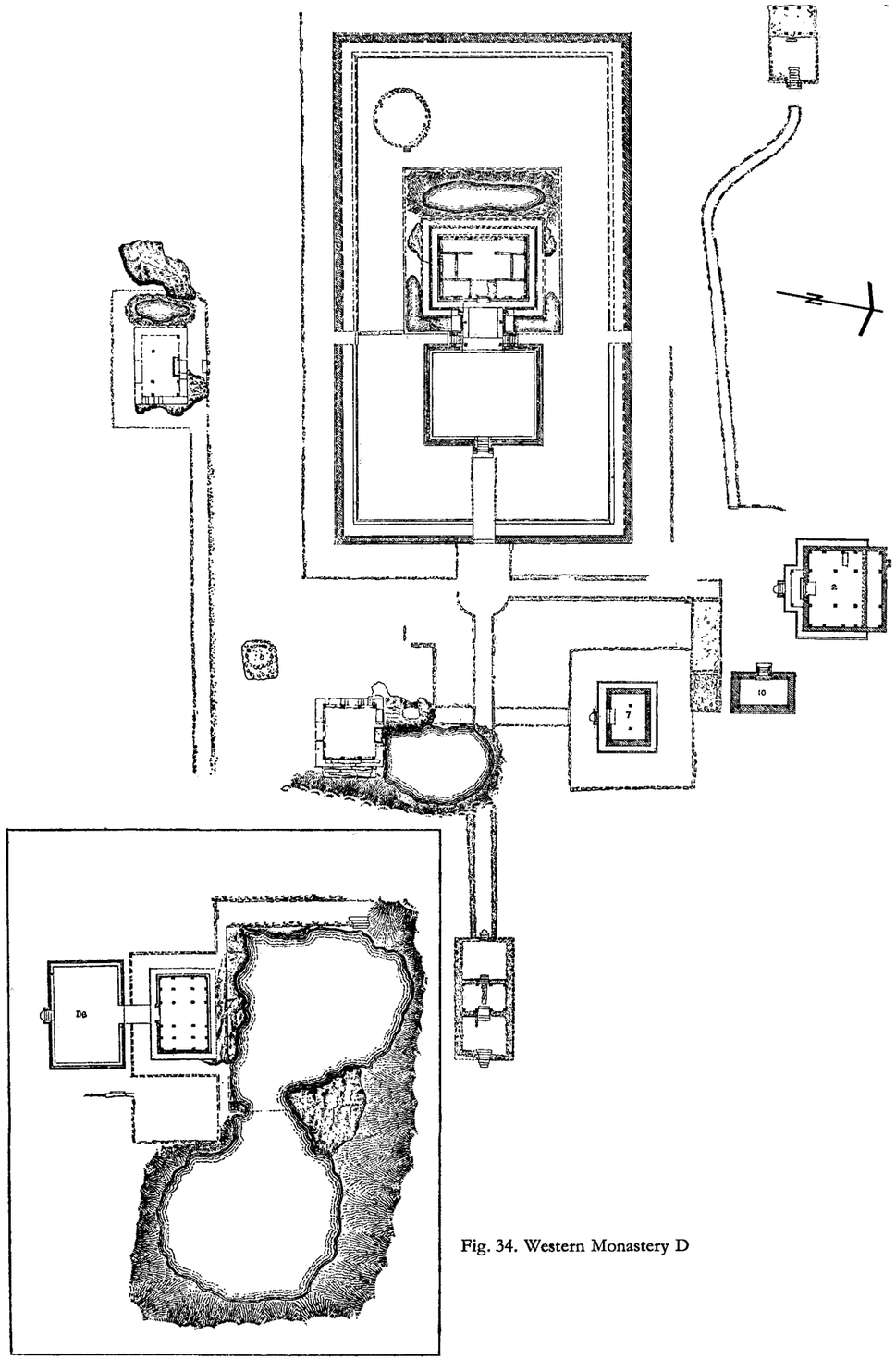


Fig. 34. Western Monastery D

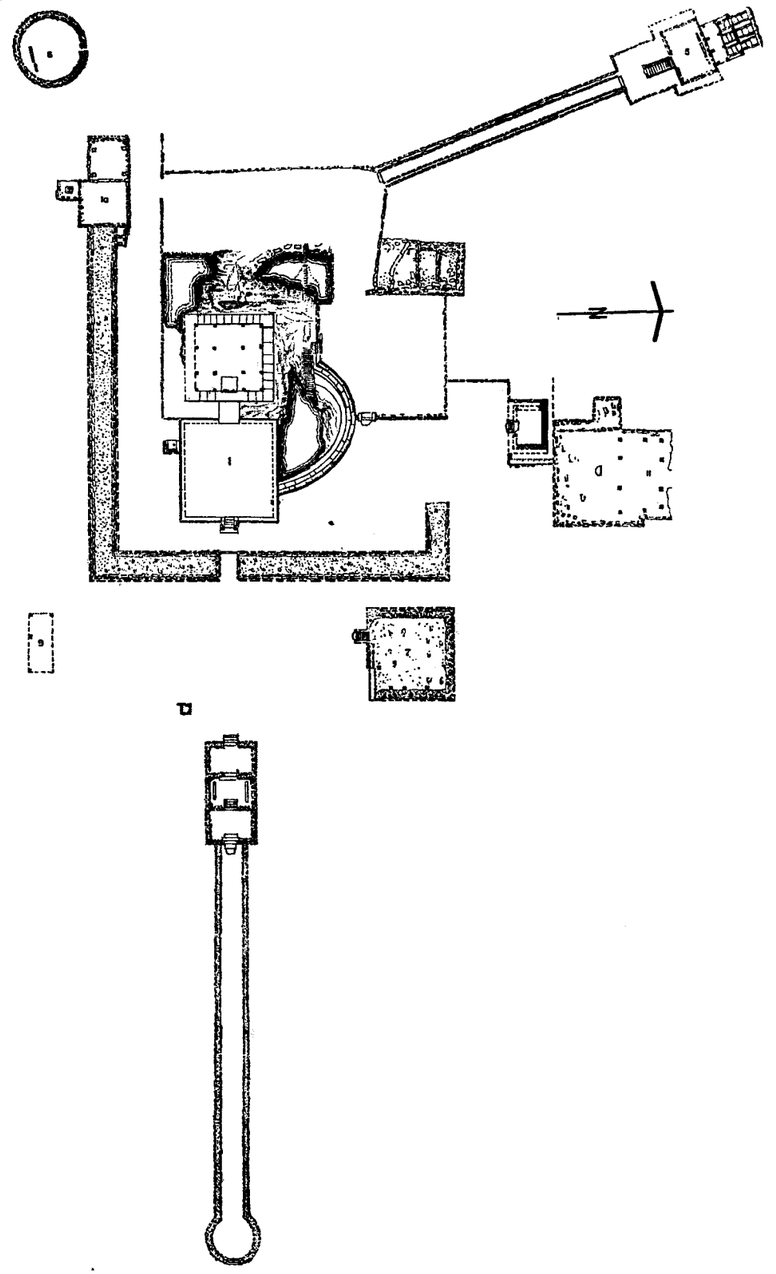


Fig. 35. Western Monastery E

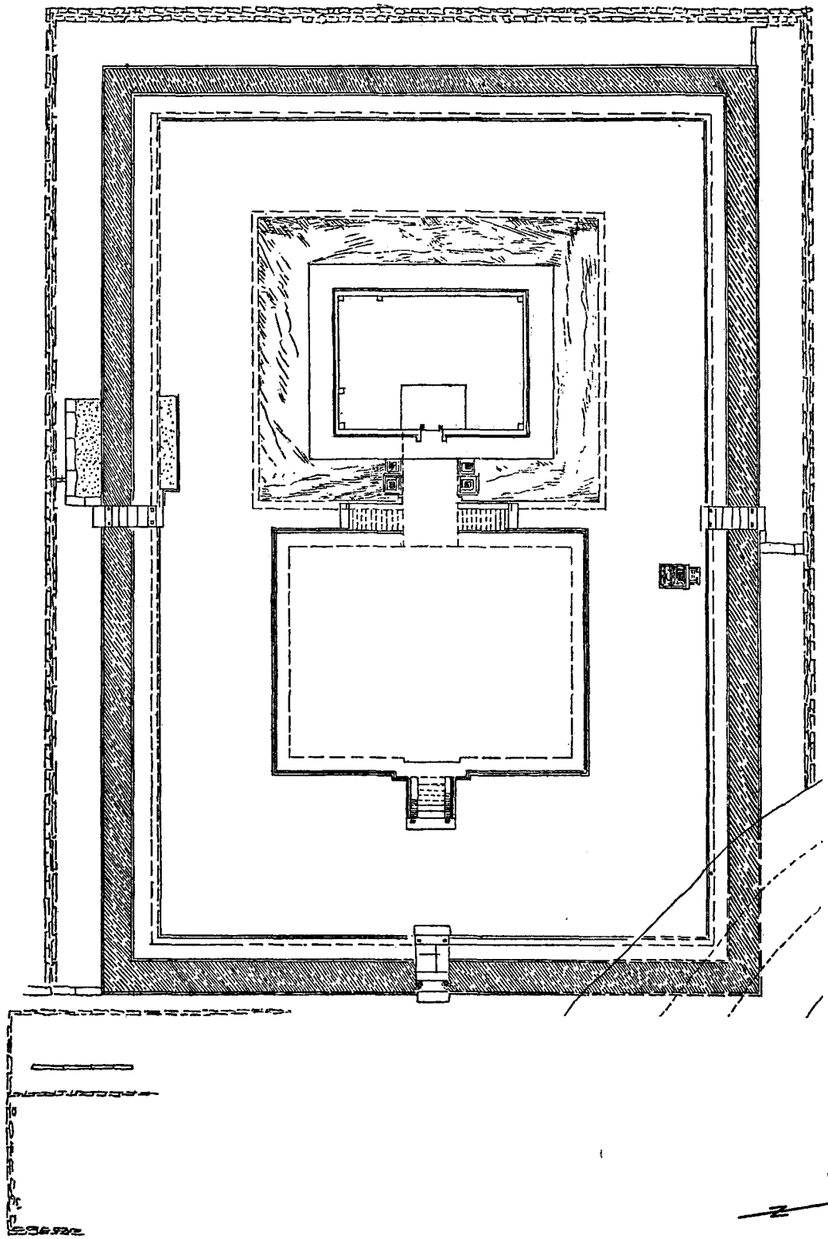


Fig. 36. Western Monastery F

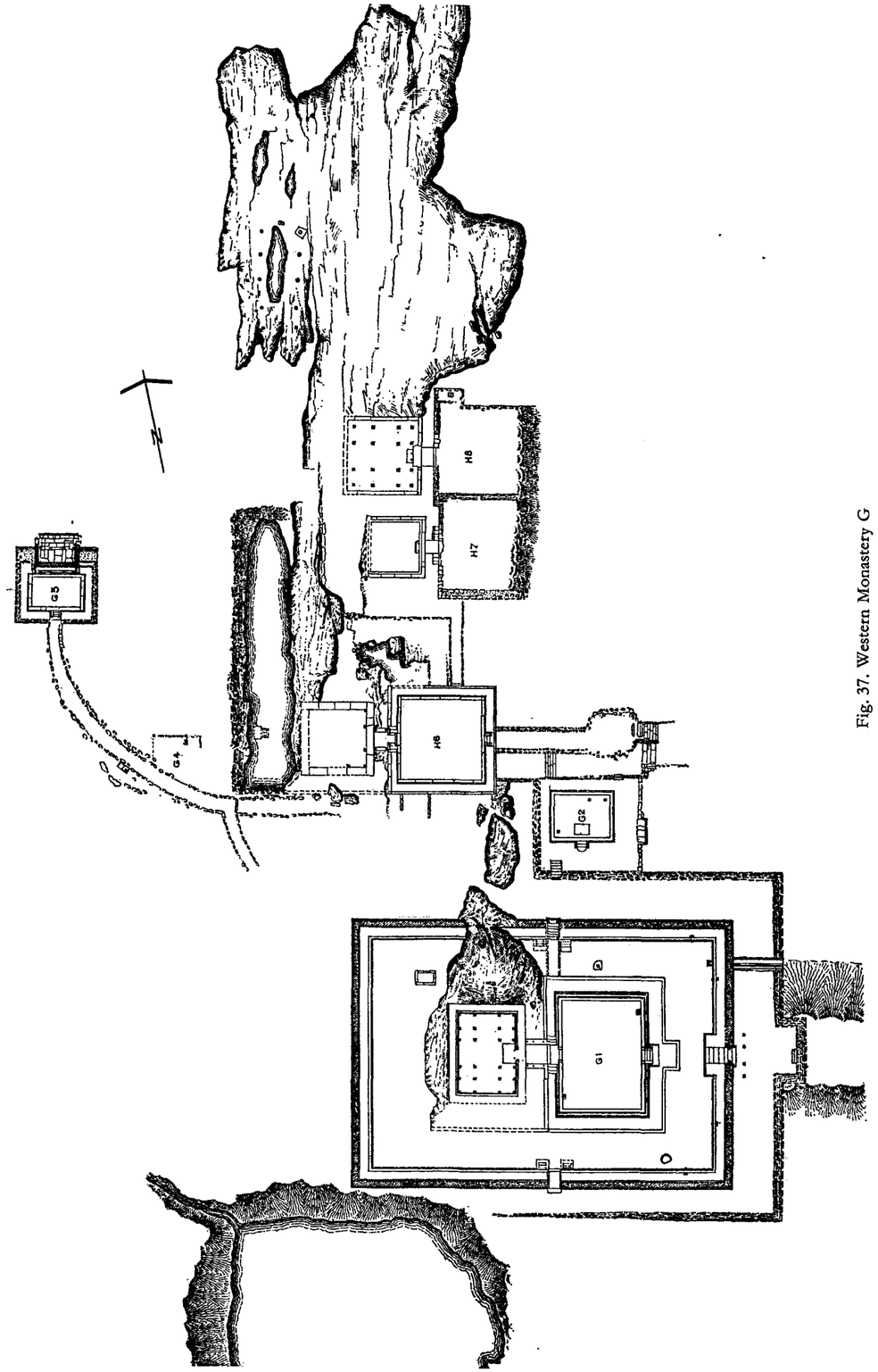


Fig. 37. Western Monastery G

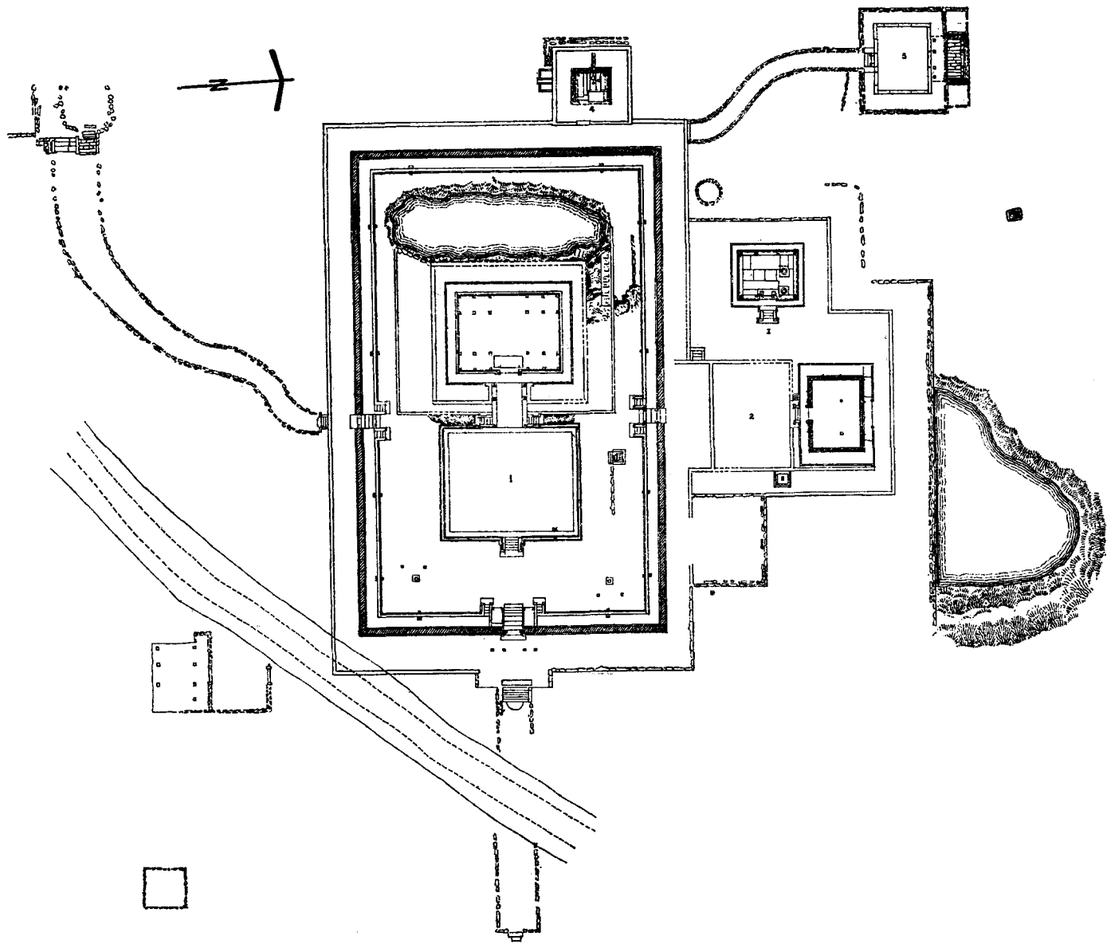


Fig. 38. Western Monastery H

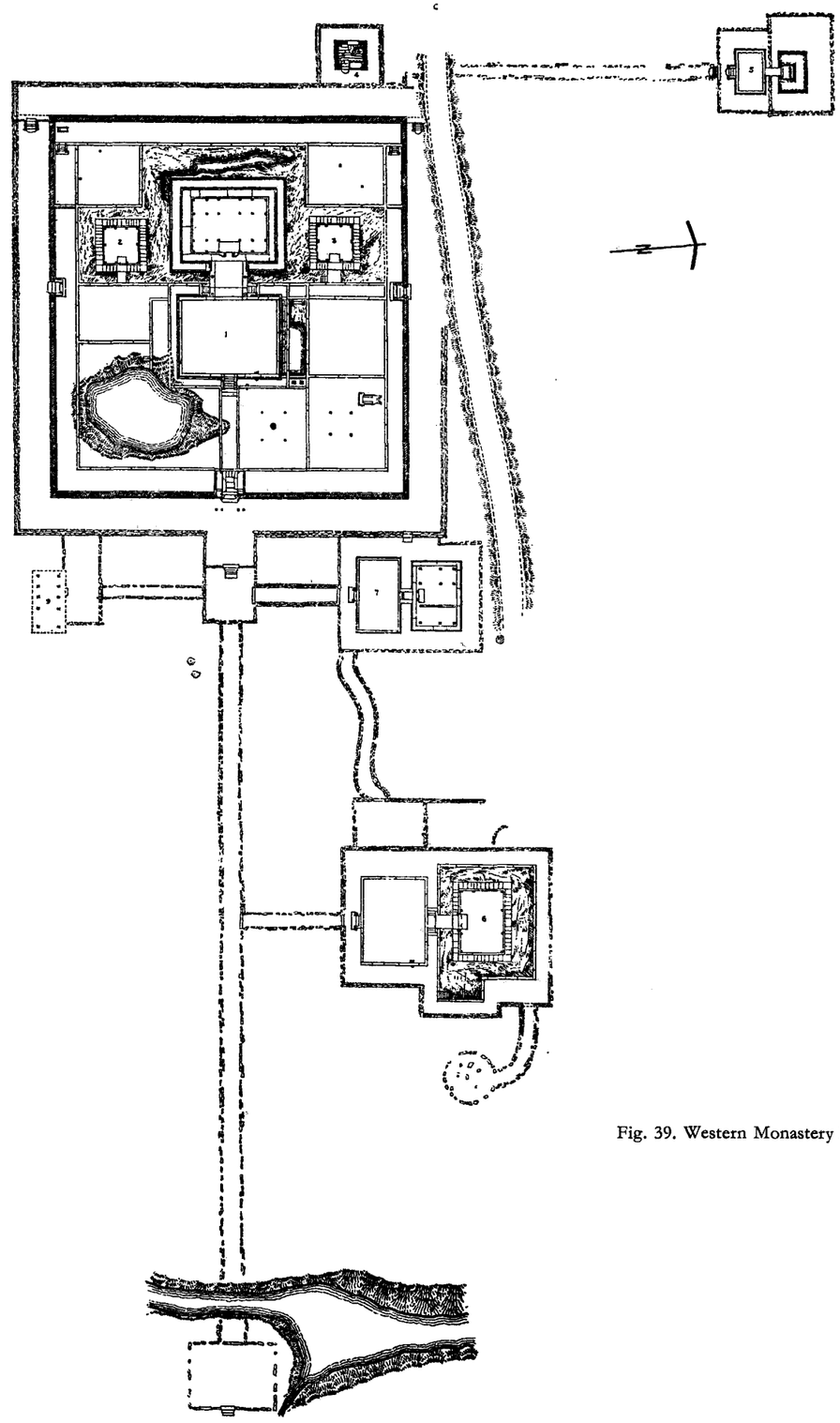


Fig. 39. Western Monastery I

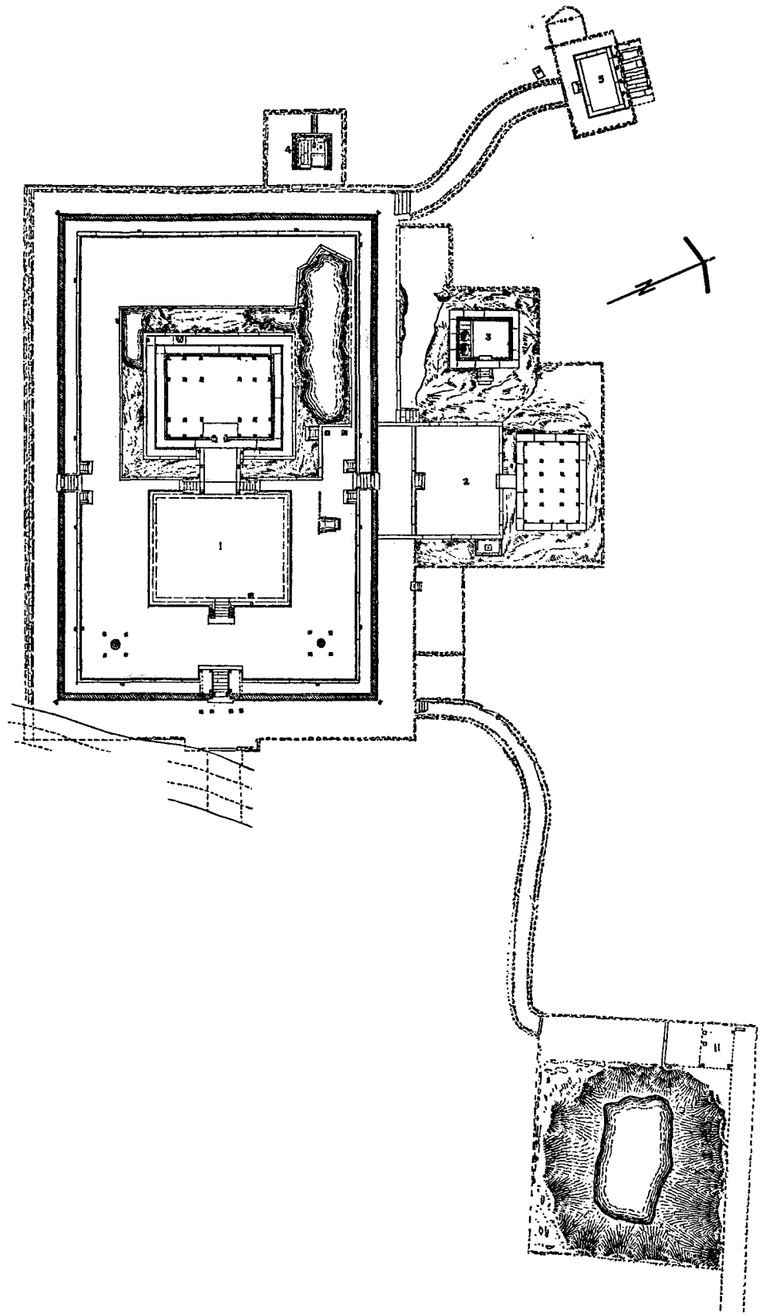


Fig. 40. Western Monastery J

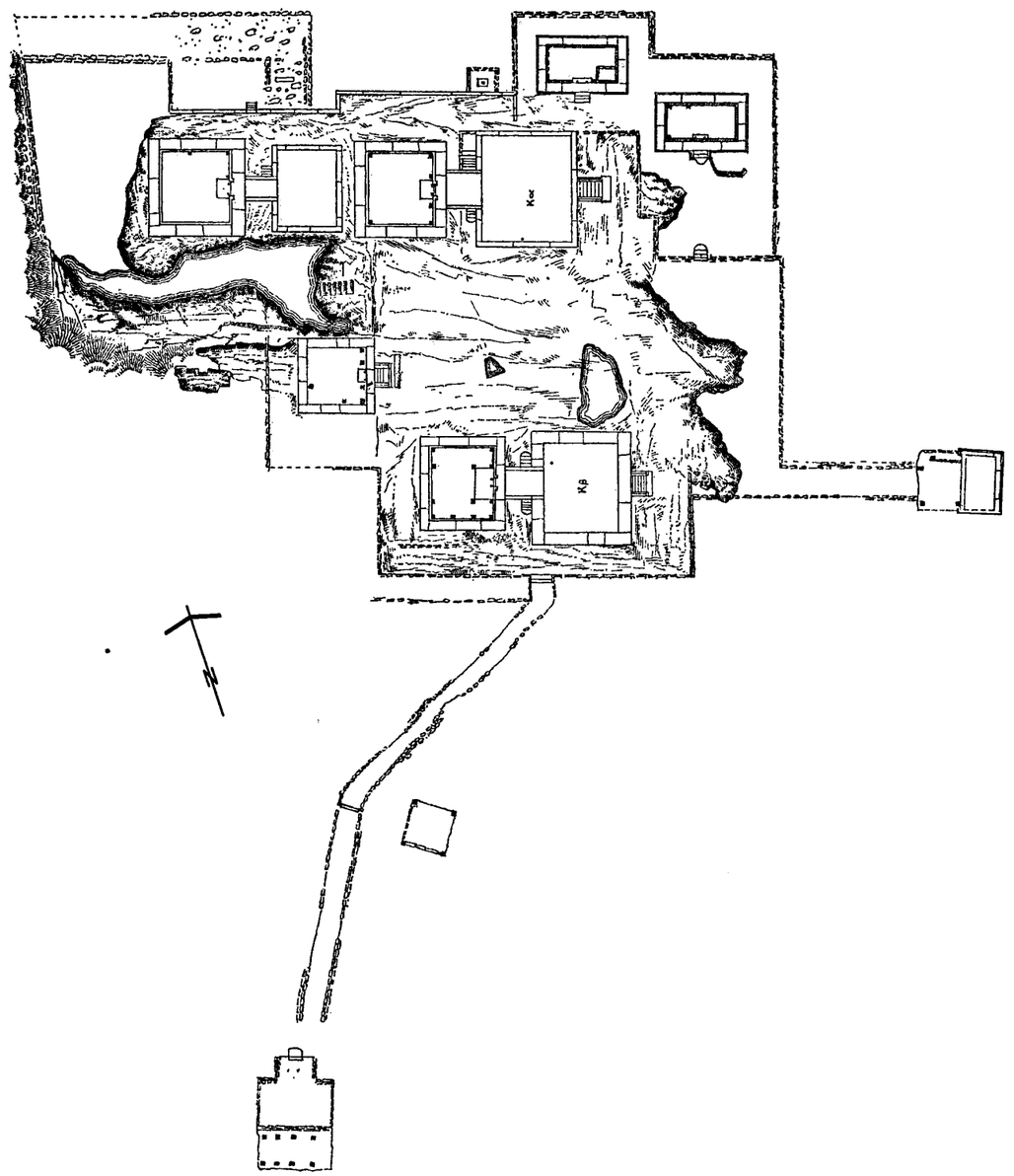


Fig. 41. Western Monastery K

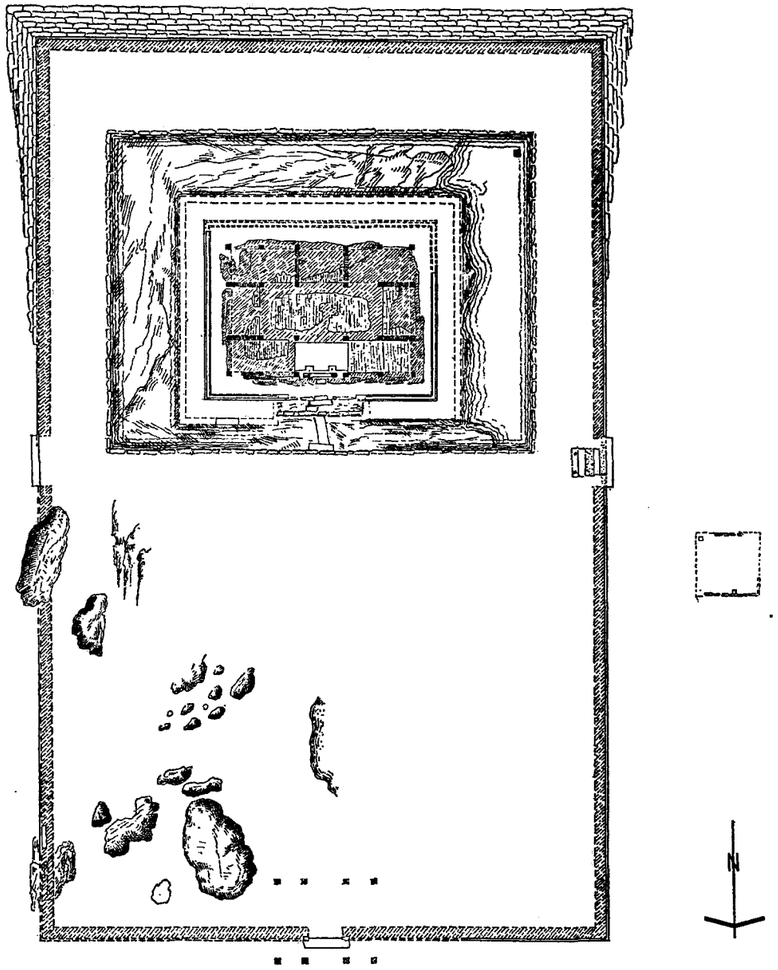


Fig. 42. Western Monastery M

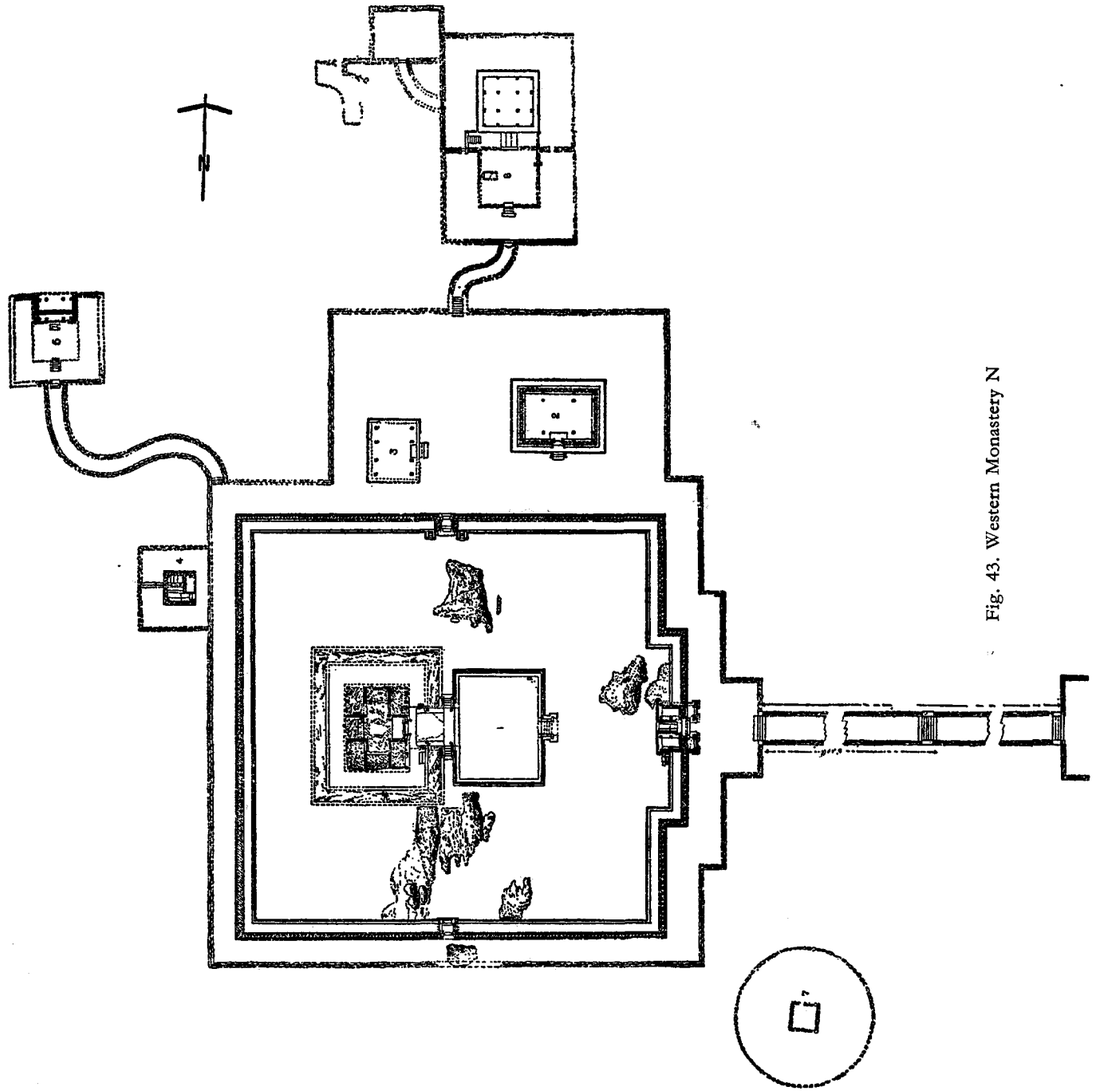


Fig. 43. Western Monastery N

vaṁsa, where Sena I had founded a major monastery for the *Paṁsukūlikas* in the 9th Century.[1] Ayrton took up this original suggestion, adduced further evidence for establishing the connection between these monuments and that ascetic order, and identified the present location of the Western Monasteries with the Tapovana, 'The Grove of the Ascetics',[2] often mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Paranavitana attributes these monasteries to another ascetic group, the *Āraññavāsins* (or *Vanavāsins*), a 'forest-dwelling' fraternity.[3] Rahula points out that the *Paṁsukūlikas*, like the *Āraññavāsins*, were not a separate *nikāya* or sect but a fraternity existing within each of the three *nikāyas*; they were derived from an ancient division into two contradistinctive groups, the *Paṁsukūlika* and the *Dhammakathika*, one an ascetically oriented order, the other didactic; a similar division is noticed between *Āraññavāsins*, the forest-dwellers, and the *Grāmavāsins* or village-dwellers, the *vipassanādhura* or vocation of meditation and the *ganthadhura* or vocation of books.[4]

The *Paṁsukūlikas* lived in both urban monasteries and in forest and mountain areas and it seems likely that in time their ascetic character, like that of other similar groups, became more formalised.[5] The Chronicles record the donation of *pāsādas* and *pariveṇas* in the Māhavihāra to the *Paṁsukūlikas* and the endowment of large revenues and the donation of many servants and slaves to the *Paṁsukūlika* monastery at Riṭigala.[6] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, the *Paṁsukūlikas* of the Abhayagirivihāra broke away from the main fraternity of the Abhayagirivāsins in the reign of Sena II (833-853)[7] and it may not be too far-fetched to associate the Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura with the new settlements of this breakaway group, considering that the area they occupy is immediately contiguous to that of the Abhayagiri. The *Mahāvaṁsa* description of the political disturbances in the reign of Udaya III (935-938) does not necessarily support Ayrton's suggestion that the Tapovana was located in the near vicinity of the Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagirivihāra.[8] It merely reports that the King and the *uparāja* had violated the sanctuary of the Tapovana by entering it in pursuit of some court officials who had taken refuge there; when the people and the army rose up in rebellion as a protest against this violation, the King and his supporters evidently took refuge in the Ratanapāsāda. Ayrton's argument is that this implies the Tapovana was near the Ratanapāsāda. In fact, the one incident does not follow immediately upon the other and there is no implication that the two places in question were contiguous. The relevant passage might be worth quoting:

> ...officials of the Court fled for fear of the King to the Grove of Penitents. The King and the Uparāja went thither and had their heads cut off. Being indignant at this deed, the ascetics dwelling there left the King's land and betook themselves to Rohaṇa. Thereupon the people in town and country and the troops became rebellious like the ocean stirred by wild storm. They climbed the Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayuttara (-vihāra), terrified the King by threats, struck off the heads of the officials who had helped the strife in the Penitent's Grove and flung them out of the window.[9]

1 *ASCAR* 1911-12, pp. 16-17; *ASCM* I, p. 44.
2 *ASCM* I, p. 47.
3 Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), pp. 20-21.
4 Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 195-197; pp. 159 ff.
5 Rahula, W., 1956, p. 197 n.; *ASCM* I, p. 47.
6 *Mhv.* 47.66, 52.21, 50.63.
7 *Mhv.* 51.52.
8 *Mhv.* 53.13-27; *ASCM* I, pp. 46-47.
9 *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. I, 1953, p. 173.

On the other hand, the influence and prestige of the *Paṁsukūlikas* implicit in this account finds it counterpart in the architectural character of the Western Monasteries, with their —paradoxically—extravagant simplicity.

Ayrton himself admits that there is only the most slender evidence to connect these remains with any particular sect:

> The complete excavation of so many buildings of one type should, one would think, have yielded some clue to their origin and the purpose for which they were built, but this was not so, and even the dating of them is uncertain. The only inscription found was a line of five letters on a coping stone of the moat round the second platform of one of the larger buildings, the letters of which date to about the tenth century A.D. In the Memoir on these buildings reasons are given for considering that these buildings were not secular palaces, but the monasteries of the Pānsakulika monks who dwelt in the Tapōvana, or 'Ascetic's Forest', and who were at the height of their power at Anurādhapura from 700-950 A.D. This theory is supported by a poor array of facts, but as it is the only satisfactory one yet put forward [it] is worth serious consideration.[1]

Even if this hypothesis proves to be true, we know so little of the actual history or nature of these peripheral monastic groups, other than in the most general terms, that the attribution is scarcely central to our understanding of these particular monuments. What is more important to us is to realise that these were monasteries of an exclusive type, designed to suit the requirements of a fraternity that seems to have kept itself apart from the general pattern of Sinhalese monasticism in the Late Anurādhapura Period. As we shall see, their peculiar architectural character does not conform in design or organisation to the more familiar types of Sinhalese monastery, nor do they seem to exist, as the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* does, as a unit within a larger monastic context. If they were component parts of a large monastery, their position was more that of a loose association of equal entities rather than of subsidiary units in a central organisation. The location of these monasteries outside the main areas of monastic and secular building, their rigid avoidance of all but the simplest geometrical ornament, the regular practice of their placing their central *pāsādas* on a rock outcrop surrounded by a moat, their high enclosure walls and the lack of conspicuous ritual elements such as image-houses, all point to the formalised asceticism of a special order, where the emphasis seems to lie in the provision of a secluded and homogeneous residential organisation.

Paranavitana, developing the idea that these monasteries were connected with an ascetic sect, identifies them with the *padhānagharas* or meditation-houses mentioned in Buddhist literature.[2] The Sinhalese equivalent of *padhānaghara* or *padhānasālā* is *piyangal*, which occurs in several inscriptions and has been rendered as '*piyangal* monastery' or '*piyangal piriveṇa*'.[3] The term '*piyagal piriveṇa*' is to be found in the *Pūjāvalī*, a work of the 13th Century.[4] It is on the basis of these references that we have here applied the term *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, first used by Prematilleke,[5] to the Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura and their counterparts elsewhere. The exact significance of *padhānaghara*, however, in terms of Sinhalese monastic architecture, is a matter of no little ambiguity. Rahula observes that *padhānaghara*, originally 'a house for meditation' and a necessary component of a major monastery, had lost its specific significance by the 5th Century and was then probably applied to an important monastic

1 *ASCAR* 1912-13, p. 5.
2 Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), pp. 20-21; *UHC* pp. 399-400.
3 *EZ* I, pp. 41 ff., 108; II, pp. 25 ff.; III, pp. 105-107.
4 *Pūjāvalī*, p. 731.
5 Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 81.

residence, which perhaps retained some vestiges of its original function.[1] In the present context, then, the term *padhānaghara* has to be interpreted in a sense peculiar to these *pariveṇas*, investing it with a meaning more specific than, or perhaps unrelated to that obtaining in the available documents.

Paranavitana does not apply his hypothesis to the unusual plan of the double-platforms beyond saying that these *padhānagharas* were the 'abodes of meditating bhikkhus'. However, I think it would be an acceptable extension of that hypothesis to suggest that the large front platform, so characteristic of these structures everywhere, must have served some ecclesiastical purpose peculiar to these monasteries and to conjecture that this may have taken the form of *padhāna* or spiritual exertions, probably in a collective or congregational form. It is likely that an order with eremetical traditions had preserved forms of ecclesiastical ritual that corresponded to their particular monastic character. Silva, in a thesis still in preparation, suggests connections between certain features in these *pariveṇas* such as the *caṅkamanas*, the ornamental urinal stones, etc., and various forms of meditation described in Buddhist texts, in particular the *Visuddhimagga*.[2]

Although the greatest concentration of these *padhānaghara pariveṇas* in Anurādhapura is in the so-called Tapovana, isolated examples are to be found in and around the city, in Monastery G of the Mahāvihāra (see fig. 4), at Mullēgala to the north-east of the city (see fig. 2), to the south-west of the Kaḷudiya Pokuṇa complex at Mihintaḷē (see fig. 11) and possibly at Vessagiriya (see fig. 12) on Rock A.[3] Several provincial sites, with one or more double-platform structures, have also been discovered, but with the exception of Veherabäṅdigala,[4] none of these sites has been excavated or properly documented. The most important of these is at Riṭigala where Bell reports 'nearly 50 such monasteries [i.e. double-platforms] some in size and finish equal to the best at Anurādhapura'.[5]

Riṭigala has been identified with the Ariṭṭhapabbata of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, where Paṇḍukābhaya, the founder of Anurādhapura, fought a decisive battle against his uncles, and where Sūratissa (2nd Century B.C.) and Lañjatissa (119-109 B.C.) founded ancient monasteries.[6] Several centuries later, Sena I (833-853) built a major monastery there for the *Paṁsukūlikas*.[7] The presence of numerous cave-dwellings at Riṭigala, with early *Brāhmī* inscriptions including one record of a royal donor, establishes the antiquity of the site. Of singular relevance, however, is the presence of the double-platform structures at a place associated with the *Paṁsukūlikas*. The double-platform buildings on the hill above the 'Bända Pokuṇa' are the most substantial architectural remains at Riṭigala.[8] The architectural features they display are compatible with a date in the 9th Century so that it seems likely that they constitute the large monastic complex established by Sena I for the *Paṁsukūlikas*. This provides us with important corroborative evidence for associating the Anurādhapura examples with that same sect. Another extensive site with about half the number of double-platforms at Riṭigala, is to be found at Mānäkanda.[9] An equally important group of double-platforms at Araṅkälē are

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 133-134.
[2] Silva, R., (thesis in preparation).
[3] *ASCAR* 1899, pp. 1-2; 1892, p. 1; 1896, p. 3; 1911-12, p. 48; see above, p. 79, n. 5.
[4] *ASCM* II, pp. 22-36.
[5] *ASCAR* 1893, pp. 8-10; *PPAR* 1893 *(Twelfth Report)*, pls. A-U and plans.
[6] *Mhv.* 10.63 ff.; 21.6; 33.27.
[7] *Mhv.* 50.63.
[8] *ASCAR* 1893, pp. 9-10.
[9] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 6; *PPAR* 1894, plan and pls. XLIV-LV.

distributed over an area nearly 73 acres in extent.[1] Excavations and a more detailed study of the remains at Riṭigala, Mānäkanda and Araṅkälē than is possible at present may go a long way in contributing to our present understanding of the form and nature of the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*.

In spite of the larger number and greater concentration of double-platform structures at these provincial sites, the monasteries in Anurādhapura represent the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* in its most developed form. The characteristic plan in Anurādhapura consists of a central double-platform surrounded by a large rectangular enclosure, with a brick wall, estimated to have been sometimes over 8 ft. high, and a wide, elevated inner terrace or *caṅkamana*. The enclosure and the double-platform building invariably face east. Outside the enclosure wall is an outer terrace, supported by a stone retaining wall and conforming more or less to the outlines of the enclosure. The *caṅkamana*, which runs all the way along the inner side of the enclosure wall, has its vertical face revetted with stone slabs and a projecting cornice. The terrace itself is unpaved. The cornice is interrupted by several water spouts or ducts which provide a form of drainage, carrying rain-water on the terrace away from the revetment. These ducts in fact consist of a long piece of stone grooved along its upper surface and connected to a square block which has a hole through it and is on a level with the surface of the terrace.

The enclosure has its main entrance in its narrow, eastern face and two subsidiary entrances towards the middle of its broader sides, north and south respectively. The main entrance is an elaborate porched doorway, built largely of heavy stone components. The best-preserved of these, such as in Monasteries C and I (see figs. 33, 39 and Pl. IV), have been reconstructed. Ayrton's description of the main porch of Monastery C, part factual, part conjectural, is most succinct:

> From the reconstruction of the porch of building C 1, the main details of building applicable to all these porches can be described. In this porch the doorway is built in the thickness of the wall, the doorjambs and architrave being slightly ornamented with plain straightline mouldings on the outer side. On the inner side of this opened two wooden doors working on pins revolving in holes in a slab of the floor below and in a wooden beam above which fitted into square notches at the top of the inner doorjambs. This beam and the door have, of course, completely disappeared. The lower pins of the doors, at least, were probably cased in iron and worked on a flat iron plate sunk in the hole of the floor. Such an iron plate was found *in situ* in a building in group Q. In building F 1 near to the main porch was found an iron bolt which suggests the means of fastening these doors. Sunk in the brick wall on either side of the doorway was a very roughly cut stone pillar. These were not visible, but on top of them and on the door rested the long architraves which [were] supported also on four pillars outside the door. [These architraves in turn] supported large horizontally laid stone slabs, thus forming a portico before the doorway. A roof similarly supported on these pillars and doorjambs and [on] four free standing pillars within [the enclosure] forms a spacious porch for the thickness of the terrace which ends here in two large horizontal slabs forming broad seats or couches.
>
> Round the edge of the roof runs a plain horizontal linear moulding, broken at the place on each side where the brick wall runs up to the doorjambs. The top of the roofing slabs of the porch is quite irregular and rough, and fragments of brick and mortar fixed to the stone suggest that there was either a room over the gateway or some sort of spire, possibly like that depicted on the stone shown in fig. 75.[2]

[1] *ASCAR* 1949, p. 9; see also Lewis, F., 1917. There are a number of lesser sites, too, such as Nuvaragalakanda (*ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 50-52), Pāgollagama (*ASCAR* 1955, p. 29), Ranāva (*ASCAR* 1958, p. 37), Budugala (*ASCAR* 1960-61, p. 33; see also Adithiya, L. A., 1971, pp. 151-155), Rahatgala (*ASCAR* 1961-62, p. 78) and Sītakoṭuva (*ASCAR* 1963-64, pp. 79-80), as well as an example at Tantrimalai (Still, J., 1910; Hocart, A. M., 1923).
[2] See our Pl. XXXVI.

Such is a typical porch of this class though slight variations are found. In buildings H 1 and J 1 stone backs to the couches are placed against the brick wall, whilst the porch of building N 1 is a very elaborate affair.[1]

The subsidiary entrances had similar but smaller porches. Flanking these subsidiary entrances and the main entrance itself, on the inside, are two flights of steps which lead up from the courtyard of the monastery to the *cańkamana*. These flights of steps, like others in these *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, are equipped with simple wingstones and guardstones and often a flat, rectangular slab in place of a moonstone. The wingstones and guardstones are ornamented with simple, rectilinear mouldings, while the vertical face of the wingstones is sometimes relieved by pilasters.

In the centre of the courtyard formed by the enclosing wall and the *cańkamana* is the main double-platform building. A feature peculiar to these buildings everywhere and possibly related to their eremetical traditions is the absence of any brickwork in their basal platforms or, with a few exceptions, anywhere else in their superstructures. Most other Sinhalese buildings of this period have wide brick retaining walls in their basal platforms, with brick mouldings or with stone facings to the brickwork in the later and more elaborate structures. These *padhānagharas*, on the contrary, have heavy stone slabs and blocks holding the earthen platforms in place or, in the simpler and earlier examples, retaining walls of undressed, irregular stones.

The first of the two platforms, which we may call a *mālaka* or terrace, is an oblong-oriented structure of compressed earth, with moulded stone facings. This *mālaka* is similar to the basal platform of a *pāsāda* in every respect but for the fact that it has no pillars or pillar bases. The mouldings of the *adhiṣṭhāna*, of the usual Sinhalese type, are topped by a coping which continues above the level of the platform to form a parapet-like feature around the building. The absence of any pillars and the presence, in several examples, of one or two water ducts, similar to those draining the inner terrace, suggests that the structure or at least a part of it was open to the sky; if it was enclosed in any way, this enclosure must have been of the flimsiest construction and could not have protected the building completely from the elements.[2] The main stairs leading to the *mālaka* are in the centre of its front, or eastern face. The steps and other components of this entrance are of the usual type found in these monasteries and are strictly aligned with the main porch of the central enclosure and with the entrances to the path or avenue leading up to the monastery.

Directly opposite the stairs, at the back of the *mālaka*, is the heavy stone 'bridge', in fact an interconnecting passage leading to the *pāsāda*. The term 'bridge' is not inappropriate here as this passage is often found in the form of a gangway of large stone slabs spanning the moat which surrounds the *pāsāda*. The stone slabs which form this bridge are amongst the most ambitious single components employed by the Sinhalese stone-masons. The largest of these slabs is placed immediately in front of the *pāsāda*, resembling the monolithic landing flagstone of the *pañcāyatana pāsāda*.[3] One of the most impressive examples of these stone slabs is in Monastery H (see fig. 38) where the multiple slabs are replaced by a single monolith measuring 14 ft. 8 ins. by 13 ft. 6 ins. by 2 ft. 3 ins. Square holes pierced along the outer edges of these slabs, ostensibly as supports for wooden columns, and the remains of numerous tiles and tile fragments indicate that these bridges were covered over by tiled roofs. Leading off on either

[1] *ASCM* I, pp. 19-20.
[2] *ASCM* I, pp. 21, 59; *CJSG* I, pp. 143-144.
[3] See below, p. 260.

side of the bridge, at the point where it joins the rear wall of the *maṇḍapa*, are two flights of steps directly facing the side porches.

The most unusual feature of the *pāsāda* in the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* of Anurādhapura is that it is invariably erected on a low outcrop of living rock. With some exceptions this is also found in the provincial sites. Where sections of the rock strata lay below the natural ground level, the topsoil has been cleared away to a regular distance from the *pāsāda* and held back by a retaining wall, thus forming a moat around the building. The basement of the *pāsāda* rests either directly on the rock or, where the slope of the rock falls away from this base, on 'a rough wall of varying height which rests in grooves cut in the face of the rock'.[1] This irregular wall is concealed by a terrace which maintains a constant level around the building. In other respects these *pāsādas* differ very little from the same type of structures elsewhere and are generally restricted to buildings of Categories D, D II, E I and E,[2] in the most developed type of *padhānaghara pariveṇa*. Remains of internal walls indicate that the interior was subdivided into seven cells opening into a central hall. Of the three cells ranged against the rear wall of the building, we may conjecture that the central cell directly opposite the entrance served as a shrine or sanctuary. Remains of a brick *āsana* or platform in these central cells were found in the *pāsādas* of Monasteries B, H, I, M and N.[3] The position of this small internal shrine-chamber corresponds to the similar feature in the *pañcāyatana pāsāda*.[4] The small paved corner, which is a regular feature of the *pañcāyatana pāsāda*,[5] is not found in these *padhānagharas*. If this paved corner was a landing for a staircase leading to an upper storey, as we believe it to have been, the absence of this feature here would suggest that these *pāsādas* did not have functional upper storeys.

The outer walls of these *pāsādas* are less substantial than in other *pāsāda* types and, with a few exceptions which have retained traces of brick walls, have disappeared completely. It seems likely that these walls were rendered in some perishable material such as wattle-and-daub or wood. Their existence, however, is proved beyond doubt by the presence of a set of diminutive base-mouldings, a sort of second *adhiṣṭhāna*, running along the inner edge of the wide gangway that surmounts the *adhiṣṭhāna* proper and by the remains of brick walling in a few exceptional examples.

The superstructures of these buildings could not have differed in essentials from those of other *pāsādas*. The discovery of numerous roof tiles and tile debris in and around these *pāsādas* provides certain evidence of tiled roofs.

The courtyard around this central edifice is not occupied by any other substantial buildings, being in effect the immediate precinct around the double-platform and not the outer boundaries of the monastery. The one exception to this is in Monastery I (see fig. 39 and Pl. V), where two *kuṭīs* flank the *pāsāda* on either side. These *kuṭīs* are connected to the courtyard in front by the usual stone slabs or bridges. Hocart maintains that these subsidiary structures 'are also double-platforms, though it is not very apparent in the plan'.[6] He also explains this unusual plan thus: the monastery originally would have consisted of three contiguous double-platforms on a much smaller scale, as in Monastery K or in the structures H6, H7 and H8 to the north of Monastery G (see figs. 41, 37), all with *kuṭīs* rather than *pāsādas* for rear platforms;

[1] *ASCM* I, p. 21.
[2] For the various categories of *pāsādas* see below, pp. 261 ff.
[3] *ASCM* I, pp. 24, 29-30.
[4] See below, pp. 258, 267 ff.
[5] See below, pp. 256 ff.
[6] *ASCM* I, p. 61.

later, the central structure of Monastery I would have been enlarged, its *kuṭī* being rebuilt as a *pāsāda* and its *mālaka* absorbing its neighbours. None of this is really acceptable. The two flanking *kuṭīs* are not double-platforms and the whole conception shows every sign of being a pre-planned scheme. The *kuṭīs* merely provide supplementary accomodation. Subsidiary *kuṭīs* attached directly to the front platform are found in the provincial sites. The stone slabs provide access across the moat to the courtyard, and there is no evidence at all of any *mālakas* other than the central structure. All we can say is that the plan of Monastery I is unique, an innovation not found elsewhere.

The courtyards of the other *padhānaghara pariveṇas* themselves are not entirely devoid of minor structural features. The south-east and north-east corners of the enclosures in Monasteries H and J (see figs. 38, 40) are occupied by the remains of two small 'pavilions', each consisting of a square or circular pedestal surrounded by four free-standing pillars. Ayrton interpreted these as pedestals for images surrounded by canopies. These pavilions can also be seen in Monastery I (see fig. 39), but due to the presence of a large rock pool in the south-east corner of this monastery both pavilions are placed in the north-east sector. Similar features may have existed in the south-west and north-west corners of this monastery. A pedestal, not unlike those found in Monasteries H, I and J, has also been noticed in Monastery G, all of which seems to suggest that this was a regular feature in the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*. There seems no reason to reject Ayrton's suggestion that there were images in these open pavilions. A gold and a copper image were amongst the finds at Monastery B and Bell's plans and drawings of his explorations at Riṭigala show Buddha and Bodhisattva figures, including two images in wood.[1]

Although no actual image-houses or *stūpas* have been found in association with the Anurādhapura monasteries, the existence of these images, image-pedestals and pavilions, as well as a *stūpa* at Riṭigala,[2] a *bodhighara* at Mullēgala[3] and a circular (ritual?) structure at Veherabäṅdigala,[4] shows that ritual features were not entirely absent from these *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, although they seem to have been only of secondary importance and much less emphatic than similar elements in more conventional monastic contexts.

A curious feature of these monasteries, and one which may well have had some ritual significance, is the ornamental urinal stones invariably placed in a position of some importance in the north-east sector of the courtyard, opposite the northern face of the *mālaka*. These urinals are virtually the only elaborately decorated feature in these monasteries, which are otherwise characterised by a singular lack of ornamentation except of the simplest kind. They consist of a flat slab of stone with a neatly excavated central depression ending in a small hole or channel which passes through the slab. This horizontal slab is decorated either with a pair of foot-rests or a representation of a single- or multi-domed building, so positioned that the urinary bowl occupies the place of its main doorway. Set into this horizontal slab is an upright block or screen of similar dimensions with a rounded top decorated by two volutes in the form of a *toraṇa*. The outer and inner faces of this screen are often decorated with domed buildings of the type mentioned above, pilasters, *gaṇas*, mouldings etc., all carved in relief (see fig. 151 and Pl. XXXVI). These are the general features of these urinal stones, though few of them agree in particulars. Urinals of a somewhat different and simpler type, not unlike

[1] *PPAR* 1893 *(Twelfth Report)*, pl. Q, figs. 1, 2 and pl. U.
[2] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 10.
[3] See below, pp. 184-185.
[4] *ASCM* II, pp. 33-36.

the usual lavatory slabs found everywhere, have been noticed at Riṭigala and Mānäkanda.[1]

There is clearly a connection between these decorative urinals and the double-platforms, although rare examples of decorative urinals have been found elsewhere; in the Mahāvihāra,[2] which, as we have seen, had association with the *Paṁsukūlikas*; at Toluvila,[3] a *pabbata vihāra* with other such minor features in common with the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*; and at Vessagiriya where the features of a *pabbata vihāra* are combined with structures that might possibly have been double-platforms.[4] The significance of these urinals has to be considered together with the other peculiarities of these monasteries.[5]

Of the various subsidiary buildings placed outside the central enclosure, we find four structures with a regular plan and location, at least three of which clearly functioned as service buildings attendant on the main double-platform. These consist of two lavatories, one immediately adjoining the enclosure wall at its north-western corner and equipped with a single ablution stone, the other, a latrine with several separate closets, joined to the north-west corner by a usually long and often winding path; a *pāsāda*, normally facing the northern entrance of the central precinct, and a smaller, attendant building, also of the *pāsāda* type. These buildings are best seen in Monasteries C, H, J and N (see figs. 33, 38, 40, 43); remains of one or more of them are found in Monasteries D, E, F, G, I, M (see figs. 34, 35, 37, 39), and in an irregular position in Monasteries A and K (see figs. 31, 41). The smaller of the two *pāsādas* is often paved and has two large, circular stone basins or depressions set in its floor, identifying it as some kind of washroom, perhaps a bathroom or kitchen. The main *pāsāda* itself has brick walls and by its relation to the central precinct, the washroom and the lavatories, and its resemblance to the similar structure in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*,[6] we may conjecturally identify this as a refectory. To suggest that it was either the main or a subsidiary residence would mean denying the residential nature of the *pāsāda* within the central precinct and would force us to explain why a free-standing *pāsāda* rather than a double-platform was used here as a regular subsidiary residence. It is scarcely possible to determine the identity of this *pāsāda* with any finality, but of the available options it would seem preferable to classify it as a service building rather than as a residence.

In addition to these regular ancillaries, several monasteries have subsidiary double-platform structures. In Monasteries B, D and I at least one of these double-platforms is placed some distance away from the main precinct and forms, as it were, a subsidiary *pariveṇa*, standing within its own simpler, rubble-walled enclosure. The clearest example of this is in Monastery I where a subsidiary structure not much smaller than the central double-platform, lies midway between the main entrance to the monastery and the entrance to the central precinct, at right angles to the main avenue (see fig. 39). The *pāsāda* of this subsidiary double-platform structure is built, like the central edifice, on a rocky outcrop and surrounded by a moat. Its immediate precinct is demarcated by a rough stone wall. Elsewhere, these subsidiary double-platforms are structures without any boundary walls. These buildings are attendant on the main precinct and connected to it by stone-lined paths. Subsidiary *pāsādas* and *kuṭīs* without *mālakas* can also be found in a few monasteries but, except in Monastery C (see fig. 33) where they form a

[1] *PPAR* 1893 *(Twelfth Report)*, pl. Q, fig. 3a, 3b; *PPAR* 1894, pl. LV.
[2] *PPAR* 1901, pls. IV, V.
[3] *PPAR* 1894, pl. MM.
[4] See above, p. 79, n. 5.
[5] See below, pp. 132-133.
[6] See above, p. 97 and below, pp. 297 ff.

kind of semi-*pañcāyatana* arrangement in front of the central precinct, they are usually supplementary additions to an irregular plan.

Other features which seem to be characteristic of these *padhānaghara pariveṇas* are the winding pathways and the various circular structures found both in Anurādhapura and at the provincial sites. The 'serpentine paths', noticed by Bell as a distinctive feature of these monasteries,[1] are in their present form merely a fanciful element of design applied without discrimination to subsidiary double-platforms, lavatories, enclosed pools and to the unidentified circular enclosures; they may, however, carry some memory of earlier monasteries in forested or mountainous areas where the natural features of the site made these winding paths necessary.

The circular structures are of two kinds. One is merely a circular entrance or halting-place attached to a large path or avenue and demarcated, like the paths themselves, by parallel rows of rough foundation stones or by a dressed stone kerb; this can be understood in the same terms as the serpentine paths. The other includes various types of circular structures, perhaps originally serving different purposes but now just simple circular enclosures of rough foundation stones.

The largest of these is to be found in Monastery N (see fig. 43), lying just off the south-eastern corner of the enclosure wall. It measures about 50 ft. in diameter, with no apparent opening, and has a small square enclosure at its centre which may suggest, to hazard a guess, that it was a *bodhighara*. Elsewhere, these stone circles are smaller, about 25 ft. in diameter or less, and in various different positions; one lies just outside the south-western corner of the enclosure wall in Monastery E (see fig. 35), another inside the south-western corner of Monastery D (see fig. 34); one is joined by winding paths to the lavatory of Monastery C (not illustrated in fig. 33) and another to the precinct of the subsidiary *pariveṇa* in Monastery I (see fig. 39).

The most substantial example, though perhaps not related in any way to these other structures, is the circular 'shrine', Building Q, at Veherabäṅdigala.[2] This building originally consisted of a square, earth-and-rubble platform with a rough stone retaining wall lightly laced with brick, on which stood a circular structure with an entrance from the east. Only the brick plinth of this structure has survived. In plan it closely resembles the Potgulvehera at Polonnaruva. In the centre of the building traces of brick masonry were found suggesting a small *stūpa* or *āsana*. The platform outside the circular structure and the ambulatory around the central feature were paved in brick. At a later date, this platform and the circular building were buried under a larger square platform with brick retaining walls and with three or four cardinally oriented entrances. It may well be that a primitive *stūpa* was erected on this later platform, as Hocart conjectures, but only the barest traces of this have survived. Circular structures, other than *stūpas*, *cetiyagharas* and a certain type of *bodhighara* are rare in Sinhalese architecture.

These circular elements, however, are only incidental to the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* in its final form as it appears in several of the Anurādhapura monasteries, whose essential features we have described in the preceding pages. There are several monasteries in Anurādhapura and in the four major provincial sites—Veherabäṅdigala, Riṭigala, Mānäkanda and Araṅkälē—where the complex elements of this plan are absent or exist in various stages of development. Ayrton classified the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* of Anurādhapura into four distinct classes.[1] The first two classes consisted of a double-platform structure surrounded by a brick *prākāra*; they are distinguished from each other by the fact that 'Class I' had a large stone porch over the main entrance to the enclosure, while in 'Class II' the porch was detached and at some distance to the east of the main doorway. 'Class III' had a loose rubble wall or a row of rough stones instead of a brick enclosure and its porch was detached or non-existent; 'Class IV' showed only a central *pāsāda* and no front platform. Ayrton also speaks of a 'Class V' which he does not define.[2]

A critical assessment of this classification shows that while it makes certain useful distinctions, it is scarcely rigorous enough to be applied to the *padhānaghara* type as a whole. The distinction between Class I and Class II, the latter exemplified by Monasteries D and F, with Monastery I as a transitional form between the two types, depends not only on a very slight variation but also on an uncertain one; both F and I definitely had some sort of porch over the main entrance to the central precinct, the only missing feature being the inner stairs on either side of the porch, leading up to the *caṅkamana*. Class III is a distinct type, an important stage in the evolution of the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, but Class IV, consisting of only a single example, Monastery L, is not a *padhānaghara pariveṇa* at all but a semi-*pañcāyatana* monastery with a *prākāra* and a *caṅkamana*,[3] features commonly found in the *padhānaghara* monasteries but not unknown in the *pañcāyatanas*.

Ayrton's classification leaves us with two important categories; one, the most evolved type, consisting of a central double-platform enclosed by a strictly rectangular, brick precinct, an inner terrace or *caṅkamana* and often a number of ancillary buildings including subsidiary double-platforms; the other, a less rigid form with a rubble wall or a row of rough stones (no doubt, a foundation for a mud or wattle-and-daub wall) in place of the brick-walled precinct and with subsidiary buildings. The latter type, with or without a *caṅkamana*, is clearly a prototype of the former and anticipates, in the plan of its precinct, the rigid geometry of the later development. To this we may add a third or primitive type, a double-platform without any precinct or with a simple enclosure that does not display any formal plan. Reversing Ayrton's categories and starting with the simplest, we may designate these Types I, II and III. Thus, our *Type I* is a primitive type not included in Ayrton's classification; *Type II* is the same as his *Class III* and *Type III* includes his *Class I* and *II*.

The majority of the Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura are of Type III. Included here are Monasteries C, D, F, G, H, I, J, M and N (see figs. 33, 34, 36-40, 42, 43). There are, of course, variations in the plans of these different examples but there is also a large area of agreement. The most regular pattern is in C, H and J where the shape of the inner precinct and the position of the service buildings are almost exactly duplicated. Monastery C has two additional *kuṭīs* standing off the front corners of the precinct. These have been gathered into the central plan by the outer terraces to form a kind of semi-*pañcāyatana* arrangement. An incipient version of this can also be seen in D and I. The service buildings of Monastery N are placed exactly as in C, H and J, but its precinct is closer to a square than to the usual rectangular form. It also has a wide bay in front and the porch is the most elaborate example of its kind. Monastery I has a similarly square enclosure, divided up into small squares by rows of low, flat stone slabs. The *caṅkamana* here only runs along the other three walls and is a path or 'ambulatory' demarcated by the same low slabs. The additional *kuṭīs* on either side

[1] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 16.
[2] *ASCM* I, pp. 33-36.

[1] *ASCM* I, p. 18.
[2] *ASCM* I, pp. 18, 32.
[3] *ASCM* I, plan facing p. 40; *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 13.

of the central edifice of this monastery have already been discussed.[1] Two of the four regular service buildings are in the usual place, the other two have probably been destroyed. The smallest of these monasteries is G, whose *pāsāda* according to Ayrton and Hocart is 'the simplest in construction and style' and probably the earliest of the central buildings of Type III.[2] In Monasteries F and M only the central precinct has survived, but there is every indication that they were in no way dissimilar to C, H and J above. Although the available information about the provincial sites is scarcely sufficient to make any comparisons, it would seem that Buildings 10, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 40 at Ritigala and Building 24 and, probably, Building 25 at Mānākanda were monasteries of Type III.[3]

Monasteries A, B and E are of Type II (see figs. 31, 32, 35). A and B have clearly demarcated precincts, forming a more or less regular rectangle, though somewhat smaller than in G above. Their courtyards, however, are merely levelled compounds held in place by a stone retaining wall. The elaborate stone porches of Type III are not found here. The central edifices themselves are no different from those of the more developed monasteries, being of the same dimensions as those in Monasteries I and D and even slightly larger than that in G. The symmetry of the enclosure around Monastery B is interrupted by a subsidiary double-platform at its north-western corner. This seems to support Hocart's suggestion that some of these Western Monasteries were reconstructions of older and smaller structures.[4]

Examples of the multiple grouping of these earliest double-platforms, often a cluster of structures arranged side by side or one behind the other, can be seen in the subsidiary buildings of Monastery H, lying to the north of Monastery G, and in Monastery K (see figs. 37, 41). Both these groups of double-platforms can be taken as examples of Type I, while Monastery E (see fig. 35) seems to be a transitional stage between Type I and Type II, with a stone enclosure and a *caṅkamana* on its eastern and southern sides.

Hocart's analysis of the base-mouldings of Monastery K and the subsidiaries of Monastery H shows that they were simpler, both in their design and construction, than those in the central buildings of Types II and III.[5] Similarly, the base-mouldings of the front platform of Monastery E are of a transitional type, coming between the plain, rectilinear mouldings of K and the decorative, curvilinear mouldings of Types II and III.[6] This would seem to confirm the typology we have developed from Ayrton's original classification.

A further element in the classification of double-platform types, which confirms as well as complicates the distinctions between the three analysed above, is the shape of the residential building behind the *mālaka*. As a general rule we might say that the simplest and the earliest *padhānagharas* have a *kuṭī* in place of a *pāsāda*, or at least a rear platform which is more nearly a square than the distinctly elongated, rectangular plan of the *pāsāda*. The *mālaka* is usually rectangular except in a few examples as in Monastery E, where it is, itself, a square. Thus, in Anurādhapura, all buildings of Type I have *kuṭīs*, while Types II and III have *pāsādas*. At Ritigala and Mānākanda, however, the *pāsāda* is unknown and its place is taken by a *kuṭī*, even in *padhānagharas* of Type III. We can, probably, only explain this as the conservatism of the provincial fraternities responsible for these monuments.

[1] See above, pp. 121-122.
[2] *ASCM* I, p. 32.
[3] *PPAR* 1893 (*Twelfth Report*), "Plan of ancient ruins at Ritigala-Kanda"; *PPAR* 1894, "Plan of ancient ruins at Māṇé-kanda".
[4] *ASCM* I, p. 61.
[5] *ASCM* I, p. 60.
[6] *ASCM* I, plan fac. p. 60.

Hocart used the double-platform structures as a basis for the analysis of Sinhalese stone masonry.[1] Although his studies in the design and construction of the retaining walls of these and other stone basal platforms may have little bearing on the actual chronology of building types, we must acknowledge that his is about the only serious attempt to establish a systematic analysis of the development of Sinhalese architectural forms and methods. The significance of his studies in Sinhalese base-mouldings is dealt with elsewhere.[2] Briefly summarised below is that part of Hocart's classification which is relevant to the development of the *padhānaghara*. Of the eight successive stages in the development of Sinhalese stonework which Hocart puts forward tentatively, only the first six are applicable here:

A. Rubble: walls constructed of rubble, i.e. stones in their natural state or fragments of slabs.
B. Transition rubble: rubble walls with coping stones dressed on their exposed surface.
C. Rough irregular ashlar: the rock is cut into slabs of any shape which will fit the stones next to it.
D. Smooth irregular ashlar: differs from the preceding stage in that the surface is chiselled quite smooth.
E. Plain regular ashlar: stones cut square and arranged in two or three courses; plinth (which may be omitted), dado, coping stone.
F. Early moulded ashlar: a development from the preceding stage; the coping stones and plinths are moulded..... the torus which is sometimes inserted above the inverted cyma at the base already appears in this period.[3]

Hocart himself questions the validity of the distinctions between A and B and between D and E, and this classification may have to be revised in the light of further field studies.

For the time being we may replace Hocart's six stages with three major constructional methods:

a. *Rubble:* comprising Hocart's categories A and B.

b. *Plain ashlar:* consisting of sizeable slabs of dressed stone with rectilinear mouldings, usually only coping and (optional) plinth with a plain, undecorated dado. This includes Hocart's categories D and E, as well as his category C as a more primitive version of D, or a transitional form leading up to it.

c. *Moulded ashlar:* the same as Hocart's stage F. It is similar to *b.* above but with the addition of the characteristic Sinhalese curvilinear mouldings.

We may apply these three stages or constructional forms to the development of the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* which we have already discussed. One must, of course, bear in mind that while these almost certainly represent successive stages of development, the buildings which bear the respective styles and techniques are not necessarily coeval with the period in which any particular form evolved or flourished. Thus, platforms with *rubble* retaining walls may be, for reasons of economy or conservatism, contemporaneous with platforms in *moulded ashlar*. Generally speaking, subsidiary structures tend to be in a simpler and earlier technique than the main buildings of a monastery, even though they may have actually been built later.

In terms of absolute chronology, these stages can only supply the *earliest* date for the evolution of any particular form; as with architectural types, the earlier styles continued, usually in less important or provincial structures, long after they had been supplanted by new developments in the mainstream of the evolving tradition. It must also be kept in mind that

[1] *CJSG* I, pp. 3-9, 45-49; see also pp. 92-94.
[2] See below, pp. 317 ff.
[3] *CJSG* I, pp. 45-48.

these stages do not necessarily correspond to similar developments in brickwork or incidental stonework such as the base-mouldings of *āsanas*, guardstones, etc.

The earliest *padhānagharas* are undoubtedly the buildings excavated at Veherabäṅdigala,[1] which are very poorly constructed in *rubble* and are all of Type I.[2] Examples of similar structures in Anurādhapura can be found in H 7 and H 8 (see fig. 37) to the south-west of the main *padhānaghara* of Monastery H. Hocart dates the monuments at Veherabäṅdigala in the 3rd or 4th Century, on the basis of two inscriptions of that period found near Building Q.[3] This date seems to me to be about two or three centuries too early.[4] The inscriptions may not be contemporaneous with the buildings, but nothing can be said about this until we know more about the architecture of this period. The monuments at Riṭigala, Mānäkanda and Araṅkälē seem to be mostly in *plain ashlar*. At Riṭigala, Mānäkanda and, apparently, at Araṅkälē the *plain ashlar* style is applied to *padhānagharas* of Types I, II and III. A deviant form, with 'radiatry foundations' is described below.[5] At the same time, the most developed versions of Type III, with a *pāsāda* instead of a *kuṭī* are not found at these provincial sites. In the Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura, the *plain ashlar* is generally restricted to *padhānagharas* of Type I, with the exception of Monastery G (Type III) whose *pāsāda* is in this technique. The *moulded ashlar* style seems to be restricted to Types II and III, all of which have *pāsādas* rather than *kuṭīs*.

In conclusion, we may correlate these different classifications and put forward a conjectural sequence of development, illustrated diagrammatically in fig. 44:

Phase A *Rubble* platforms of Type I

Transition A primitive, roughly dressed form of *ashlar* applied to Type I (conjectural)[6]

Phase B *Plain dressed ashlar* beginning with Type I and developing into Types II and III (with *kuṭī*)

Transition *Plain dressed ashlar* applied to Type II (with *pāsāda*—conjectural) and Type III (with *pāsāda*)[7]

Phase C *Moulded ashlar* applied to Type II (with *pāsāda*) developing into Type III (with *pāsāda*). There must have been a considerable overlap between this phase and the later developments of Phase B, the one representing a metropolitan tradition, the other mainly provincial.

To relate this development to actual dates is scarcely possible until we have a working chronology of Sinhalese monuments. In these *padhānaghara parivenas*, however, we have an apparently continuous sequence of development unobtainable, in our present state of knowledge, elsewhere in the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period. This gives us a rare opportunity to attempt a rough chronology.

Hocart, himself, made some efforts in this direction. He assigned the *rubble* work to the 3rd or 4th Century[8], *plain ashlar* to the 4th or 5th and *moulded ashlar* to the 6th Century,[9] although he qualified his statements as mere 'approximations based upon a convergence of

[1] *ASCM* II, pp. 22-30.
[2] See above, pp. 124-125.
[3] *ASCM* II, p. 35.
[4] See below, p. 130.
[5] See below, p. 132.
[6] This would correspond to Hocart's *rough irregular ashlar* found at the refectory, Building O, Veherabäṅdigala. There do not seem to be any actual double-platforms in this style.
[7] E.g. Western Monastery G.
[8] *ASCM* II, p. 35.
[9] *CJSG* I, pp. 93-94.

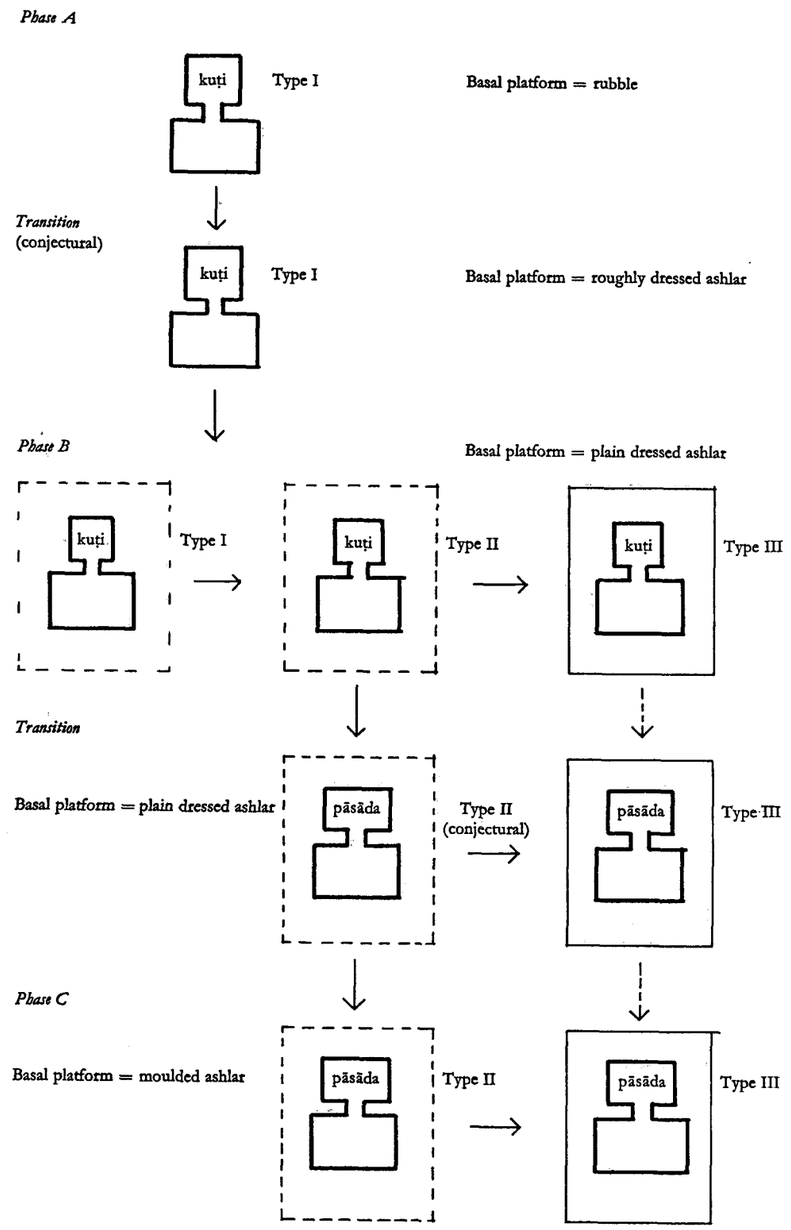


Fig. 44. Evolution of the Padhānaghara Parivena

probabilities'. These dates may well apply to the emergence of the styles and methods but not to the actual monuments that we are dealing with here, where they seem much too early. There is little disagreement that the Anurādhapura buildings can be assigned to Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period, that is to say between the 8th and 10th Century. It is unlikely that the finished stonework of the *ashlar* styles was applied extensively to buildings much before the 8th Century. We may be even more specific. We have already suggested that the bulk of the monuments to be seen on the surface in Anurādhapura dates from the reconstruction that began after the Pāṇḍyan invasion in the reign of Sena I (833-853). It seems likely that Sena I was responsible for initiating the building activities at Riṭigala. Thus, we may suggest that the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* of Types II and III in the two *ashlar* styles had reached their final form between the mid-9th Century and the 10th. This provides us with an upper dating for the *padhānagharas*. Types II and III were probably the result of a century or two of development, which takes us back to the early 8th or late 7th Century. On the basis of a similar period of previous development we can assign the Type I *rubble* buildings at Veherabāṅdigala to a date between the 5th and 7th Centuries, i.e. Phase III of the Anurādhapura Period.[1] Thus, the sequence outlined above would have evolved in the course of five or six centuries between the 5th and the 10th Century (see fig. 44).

The origin and purpose of the double-platforms and of their other characteristics, such as the lack of ornamentation, the heavy stone components, the construction of the *pāsāda* on rock, the moat around it, and the elaborate urinals, require some explanation.

We have already drawn attention to the fact that the particular character of these monasteries seems to be in keeping with their ascription to an ascetic and meditative order. These sectarian requirements must have had some bearing on the peculiar form of the double-platform, with its large, 'open' *mālaka* closely attached to the *pāsāda*, a design which goes back to the earliest and crudest of these structures at Veherabāṅdigala. The explanations hitherto offered by Ceylonese archaeologists concur in attributing this design to the forest origins of these monasteries:

> May not the forest dwellers have built their first cells on the top of rocks, both for safety and for protection from floods, &c., a bridge between two rocks would have become a feature and the whole may have been copied by the royal architects when ordered to build *suitable* residences for these forest dwellers?[2]
>
> (Ayrton)

> the *padhānaghara*, or meditation-house... must have had its origins in the humble hut of the ascetic, perched on a rock in the forest, and surrounded by a moat to ward off wild beasts.[3]
>
> (Paranavitana)

> Early forest-dwelling monks built their *kuṭis* on rock-outcrops as protection against wild animals. When two such huts were built on adjacent boulders they were joined by a bridge, possibly by means of a log or a block of stone.[4]
>
> (Prematilleke)

Although one cannot disagree with the general implications of these suggestions, they bear more relevance, I think, to the choice of site rather than to the actual form of the double-

[1] See above, p. 128.
[2] *ASCM* I, p. 47.
[3] *UHC* p. 399.
[4] Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 81.

platform structure. A more specific explanation would have to be looked for in the cult practices of the ascetic fraternity.[1] A raised platform, either open to the sky or partially covered by some sort of temporary structure,[2] large enough to accommodate the members of a single group or unit engaged in their particular group activities would aptly explain the character and purpose of the *mālakas* we are dealing with here. Such *mālakas* or basal platforms are a common feature of all Sinhalese buildings. Closely attached to this, for reasons of convenience or perhaps in order to preserve an element of seclusion, would be the residential quarters in the form of a *pāsāda* or *kuṭī*, the characteristic Sinhalese monastic dwellings. The close proximity of the *mālaka* and the *pāsāda* would seem to underline the concentrated attention focussed on the activities that took place on the *mālaka*. The double-platform building could thus be interpreted as a composite structure incorporating familiar elements of Sinhalese architecture and serving a particular monastic purpose. In the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* we saw that the Sinhalese architects employed local architectural forms to express an imported idea; here, we see the same local tradition supplying a purely indigenous monastic requirement.

Similarly, the bridge connecting the two structures and the moat around the *pāsāda* do not necessarily require an explanation based upon a conjectural forest or mountain prototype. They can be explained simply as functional expedients deriving from the ritual conventions governing the form and location of the two buildings. It would seem that the *pāsāda* and the *mālaka* had to remain two separate and unamalgamated structures, interconnected but each accessible without recourse to the other. We may gather from this that the *mālaka* had its own special status and was not merely an antechamber to the main edifice, as Hocart suggests. Thus, normal movement to and from the residential building would not in any way involve the *mālaka* strictly reserved for its own ritual or ecclesiastical purposes. The bridge would then appear to be the most natural way of connecting two high platforms in close proximity to each other. As Hocart observes, 'if two foundations are raised above the ground the gangway between them must be a bridge'.[3] The *mālaka* is invariably larger than the *pāsāda*. At the three major provincial sites, a *kuṭī* takes the place of the *pāsāda*. In several examples, one, or more rarely, two additional chambers are attached to different sides of the *mālaka*, pointing, one might infer, to its essentially congregational nature.

The purpose of the *pāsāda*, on the other hand, is scarcely in doubt. The presence of internal cells, each with its own doorway, clearly establishes its residential character. The recognition of the true purpose of the *pāsāda* as it appears in these *padhānagharas*, adds to the body of interrelated evidence that points to the essentially residential nature of the *pāsāda* as a generic type in Sinhalese architecture. If further proof were needed, one could point to a number of corroborative factors—as in the case of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, but here with even greater confidence: i. the multiplicity of these buildings in a relatively restricted area; ii. the interchangeability of the *pāsāda* with the *kuṭī*; iii. the presence of lavatories and bathrooms attendant on the central precinct; and iv. the existence of urinals and rock-cut ponds within the precinct itself, often with steps leading down into them, etc. Both Bell, who first used the

[1] See above, pp. 117-118.
[2] The possibility that there was some kind of 'ascetic's tree' on the front platform seems to me to be very unlikely, considering the architectural character of the *mālaka* with its heavy stone components, its consistent rectangularity, etc. What there might have been was a highly formalised structure of perishable materials representing such a tree, cave or *paṇṇasālā*.
[3] *ASCM* I, p. 59.

term 'Western Monasteries'[1], and Paranavitana[2] agree that these *padhānaghara pariveṇas* were residential monasteries. Hocart, preoccupied with his idea that the double-platform was the prototype of the image-houses of a later period, is alone in maintaining that these buildings were 'temples'.[3]

The trouble the builders of these double-platforms took to erect the *pāsāda* on bare rock is more difficult to understand. It is certainly not, as Hocart quite rightly points out, for constructional reasons but more likely for religious ones.[4] The tendency of the early Buddhists, in Ceylon as well as in India, to choose secluded and rocky mountain sites for their cave-dwellings and even for more ambitious monastic settlements is in keeping with the ascetic and eremetical traditions of the religion. It is a practice which continues in Buddhist countries such as Ceylon and Burma up to the present day. In the *padhānagharas* this natural tendency seems to have hardened into a rigid convention in order to accommodate, at least symbolically, the lineaments of a fraternity with ascetic origins; thus the dwelling-house built on virgin rock with its substructure of severely plain stone slabs and its avoidance of brick masonry, the conventional architectural material of the period, becomes, one might say, the symbolic equivalent of the cave-monastery, the original residence of hermit monks.[5]

Not all the double-platforms, however, are built on rocky outcrops. Judging from the available published material, several examples at Riṭigala and Mānäkanda are built on soil, and in some of these an unusual constructional technique, unknown elsewhere in Sinhalese architecture (?), seems to have been adopted: the *kuṭīs* of some double-platforms are erected on long stone slabs or 'logs' which radiate outwards from an imaginary centre like the spokes of a square wheel. On these 'radiatry foundations' rest wide coping stones delineating the square plan of the structure. The ends of the long stone slabs project on either side of this coping. A good example of this type of structure can be seen in Building No. 28 at Mānäkanda, details of which have been published by Bell in connection with his explorations at this site.[6]

The moat around the *pāsādas* of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, like the stone bridge connecting the *pāsāda* to the *mālaka*, can only be explained as a constructional expedient. This was recognised at the outset by Hocart, who points out that 'The moat is simply a consequence of building on an outcrop which does not offer a broad enough surface above ground; it then becomes necessary to dig all round to disengage enough of it to build upon'.[7] The suggestion that the moat was originally a protective feature cannot be accepted as it is not to be found in the simpler types of *padhānaghara*.

The importance and curious embellishment given to the urinals suggest that they deserve to be credited with something more than a purely utilitarian purpose. Hocart saw in them evidence of some excretory ritual:

> Obviously, it was not considered that the purpose for which they were intended was base. The performance of natural functions by the monks must have been regarded in the light of a holy rite.[1]

[1] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 16; see also, pp. 1-2.
[2] See above, p. 118.
[3] *ASCM* II, p. 36; see also above, p. 102.
[4] *ASCM* I, p. 57.
[5] Might we see in the seven cells of the *pāsāda*—a number consistently maintained throughout—some connection with the Brahmanic tradition of the *saptarṣis*?
[6] *PPAR* 1894, pl. LII; see also *ASCAR* 1894, p. 6 and *ASCAR* 1893, p. 10; *PPAR* 1893 (*Twelfth Report*), pl. I.
[7] *ASCM* I, p. 58.

In support of this conjecture he pointed to the prevalence of ritual excretory practices in Tibet and an obscure reference in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to the establishment of a monastery where a monk had been seen urinating. A less far-fetched implication of his argument is that the *Paṁsukūlikas* were an ascetic sect whose emphatic rejection of worldly acquisitions was manifested in the cynicism of their elaborate urinals. Silva suggests that they may have been instruments of meditative rituals practised in these monasteries.[2] Devendra, on the other hand, completely rejects Hocart's original interpretation and refuses to attach any particular significance to the ornamentation, which he considers to be purely decorative and in keeping with descriptions in the ancient Buddhist texts.[3]

Hocart's and Silva's explanations seem too specific in our present state of knowledge. Devendra's interpretation, on the other hand, does not explain why the urinals alone were selected for decoration in monasteries entirely devoid of other ornamentation. Although we cannot be certain that the perishable superstructures of these double-platforms were as austere as the stone components that have survived, the survival of various decorated components in other monastic types presents a sharp contrast to the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*. There can be little doubt that the distinct architectural character of the double-platforms must have been reflected in their superstructures. Thus, the ornamented urinals do seem to carry some specific intention and display ritualistic aspects. We can only offer another speculation. While the actual purpose of the urinals may have been purely functional, their peculiar decoration might be seen as a fanciful display of the ascetic origins of the *Paṁsukūlikas*. Reversing Hocart's observations, we might say that the very baseness of the urinary function was being exploited here as a symbolic and cynical rejection of conventional architectural forms and motifs. This is implicit elsewhere in these monasteries: in the open *mālaka*, in the choice of a rocky outcrop for the location of the *pāsāda* and in the bareness of the monumental ashlar structures. Again, we might see in this rejection an expurgation of guilt, as it were, on the part of an order aware of the contradictions between its ascetic aspirations and the austere extravagance of its monastic architecture. In the final analysis, however, we must concede that none of these suggestions really explain this curious and enigmatic feature.

What we see in the remains of these monasteries is a highly conscious formalisation of certain aspects of Buddhist monasticism that had been replaced almost everywhere else in Anurādhapura by a relatively elaborate ritualism and its luxurious artistic and architectural accompaniments. If the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* were indeed the monasteries of an ascetic fraternity, they are a highly sophisticated attempt to express that asceticism in the architectural language of the Anurādhapura Period.

[1] *ASCM* I, p. 56.
[2] Silva, R., (thesis in preparation).
[3] Devendra, D. T., 1967, pp. 36-41.

SECTION TWO

THE BUILDING TYPES

CHAPTER FIVE

SHRINES AND SANCTUARIES

The philosophy of early Buddhism comes very close to being an atheistic or agnostic doctrine, but almost from the very beginning it not only establishes a *modus vivendi* with existing animistic and theistic beliefs but soon develops a substantial body of mystical and theological concepts of its own. The principal religious motivation behind this process has been described as the intense devotion, or *bhakti*, that was felt by the early Buddhists for the Buddha, the very embodiment of Enlightenment. Thus, the earliest Buddhist shrines were essentially monuments which preserved the memory of the Master. They enshrined his bodily relics, or objects which were intimately associated with his life, and, finally, symbols—first aniconic and later anthropomorphic—which immediately brought him to mind. These articles are classified in Buddhist literature as three distinct types of relics—*sārīraka dhātu*, or bodily relics, *pāribhogaka dhātu* or associative relics, and *uddesika dhātu* or commemorative relics. Thus, the *stūpa* enshrines his bodily remains, the *bodhi*-tree—as its very name indicates—and the *vajrāsana* are associated with his Enlightenment, and such emblems as the *pāduka* or *śrīpāda*, the *triratna* and, later, the anthropomorphic image, are representational symbols.[1]

We have already seen that amongst the principal monuments of a Buddhist monastery, the focus of ritual and architectural attention was centred on three major shrines: the *stūpa* and its derivative, the *cetiyaghara*, the *bodhi*-tree and its sanctuary, the *bodhighara*, and the *paṭimāghara*, or image-house. These elements—or at least the *stūpa* and the *bodhighara*, the image-house being a somewhat later development—are present in Sinhalese monastic architecture from its very inception.

The *stūpa*, the characteristic monument of Sinhalese Buddhism throughout its long history,[2] occupies a special position, though not only on account of its primacy. Strictly speaking, it lies somewhere between architecture and sculpture. In so far as it employs the common building materials and methods, contains internal chambers and displays familiar architectural details and motifs, it is an architectural form. However, there is no means of access to its interior. Unlike a freestanding, structural building, it has no utilitarian purpose—except to protect and to proclaim, both practically and mystically, the relics that it enshrines. Derived from the tumulus, it is basically a funerary monument that develops into a giant cosmic diagram. Though conceived in architectonic terms, it occupies rather than encloses space and, thus, it can be seen as a monumental sculpture rather than an architectural form.

It is for these reasons that, although the *stūpa* is a central feature in a Sinhalese monastic complex, we have chosen to exclude it from our study of monastic architecture. Moreover, the *stūpa* occupies such a primal position in Asian religion, metaphysics, art and architecture

[1] Coomaraswamy places these symbols, the images excepted, in the category of *pāribhogaka* relics, but he concedes that there is no "specific definition" [Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1935 (2), pp. 4-5].

[2] It is thought by some Ceylonese archaeologists that, in the period between the 16th and the 19th Century, the *stūpa* was replaced in many provincial temples by a *ṭāmpiṭa vihāragē* (see Pl. XL), an image-house resting on stone pillars. These reproduced, in principle, the design of the well-known Tooth-Relic Temple in Kandy. A shrine which houses relics serves the same purpose as a *stūpa* and, thus, an image-house which imitates such a shrine approximates to a *stūpa*.

that it requires a specialised and extensive study of its own. This has already been done in some detail, both as far as the Ceylonese monuments are concerned as well as for the *stūpa* in general, that to deal with the subject within the confines of a few pages would be to summarise and largely to duplicate material that is already available.[1]

There are several different shrines that are mentioned in Buddhist writings or depicted in Buddhist art, but as far as the architectural remains of the Anurādhapura Period in Ceylon are concerned we have only three distinct types: the *cetiyaghara*, the *bodhighara* and the *paṭimāghara*. It is these that are dealt with in this chapter.

There is no material evidence which would enable us to take into consideration such building types as the *dhātughara* or *dhātusālā* and the *triratna* shrine. The terms *dhātughara* and *dhātusālā* are obviously applied to monuments which housed relics.[2] There are also specific references to circular relic-temples.[3] No doubt other types of ritual structures, such as the conventional *paṭimāghara* were also used to enshrine relics, as we see in the Aṭadāgē and the Hāṭadāgē at Polonnaruva. We suggest that the two *geḍigēs* in the Anurādhapura Citadel were relic shrines, although in our scheme they fall within the broad category of *paṭimāghara*.[4] Thus, it would appear from this that the so-called *dhātughara* or *dhātusālā* were virtually indistinguishable from the *vaṭadāgē* (the Sinhalese version of the *cetiyaghara*) and the *paṭimāghara*, at least in their general architectural character.

Paranavitana has conjectured a type of temple set apart for the worship of the Triple Gem. There seems to be no basis, however, to establish this as a distinct or even an existing type.[5] Godakumbura has isolated a type of shrine which he calls an *āsanaghara*. There is little doubt that there were buildings in Ceylon in which one of the principal objects of worship was a large *āsana*, but as we shall see below, we believe that these were apparently an integral part of a *bodhighara*.[6] Thus, the three main religious buildings of the Sinhalese tradition are the *stūpa*-temple, the *bodhi*-tree shrine and the image-house.

A significant feature of this ritual architecture is that it was not designed for congregational worship. In keeping with the Buddhist doctrine, the relationship that informed devotional practice was one that existed purely between the individual devotee and the object of his devotions. Thus, while these buildings are able to accommodate a fair number of worshippers, they are designed for individual worship and circulation rather than for assembly. The form of the building is essentially derived from the nature of the cult object. Thereby the *cetiyaghara* is circular, the *bodhighara* hypaethral and the image-house a square, 'residential' chamber. This close predication of temple and cult object also emphasises the fact that these monuments were memorials which re-enacted, so to speak, the living presence of the Master. In strict theory, the shrine served as an instrument by means of which the inspiration and the memory of the Great Teacher was renewed. Of course, in time and in general practice it became a place where certain ritual and even mystical acts were performed. But they were essentially acts of devotion and homage rather than of propitiation and celebration and, in keeping with the character of Southern Buddhism, they were never performed collectively nor was there any priestly intervention or mediation between the devotee and the sacred presence.

[1] For the *stūpa* in Ceylon, see Parker, H., 1909, pp. 261-345; Paranavitana, S., 1946; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 99-108; for the *stūpa* in general, see Longhurst, A. H., 1936; Combaz, G., 1933-36.
[2] Geiger, W., 1960, pp. 190-191.
[3] *Mhv.* 78.41, 85.73-76.
[4] See below, pp. 205-206, 383-385.
[5] See below, p. 230.
[6] See below, pp. 176-181.

The conceptual basis of these shrines, however, is not the only source from which their forms are derived. The Ceylonese temple is not merely an idea expressed in architectural terms. As we emphasised in our Introduction, the roots of Sinhalese monastic building lie in the environment, the materials, the techniques, the economics and the social organisation of the indigenous community. Thus, the shrines and sanctuaries as well as the other building types that we discuss in the pages to follow are a result of the interaction, at different levels and in varying degrees of complexity, between factors that are at once contradictory and mutually interdependent: the conflict, as it were, between the idea and the form, between the material and the technique, the technique and the design, the imported concept and the local tradition, and so on. It is only by making some attempt to understand these factors that our interpretation of these ruined monuments begins to make some sense; that the particular character of this architecture is revealed.

CETIYAGHARA

It is a testimony not so much to the conservatism of Sinhalese architecture but to the independent strength of this tradition that, having absorbed in its formative stages such early Buddhist forms as the circular *stūpa*-temple, it continued to extend and develop them quite independently of changing architectural perspectives on the mainland. The *cetiyaghara* (*thūpaghara*, or *vaṭadāgē*,[1] as it is commonly called in Ceylon) is one of the most distinctive architectural forms of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods. More than any other architectural type in this tradition it has attracted the attention of archaeologists and art-historians, as much on account of its unusual form as by the extraordinary degree of formal perfection achieved by the Ceylonese builders in the best of these shrines. It was these qualities which led Bell to say, speaking of the monument at Polonnaruva, that 'in artistic sublimity the *Wata-dāgē* must have stood superlatively pre-eminent'.[2] These circular temples were perhaps the purest expression of Sinhalese architectural aspirations.

The essential characteristic of Sinhalese architecture—the *stūpa* excepted—distinguishing it from Hindu architecture, is its insistence on the purely *architectonic* rather than the *plastic* or *sculptural* qualities of a building. In the fully evolved Brahmanic tradition a building was essentially a symbol of something else. Thus, its structure is totally subordinated to the symbolic requirements. It has no roof, strictly speaking, but a towering superstructure with cosmological connotations. Its walls are not mere walls but a backdrop or stage on which a metaphysical drama is enacted. In Sinhalese architecture, in contrast, the structural form of the building itself is the main vehicle of expression, whether its implications are symbolic, celebrative or merely functional. The shape, the volume and the space it occupies are dominant. The symbolic, narrative and decorative elements are totally subordinate to the spatial entity, the structural form. Thus, it is mainly through the manipulation of formal architectural qualities that the Sinhalese architect develops and extends his art. And it is in the *vaṭadāgē* that he seems to have stretched the formal resources available to him to their utmost. Moreover, this has been achieved with the greatest economy—just as the circle is at once simpler and yet more complex than the square.

The *vaṭadāgē* is not, however, a purely Sinhalese invention, as we shall see later in this

[1] P. *vaṭṭadhātughara*.
[2] *ASCAR* 1903, p. 25.

chapter, if this is not already obvious. The idea of enclosing or protecting a *stūpa* from the elements is implicit in the *chattra* or protective umbrella, a feature probably associated with the ceremonial tumulus even in pre-Buddhist times. Similarly, the idea of installing a *stūpa* of appropriate dimensions as the central object of worship in a shrine is one of the earliest developments in Buddhist devotional architecture. The Sinhalese *cetiyaghara* derives from these two parallel motivations which present themselves early in the history of Sinhalese architecture.

The basic elements of the *cetiyaghara* in Ceylon, as they are manifested in the surviving examples, consist of a high platform, usually circular, a small central *stūpa* surrounded by concentric rows of stone pillars and usually four cardinally oriented entrances. There are three examples of this type of shrine in the Anurādhapura area: the Thūpārāma in the northernmost sector of the Mahāvihāra, the Laṅkārāma to the south-west of the Abhayagirivihāra, and the Ambatthalathūpa, now identified as the ancient Silācetiya, at Mihintaḷē (see figs. 3, 6, 9, 11, 45, 46, 47 and Pls. VI-VIII).

Justly the most famous of these is the Thūpārāma, the first historical *stūpa* to have been erected in Ceylon.[1] It enshrines bodily relics of the Buddha brought to Ceylon from India at Mahinda's specific request to mark the conversion of Devānaṁpiyatissa to the Buddhist faith. This tradition, together with a description of the construction of the *stūpa* with a mud core and a brick casing, is the subject of an entire chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[2] This reflects the historic importance of this monument whose very name itself, acquired in the course of time, suggests its primal position.

Today, the *stūpa* itself retains nothing of its original form, having been repaired and restored often in historical times and reconstructed on two occasions in the earlier half of the 19th Century.[3] What have survived, however, at least from the Late Anurādhapura Period, are the remains of the *cetiyaghara* in which the *stūpa* was enshrined. The Chronicles record the original construction of this *cetiyaghara* by Vasabha in the 1st Century A.D.,[4] and its subsequent restoration in the 3rd Century by Goṭhābhaya, who is also associated with two similar shrines at Mihintaḷē[5] and Attanagalla.[6] In its present form, with its stone pillars, etc., the *vaṭadāgē* is almost certainly of a later date and probably, in keeping with other shrines of this type, from the Late Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods. Literary evidence points to a possible reconstruction in the 7th or 8th Century and certainly to restorations in the reign of Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.).[7]

As it appears today the *vaṭadāgē* presents a circular platform, 11 ft. 4 ins. high, with a diameter of 164 ft. 6 ins., surrounded by a brick retaining wall and an ornamented parapet (see figs. 45a-c and Pl. VI).[8] In the centre of this platform stands the *stūpa*, today 59 ft. in diameter at its base and 63 ft. high. By comparison with unrestored shrines of this type and from an early sketch by James Prinsep, we know that the present dimensions of the *stūpa* are much greater than those of the original structure and are the result of repairs in 1828 and a total

[1] In fact, the earliest reference to a *stūpa* is to the yet unidentified Paṭhamacetiya to the east of the city, marking the point of entry of Mahinda and his followers to Anurādhapura (*Mhv.* 14.44-45; see also Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 4; Devendra, D. T., 1966, p. 89).
[2] *Mhv.* 17.
[3] Devendra, D. T., 1966, pp. 93-94.
[4] *Mhv.* 35.88.
[5] *Mhv.* 36.106-107.
[6] Geiger, W., 1960, p. 190.
[7] *Mhv.* 47.65; 78. 107.
[8] Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 1-8; *ASCAR* 1893, pp. 2-3.

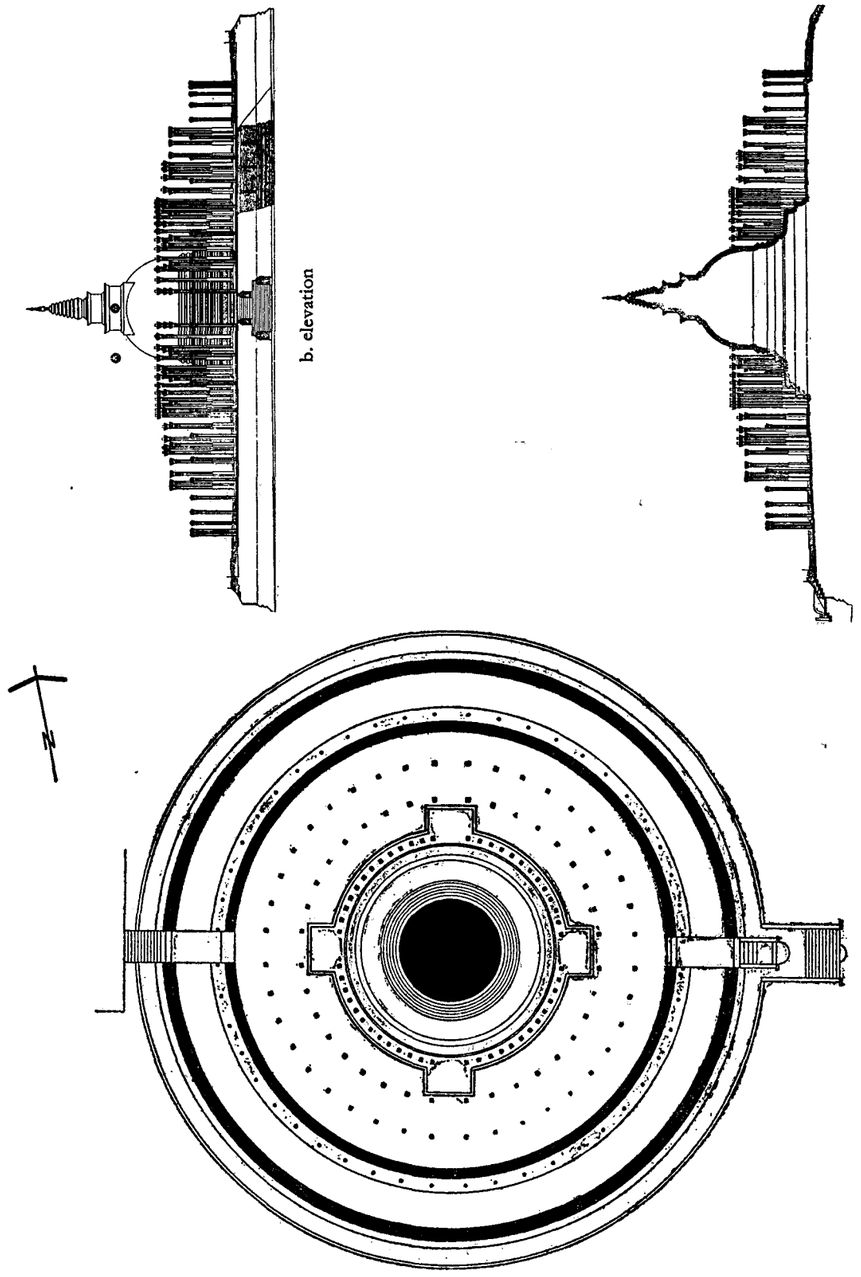


Fig. 45. Vaṭadāgē, Thūpārāma

rebuilding in 1842.[1] The platform itself is stone-paved throughout except for an outer border, 10 ft. wide, which is in brick. The area immediately around the *stūpa* is slightly raised (8 ins. high. 4 ft. 10 ins. wide). This raised floor is extended at the four cardinal points to provide, as it were, a base for the *āsanas* and flower-altars which were placed around the *stūpa*. The stone paving continues beyond this raised section. As Smither observes, it has been relaid a number of times and some of its original features have been obscured. As in the case of the raised area, there is evidence to suggest that its outer periphery was marked by a moulded riser and that its original level was itself slightly raised above that of the surrounding brick pavement. This stone-paved area seems to have constituted the interior of the *cetiyaghara*.

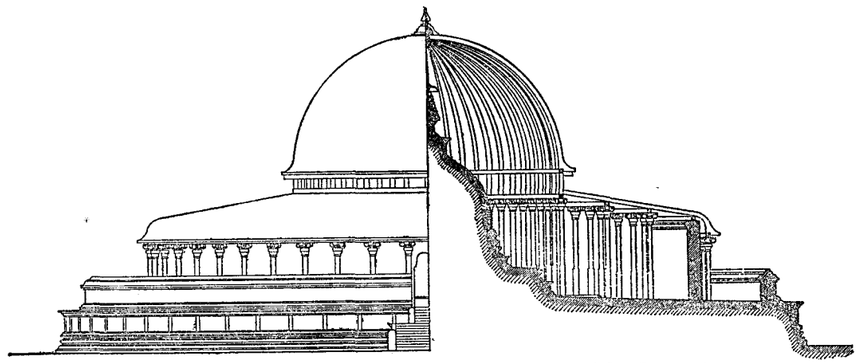


Fig. 46. Conjectural reconstruction of Thūpārāma vaṭadāgē (after Paranavitana)

Near the outer periphery of the stone paving were traces of an inner wall, a feature better preserved in other shrines of this type. As elsewhere, this wall stood just inside the outermost row of pillars. The remains of a door sill in line with the inner wall and directly opposite the eastern stairway to the platform indicate one of the doorways which led to the interior of the shrine. In the south-western sector of the platform are the remains of an image-house constructed in stone and almost certainly of a later—i.e. post-Polonnaruva—date.

The most distinctive and arresting feature of the Ceylonese *cetiyaghara* is its concentric rows of stone columns. Not only do they form a sequence of stone colonnades around the central *stūpa* but the pillars themselves are highly ornamental, with their slim, octagonal shafts and elaborate capitals, representing a formalised lotus, decorated with various human, animal and plant motifs (see figs. 146a, 147d, e).[2] The Thūpārāma is specially endowed in this respect as it has four rows of pillars (see figs. 45a-c) when the usual number is two or three. The shafts of the Thūpārāma pillars are octagonal in section except for the lower part which is square. The capitals are joined to the shaft by the familiar tenon-and-mortise arrangement. A peculiarity of the Thūpārāma pillars is that the two inner rows have a tenon above the capital, the third row is quite flat on top, while in the fourth or outer row the shaft continues above the capital and ends in a small circular boss. These elements must have played some part in the attachment of the wooden superstructure which the pillars supported, but what exact significance lay in the difference between the tenoned capitals, the flat ones and those with a boss, only a very detailed (and, in the context of the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period, wholly conjectural) study of wooden construction would reveal.[1]

[1] Devendra, D. T., 1966, pp. 93-94. As we shall see, the size of the *stūpa* is an important factor in any consideration of the original superstructure of the *cetiyaghara*. Incidentally, Devendra has pointed to evidence which suggests that the original form of the Thūpārāma *stūpa* was *dhānyākara* or 'paddy-heap shaped', one of the six conventional shapes of Sinhalese *stūpas* (see Parker, H., 1909, p. 336).

[2] "The most interesting and important architectural ornament of the building", says Smither, of the Thūpārāma," "... [are the] four concentric circles of finely-wrought stone pillars, of very elegant design and remarkably slender proportions". For a detailed description of the pillars and the ornamentation of the capitals of the Thūpārāma and other *cetiyagharas* see Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 4 ff.

The brick retaining wall of the shrine is now completely restored (see Pl. VI). When it was first excavated by Bell its surface decoration was found to be preserved to about two-thirds its original height. The wall-face rises from a 'boldly moulded pediment' displaying the characteristic mouldings of the very latest Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva Period type. Above this *adiṣṭhāna* stands a series of ornamental pilasters, at a distance of about 8 ft. from each other. Paranavitana places the design of these pilasters in the 12th Century.[2] In its present appearance the retaining wall is substantially a modern restoration. Set back from the top of this wall is the parapet which rises above the level of the platform. This too has been restored in modern times. It was originally 3 ft. 6 ins. wide and of indeterminate height and ornamentation. Two stone water spouts in the form of *makaras* were placed in the eastern and western sector of this parapet at platform level, draining away the water from the brick pavement. This suggests that the superstructure of the shrine stopped short of the parapet and that the rainwater from the roof fell directly onto the outer section of the platform. The entrances leading to the platform were two impressive flights of steps from the east and the west.

Very similar in appearance today to the Thūpārāma is the so-called Laṅkārāma, the central shrine in the small and apparently self-contained monastery lying immediately to the south-west of the Abhayagirivihāra (see figs. 6, 9, 47 and Pl. VII).[3] Nothing is known of its original identity although it has been associated with the Silāsobbhakaṇḍakacetiya of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya (103 and 89-77 B.C.).[4] The *stūpa* here is narrower at its base than in the Thūpārāma. The dome itself, on the other hand, has a larger diameter, giving it a rather squat appearance. What this means in fact is that it has much narrower basal terraces than the Thūpārāma *stūpa*. Accordingly, the circular platform of the Laṅkārāma is only 132 ft. 2 ins. in diameter as against the 164 ft. 6 ins. of the Thūpārāma. This circular platform or *maḷuwa* is neatly paved throughout with radiating stone flags. When first examined by Smither it stood to a height of about 10 ft. 2 ins. from the ground near the *stūpa*, but subsidence had caused it to sink to about 8 ft. at its periphery. The brick retaining wall, now completely rebuilt, seems to have been a much simpler affair than in the Thūpārāma, with a stepped rather than a moulded base. Smither suggests that this was 'not the original retaining-wall, but a comparatively modern piece of work constructed to sustain an enlargement of the earlier platform'.[5] Here too, as in the Thūpārāma, *makara* water spouts carried the water from the *maḷuwa* away from the face of the retaining wall.

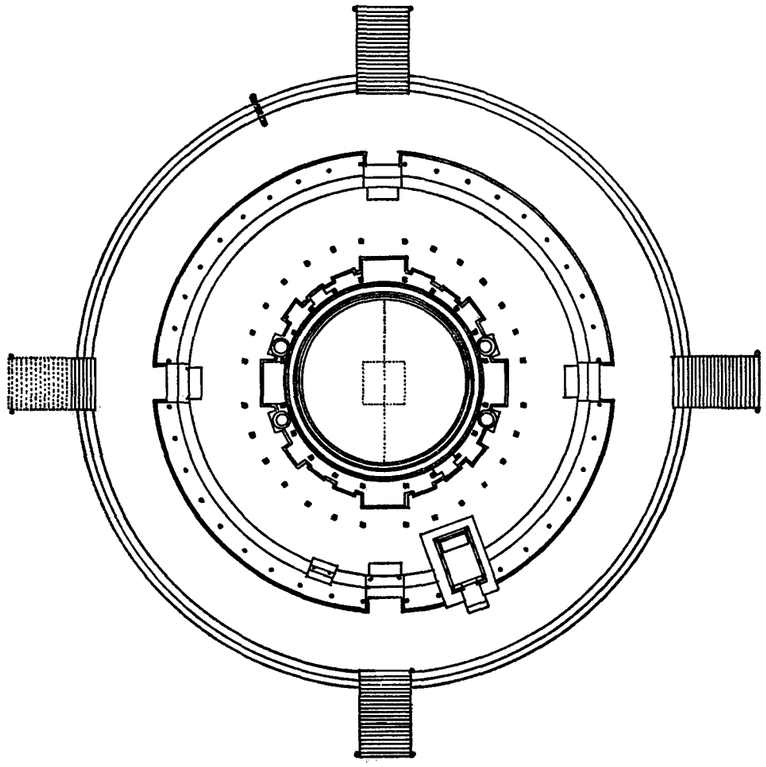
[1] See below, pp. 152-154.

[2] Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 76.

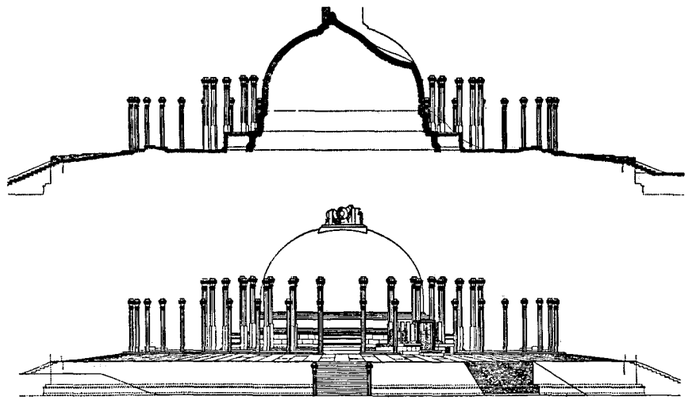
[3] Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 14-17; *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 9-10.

[4] Parker, H., 1909, p. 311. It seems to me, however, more likely that the Laṅkārāma may in fact be another of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya's foundations, the Maṇisomārāma, which as Geiger points out must lie near the Abhayagiri (*Mhv.*, tr. Geiger, W., 1960, p. 235 n F.) There are relatively few *cetiyagharas* mentioned in the Chronicles and one of the listed shrines so far unidentified is that built in the Maṇisomārāma by Kaniṭṭhatissa and later repaired by Goṭhābhaya (*Mhv.* 36.9, 107).

[5] Smither, J. G., (1894), p. 15.



a. plan



b. section and elevation

Fig. 47. Vaṭadāgē, Laṅkārāma

The stone floor of the *maḷuva* immediately around the *stūpa* is slightly raised and drawn out around the altars which surround the central sanctuary. This floor has a fine, moulded curb around its outer edge. A major altar or *āsana* is placed at each of the four cardinal points and four minor altars or projections in each quadrant (see fig. 47a). A clearly marked broad band of unfinished stonework rising above the level of the platform provides distinct evidence of the inner enclosure wall. The stone floor just outside this wall is also slightly raised and edged with a moulded riser. This unfinished stonework and kerb confirm the existence of similar features in the Thūpārāma, where the evidence is less distinct. Similarly, the entrances to the inner enclosure are clearly indicated by four cardinally oriented door sills, which interrupt the continuity of the enclosure wall. There is also a fifth, subsidiary entrance to the left of the southern doorway. The area circumscribed by this inner enclosure is 88 ft. 6 ins. in diameter. Again, as in the Thūpārāma, there are the remains of a crude image-house, of a much later date, this time in the south-eastern sector of the platform.

The Laṅkārāma has only three concentric rows of columns. The inner row is placed on the raised floor immediately around the *stūpa*, in between the various altars and projections. The outer row stands just outside the enclosure wall. The pillars and the capitals are carved out of a single monolith. Otherwise, they are just like those of the Thūpārāma, with some minor differences of ornamentation (see figs. 147d, e).

Unlike the Thūpārāma, however, the Laṅkārāma *cetiyagṛha* has four flights of stairs leading up to the shrine, a factor which adds considerably to the balance and symmetry of this monument.

The third of the three *cetiyagṛhas* in the Anurādhapura area is the so-called Ambatthalathūpa, in fact the ancient Silācetiya, at Mihintaḷē (see Pl. VIII).[1] This structure is much smaller and altogether more poorly appointed than the two *cetiyagṛhas* we have discussed so far, a fact which probably indicates that this shrine may be assigned to an earlier date. Unlike the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma, this monument as a whole has not been subjected to the same degree of modern restoration as the other two. As the name Silācetiya indicates, the *stūpa* is by tradition said to be of stone, a fact which both Smither and Paranavitana confirm. Before its recent restoration it was only 29 ft. in diameter at its base and stood just over 30 ft. above the level of the *maḷuva*. Early drawings of this monument[2] and even its present somewhat restored form testify to its unusual shape[3]—possibly, like the Thūpārāma, an early version of the 'paddy-heap' type.

Here, the circular platform is only 97 ft. in diameter and stands about 4 ft. above ground level. The brick retaining wall, 2 ft. 6 ins. thick and now restored, stood about 3 ft. high in places and was moulded at its base. A single water spout of a very simple design still remains in situ. As in the Thūpārāma, this shrine too has entrances only on the east and west. The accompanying wingstones are of brick and the guardstones are plain and undecorated, suggesting once more that the remains here are somewhat earlier than those of the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma, where these decorative elements are more fully developed.

Today, the stone-paved *maḷuva* displays three distinct levels. As usual, the highest level is nearest the *stūpa* and the difference between the levels is only a matter of inches. There are

[1] Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 11-12; *ASCAR* 1951, pp. 21-22.
[2] See Rahula, W., 1956, p. 49.
[3] "The dome of the dāgaba is of a very peculiar form, its sectional outline being that of an equilateral pointed arch, struck from the level of the ground, and changed on approaching the apex into that of a flat ellipse" [Smither, J. G. (1894), p. 11].

only two rows of columns. The shafts are octagonal throughout and the capitals, of the usual decorated type, are attached by tenons. An inscription—which Paranavitana places in the 7th or 8th Century—on one of these shafts provides important evidence regarding the date of these pillars, though not necessarily of the capitals.[1] This is corroborated by other inscriptions, of about the same period, from the platform, which indicate the date of the *cetiyaghara* itself. There are no traces of an inner wall.

Together these three *vaṭadāgēs* provide us with sufficient information to delineate the essential characteristics of the Sinhalese *cetiyaghara*. A few other, provincial examples together with the famous monument at Polonnaruva help to complete the picture.

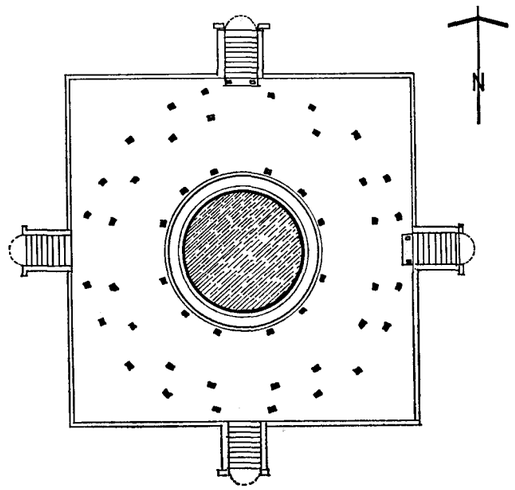


Fig. 48. Vaṭadāgē, Rājaṅganē

The earliest of the provincial shrines is the *cetiyaghara* in the ancient Hatthikucchivihāra at Rājaṅganē (see fig. 48, Pl. IX).[2] This shrine appears to be a unique survival of a rare and early type of *cetiyaghara* with a square rather than a circular platform. Its low *maḷuwa* measures about 60 ft. on each side. In all other respects the temple conforms to the usual design of the *cetiyaghara*, with a small central *stūpa*, a *maḷuwa* paved with large blocks of stone, and three concentric rows of stone pillars, with simple square shafts. Today, not one of these pillars stands to its full height. The retaining wall of the *maḷuwa* is of plain ashlar. It continues in brick above the level of the platform to form what was probably a parapet wall. This wall is interrupted by four cardinally oriented entrances of a simple design with a pillared portico at the head of each flight of steps. There is no inner enclosure. Carefully conserved by the Archaeological Department, the remains here display with great clarity the simple and basic design of an early *cetiyaghara* of the square-platformed type. Hocart places this monument in the 7th or 8th Century, a date which seems quite acceptable.[3]

[1] *ASCAR* 1951, p. 22; Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 96.
[2] *ASCAR* 1950, p. 14; 1961-62, p. 66; 1962-63, p. 66.
[3] *CJSG* I, p. 6.

The *vaṭadāgē* at Tiriyāya is of similar date and dimensions, though more sophisticated architecturally and considerably better finished (see fig. 49, Pl. X).[1] In its formal qualities this fairly well-preserved shrine approaches very closely the somewhat larger structure at Mihintaḷē. Its *stūpa* is 32 ft. 6 ins. in diameter. In the course of excavations it was discovered that this was built over another *stūpa* of smaller dimensions, showing that the present monument replaced an earlier structure. Inscriptional evidence suggests that the present *cetiyaghara* dates

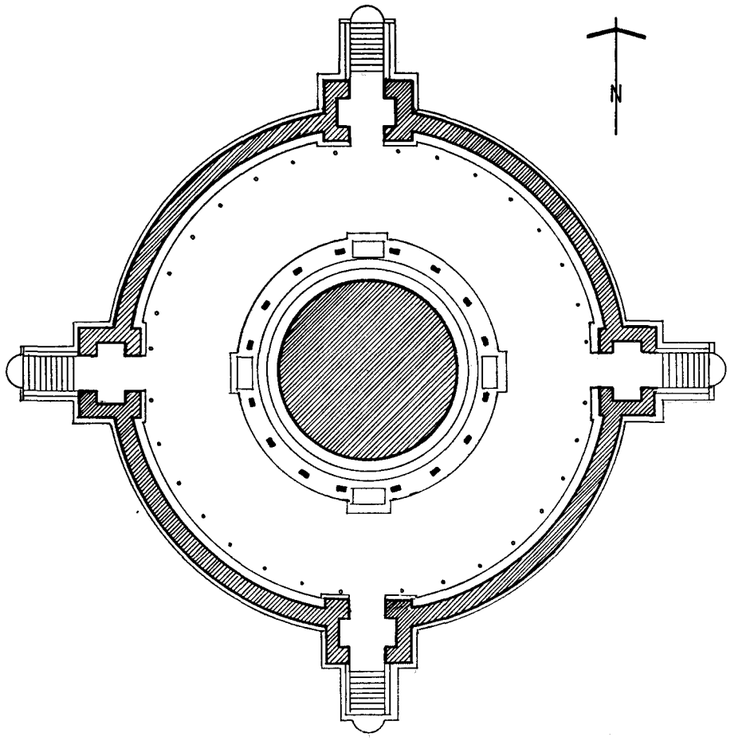


Fig. 49. Vaṭadāgē, Tiriyāya

from the 8th Century. Amongst the inscriptions is a Sanskrit record giving the ancient history of this site and identifying the *stūpa* as the Girikaṇḍacaitya enshrining the Buddha's Hair-Relic.[2]

The circular *maḷuwa*, with its four, bayed entrances, is 79 ft. in diameter. It is paved with stone slabs and has the usual raised floor immediately around the *stūpa*. There are only two concentric rows of pillars here and no inner wall, but additional supports for the superstructure were provided by cantilevered projections on the outer face of the surrounding parapet. Each of these projections has a large square hole through its centre, almost certainly intended

[1] *ASCAR* 1951, pp. 26-29.
[2] *EZ* IV, pp. 151-160, 312-319.

to hold a wooden pillar or support. The stone columns and capitals are of the decorated type, but some of the usual ornamental details are missing. As in the Laṅkārāma, each constitutes a single monolith. The *maḷuwa* is relatively low, being 4 ft. 3 ins. above the ground. The stone retaining wall has simple rectangular and curvilinear mouldings at base and cornice. The wall continues above the cornice and the level of the platform for a further 6 ft., to form a high parapet around the shrine. This wall is topped by a curvilinear coping. The inner face of the wall is also in stone. The stone facing of the wall, its various mouldings and the paving of the *maẹuwa* are remarkable for being so finely chiselled, a feature which adds considerably to the architectural quality of this monument, which has now been carefully conserved. Paranavitana observes that the guardstones at the four entrances to the shrine show distinct Pallava affiliations, a factor which confirms a date in the 8th century for this *cetiyaghara*.[1]

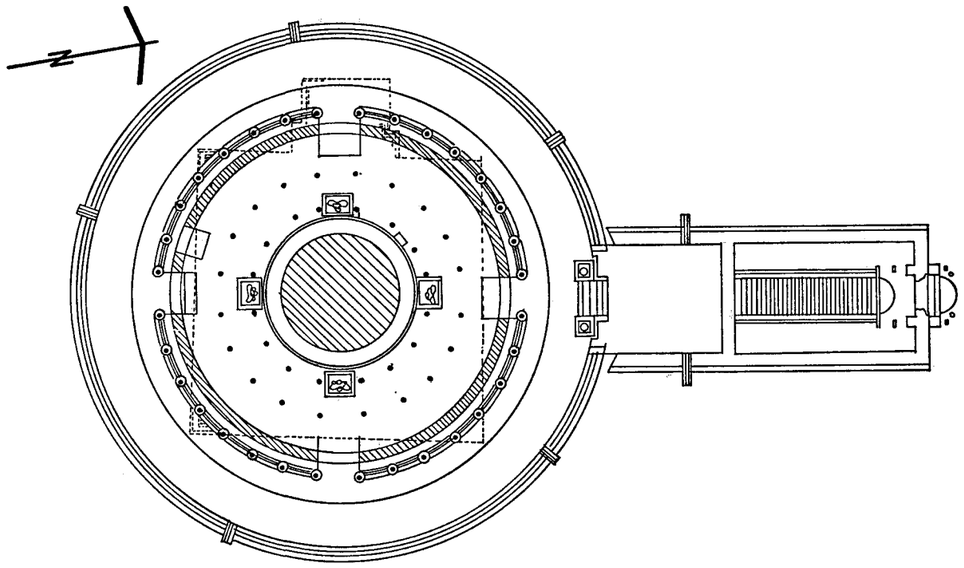


Fig. 50. Vaṭadāgē, Mādirigiriya

In an entirely different class from the provincial examples which we have been considering so far is the *vaṭadāgē* at Mādirigiriya, the ancient Maṇḍalagirivihāra (see fig. 50, Pl. XI)[2]. The ancient monastery and hospital at Maṇḍalagiri is of great historical importance especially in the Late Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods. The *stūpa* itself dates originally from the time of the earliest *Brāhmī* inscriptions, but the first record of a *cetiyaghara* or *dhātugeha* at the site is from the reign of Aggabodhi IV, in the latter half of the 7th Century.[3] The monastery enjoyed the patronage of the great builder Sena II (853-887) and flourished from the 9th to

[1] *ASCAR* 1951, p. 29.
[2] *ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 31-39.
[3] *Mbv.* 46.29-30.

the 13th Century.[4] Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) carried out restorations at the site. This long and rich history is reflected not only in the magnificent *cetiyaghara*, but also in the traces of an earlier structure just beneath the present one.

This earlier building consists of a brick platform about 45 ft. square (see fig. 50). Paranavitana suggests that it was merely an open *maḷuwa* around the *stūpa*, subsequently covered over by a circular *vaṭadāgē* in the 7th Century.[2] These remains, however, were not fully excavated and it is possible, even likely, that the earlier structure is in fact the *cetiyaghara* of the 7th Century, of a square type similar to the shrine at Rājaṅganē. The present stone *vaṭadāgē*, in its final form, certainly represents a monument of the Polonnaruva Period, although it may have been founded somewhat earlier. Today, in both its design and dimensions it closely resembles the *cetiyaghara* at Polonnaruva. The *stūpa* is 26 ft. in diameter at its base and the circular *maḷuwa* 91 ft. in diameter. There are three concentric rows of pillars of the usual type. In between the middle and the outer rows are the remains of the brick inner wall, enclosing an area about

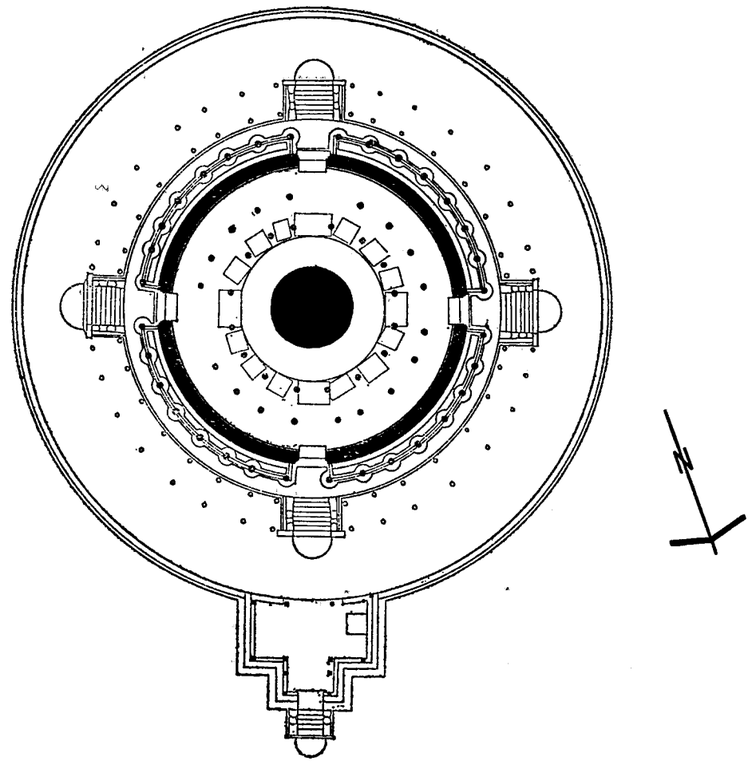


Fig. 51. Vaṭadāgē, Polonnaruva

[1] *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 32.
[2] *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 35.

71 ft. in diameter. Just outside this brick wall and running parallel to it, in line with the outer row of columns, is an elaborate stone screen wall in the familiar post-and-rail design of ancient Buddhist architecture.

The interior of the shrine, that is to say the area circumscribed by the brick enclosure wall, is paved with granite flags, while the precinct outside the screen wall has irregular granite slabs. There are four *āsanas* around the *stūpa* at the cardinal points with Buddha images in *dhyānamudrā* on them. Between these were brick pedestals 'on which probably stood images of Bodhisattvas'.[1] Opposite the Buddha figures were the four doorways of the enclosure wall, providing access to the interior of the shrine.

The whole structure stands high above a long ridge of exposed rock, dominating the site. A grand staircase, with its own enclosure wall and doorway, leads up to an elevated landing and to the *vaṭadāgē*. An impressive architectural feature in itself, these elaborate stairways seem to be characteristic of the *cetiyaghara* in the Polonnaruva Period.

Perhaps the best known monument of that period and certainly the finest and the most developed of the Sinhalese circular temples is the *vaṭadāgē* in the Daḷadāmaḷuva, the Terrace of the Tooth-Relic at Polonnaruva (see fig. 51, Pl. XII). It is a building which ranks among the supreme achievements of the classic Sinhalese tradition. The shrine itself is not as large as any of the Anurādhapura examples. The diameter of its *maḷuva* is only 80 ft. and that of the *stūpa* 27 ft. 8 ins. But this is compensated for by the large, circular stone terrace, 4 ft. 6 ins. high and 120 ft. in diameter, which surrounds the *cetiyaghara* and is an integral part of its overall design. On the north a single, bayed portico and stairs provides access to this terrace. Four ornate stone stairways lead from this terrace to the shrine itself.

The interior of the temple, in a fair state of preservation, is the most elaborately equipped of all the examples we have been considering so far. In many details it reproduces the internal arrangements of the *cetiyaghara* at Mädirigiriya. The *stūpa* is surrounded by sixteen *āsanas* and on the main ones at the four cardinal points are four large, seated Buddha images. As in most of the other shrines, the inner row of the three concentric circles of pillars is placed in between these altars. The inner enclosure wall has been almost wholly preserved, in places to its full height of nearly 15 ft. Bell objected strongly to the presence of this wall.[2] Seeing the *vaṭadāgē* as an essentially hypaethral structure, he could not understand that this wall was an important formal and structural element in a building that was dominated by a massive superstructure. We have noticed that this enclosure wall was a regular feature of the developed *cetiyaghara*. The wall in this Polonnaruva temple is topped by a heavily moulded cornice. It was originally plastered and painted. It has four doorways formed largely by the right angle returns of the wall itself. Just outside this wall is the outer row of stone columns, linked to each other by an ornamental stone screen, 2 ft. 9 ins. high, of the type already noticed at Mädirigiriya. The principal motif employed in the design of this screen is a diaper pattern of four-petalled flowers.

The stone columns of the *vaṭadāgē* are of the characteristic type, although none has survived in its entirety. An unusual feature here were two further rows of wooden posts or pillars on

[1] *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 35. One of these altars can be seen in our fig. 50.

[2] "This ungainly encumbrance, towering gasometer-like, whereby everything within ... was intended to be hidden from vulgar gaze, so obviously mars the exquisite beauty of the structure as a whole that at first blush it instinctively strikes the eye as a later addition by some utilitarian prince dead to all artistic sense.

That the architect whose genius could design a conception so grand as the *Waṭa-dā-gē* should have lent himself to the construction of this pitiable eyesore .... is hardly credible. Yet there is no reason to doubt that this hideous excresence .... was built contemporaneously with the rest of the structure." (*ASCAR* 1903, p. 25).

the lower terrace, now indicated only by two rows of concentric postholes immediately around the base of the retaining wall of the upper platform.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this circular temple, apart from its two platforms, is the highly elaborate nature of its ornamental detail. Bell considered the four stairways leading from the lower terrace to the shrine the best examples of the Sinhalese entrance to be seen in Polonnaruva. He expresses his admiration of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the upper platform in no equivocal terms:

> The stylobate to the inner and upper platform... was revetted with stone work exhibiting in its moulded lines and figured dados a combined boldness and grace unrivalled, whether at Anurādhapura or Poḷonnaruwa, and probably in any other Buddhist shrine of Ceylon.[1]

With the *vaṭadāgē* at Polonnaruva we complete a series of seven shrines which constitute the main surviving examples of the *cetiyaghara* in its classic form. Like other Sinhalese building types of the period, these monuments display a consistency of design and—allowing for certain variations—of dimension, as a comparative table shows (measurements are given in ft. and ins.):

	Diam. stūpa	*Diam. platform*	*Ht. platform*
Thūpārāma	59	164.6	11.4
Laṅkārāma	44.2	132.2	from 8 to 10.2
Silācetiya	29	97	4
Rājaṅganē	ca. 24	ca. 60 (sq.)	—
Tiriyāya	32.6 (24.9 earlier)	79	4.3
Mädirigiriya	26	91	(varying, average 6)
Polonnaruva	27.8	80 (upper) 120 (lower)	5.3 ⎫ 9.9 4.6 ⎭

The two Anurādhapura examples are exceptionally large, in size surpassing that of the lower platform at Polonnaruva. Perhaps this indicates that they owe their present dimensions to Polonnaruva Period enlargements. Elsewhere, the greatest difference between the *stūpas* is only 8 ft. 6 ins., and between platforms only 18 ft. (The diagonal width of the square *maḷuva* at Rājaṅganē is almost the same as the diameter of the shrine at Tiriyāya). The three 7th-8th Century monuments, at Mihintaḷē, Rājaṅganē and Tiriyāya, have relatively low platforms and no permanent inner enclosure. Like the two Anurādhapura shrines, the Polonnaruva Period structures at Mädirigiriya and Polonnaruva have fairly high platforms. The large entrance porticos and elaborate stairways of the two latter buildings are characteristic of their period. An incipient version of this can also be seen in the eastern entrance to the Thūpārāma. Again, the stone screen walls at Mädirigiriya and Polonnaruva are characteristic features of the Polonnaruva Period.

Other surviving *cetiyagharas* in Ceylon of some antiquity or relevance to our present study, include two modernised shrines at Attanagalla[2] and Daṁbadeṇiya,[3] a little known example at Kandegedara,[4] the scant remains of the *vaṭadāgē* at Devundara,[5] and a structure of an entirely

[1] *ASCAR* 1903, p. 24.

[2] *CJSG* II, p. 15, pl. XXIX; Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 79.

[3] *CJSG* I, p. 145, pl. LXVIA; Hocart, A. M., 1931, plans 24-25.

[4] *ASCAR* 1964-65, pp. 71-72.

[5] Paranavitana, S., 1953, pp. 12, 14.

different type, the Vijayotpāya at Gaḍalādeṇiya.[1] To this we may also add a few circular buildings of various types, some of which may well come within the category of *cetiyagharas*.[2]

The shrine at Attanagalla is attributed in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to Goṭhābhaya (253-266 A.D.).[3] The *stūpa* here, according to tradition, commemorates Goṭhābhaya's deified predecessor Sirisaṁghabodhi. Its restoration by Parākramabāhu II in the 13th Century is also recorded. There is no doubt that the monument is of considerable antiquity. In its present form the *cetiyaghara* here is largely a modern creation dating from the early part of this century. Even now it is apparent that it was built on the remains of an old structure, which, according to Paranavitana, consisted of a circular platform and two concentric rows of columns.[4] The present building is octagonal and has an eight-faceted, tiled roof. It is unique in that it preserves some memory, as it were, of a long lost traditional form, unlike the *cetiyaghara* at Daṁbadeṇiya which is merely a rectangular building enclosing a *stūpa*.

The structure at Kandegedara consists of a small, low, circular platform, about 25 ft. in diameter, surrounding a diminutive *stūpa*. It seems to have had only a single row of pillars along its periphery. Nothing remains of the shrine at Devundara but the stumps of two concentric rows of pillars around the modern *stūpa*. The *stūpa*, itself, is built on a high plinth, which Paranavitana observes was originally circular in plan.[5] He identifies this site with the Khadirālīvihāra—or Kihirāḷipirivana as it is called in a ca. 9th Century inscription at the site—founded by Prince Dappula of Ruhuṇa in the 7th Century. The original *cetiyaghara* at this site may have been erected at that time.

Strictly speaking, the Vijayotpāya is not a *cetiyaghara* but rather an unusual form of *stūpa* with a high, square base, from which project four image houses. In principle this resembles the multiple image-house and *stūpa*-shrine at Pahāṛpūr, as it has been conjecturally reconstructed by Prudence Myer.[6] A light roof, resting on four large masonry columns of apparently recent origin, protects the *stūpa*.

With the exception of the building at Attanagalla, none of these shrines discussed above throws any further light on our understanding of the classic Sinhalese *cetiyaghara*. But they serve to remind us that the *stūpa*-temple was once an important feature of Sinhalese monastic architecture and that it has not been altogether forgotton today.

The concept of the *cetiyaghara* as a building enclosing a *stūpa*, and the original form of the *vaṭadāgē* in the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods have been the subject of some controversy in the past. Various views have been expressed about the purpose of the colonnades around the *stūpa*.[7] De Beylié, Parker (with many reservations) and Hocart were amongst the first to suggest that their main purpose was to support a roof over the *stūpa*. De Beylié spoke of a roof in superimposed stages[8]. Parker was inclined to think it was conical,[9] while Hocart suggested an alternative 'inverted cyma type', in effect a curvilinear or domical structure.[10] Paranavitana developed this last suggestion. He established beyond doubt that this type of structure was in fact a roofed building and argued very persuasively in support of a roof in

[1] *UHC* pp. 786-787; Mudiyanse, N., (n.d.), pp. 55-57.
[2] See below, pp. 156-158.
[3] *Mhv.* 85.73-75.
[4] Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 79.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1953(1), p. 14; see also pp. 1-2, 12.
[6] Myer, P. R., 1961, pp. 27-34, figs. 6-7.
[7] For a summary and discussion of these views see Paranavitana, S., 1946, pp. 83-85.
[8] de Beylié, L., 1907, p. 361.
[9] Parker, H., 1909, pp. 268-270.
[10] *CJSG* II, pp. 15-16; see also *CJSG* I, p. 145.

the form of a central dome surrounded by a slightly sloping, rectilinear outer section (see fig. 46).[1] As Paranavitana points out, Smither's discovery of flat tiles, nails, etc., in the remains of the shrine at Polonnaruva[2] confirms the existence of a tiled roof over the *vaṭadāgē*, but leaves us with the problem of explaining how a domical shape could be covered in flat tiles, a difficulty which had already been anticipated by Hocart.

Any conjectural reconstruction of the superstructure of the Sinhalese *cetiyaghara* must depend, as we remarked earlier, on a detailed study of timber constructional techniques not only in Kandyan and modern period buildings in Ceylon itself but also in other, related traditions elsewhere. This lies beyond the scope of this particular study so we limit ourselves to a few general observations regarding this matter.

It is apparent from the evidence of the columns in the Thūpārāma[3] that extremely complex structural features were involved. Every example of a *cetiyaghara* shows a decrease in the height of the pillars from the innermost row, which is the tallest, to the outermost row, which is the shortest. At the same time, the pillars are not arranged, 'opposite to one another on lines drawn from the centre of the dāgaba', as Smither puts it—that is to say, there is no radial connection between the pillars in the separate rows. This seems to suggest that there was a circle of ring beams linking each concentric range of columns and that, whatever other beams and rafters there were in the superstructure, these were connected to the ring beams rather than to the pillars themselves. The variations in height between the respective rows is irregular; thus, in the three examples in which the relevant data are available, we see that the difference between the two (or three, as in the Thūpārāma) inner circles of columns is invariably less than the difference between the middle circle and the outer circle.[4] This may well indicate that the superstructure had two or more stages or storeys. The inner enclosure wall, or, where this feature was absent, the outer wall itself—as the cantilevered supports at Tiriyāya show—must

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1946, pp. 86-96.
[2] Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 12-13.
[3] See above, pp. 142-143.
[4] The number and heights of the columns in the *cetiyagharas* are as follows—counting from the inner row outwards (ht. in ft. and ins.):

		Row 1	*Row 2*	*Row 3*	*Row 4*
Thūpārāma	No.	52	36	40	48
	Ht.	22.10	21.3	19.1	14
Laṅkārāma	No.	20	28	40	
	Ht.	16.8	16.11	12.5	
Silācetiya	No.	20	32		
	Ht.	14	14		
Rājaṅganē	No.	12	16	20	
	Ht.	—	—	—	
Tiriyāya	No.	16	32		
	Ht.	—	14.6		
Mādirigiriya	No.	16	20	32	
	Ht.	16.7	16.1½	10	
Polonnaruva	No.	16	20	32	
	Ht.	—	—	—	

Variations in floor level also add to the height of the inner circle. This is particularly applicable to the Silācetiya. Here there are only two circles of pillars, of equal height, the inner circle, however, standing higher due to differences in floor level.

have provided extra support for the roof and helped to counter any outer thrust which the tall columns themselves were unable to bear alone.

It is evident, from the water spouts in the three monuments in the Anurādhapura area, that at least in the larger shrines the roof did not cover the whole *maḷuwa*. This must have been the case at Rājaṅganē as well, where the circular roof could not have extended over the whole of the square platform. At Tiriyāya, on the other hand, we have definite proof that the superstructure extended over and beyond the outer parapet.

The actual shape of the roof itself still remains a matter for speculation. Paranavitana's argument in favour of a dome is based almost entirely on the Thūpārāma, with its four circles of columns, and on the existence of domical roofed *cetiyagharas* in early Indian architecture.[1] The four circles of pillars in the Thūpārāma, and their accompanying sequence of tenons, bosses and flat tops, which are an important element in his argument, are not found elsewhere. The usual number is three, or more rarely two, circles. At Kandegedara there is only one circle. Paranavitana himself finds some difficulties in adapting his reasoning at the Thūpārāma to these other examples, but he does not question his hypothesis nor does he look for any alternative roof form.

As far as the early Indian examples are concerned, it is true that circular *stūpa*-temples with domical roofs have survived in India in rock-cut reproduction preserving early Indian timber forms. But we know nothing of the material with which these domed *cetiyagharas* were roofed, and it seems likely, judging from the representations of such buildings in the early Buddhist reliefs, that they were thatched rather than tiled. A truly *curvilinear* tiled roof is unknown in any of the existing traditions in Ceylon or elsewhere. On the contrary, we shall see that there is a considerable body of evidence to suggest that the typical roof of the Anurādhapura Period was of a *rectilinear*, sloping type.[2] In this context, a more immediate correspondence between India and Ceylon should be sought not amongst the ancient architectural types of Buddhist India but rather in a type of structure, which, removed from the mainstream of Indian architecture, still preserves as a living tradition some of the major features of early Indian building —the circular *śrīkoil* of Kerala, a region immediately contiguous to Ceylon.[3] The *śrīkoil* with a conical roof, either in a single or a two-storeyed form (see Pl. LIV), reproduces an architectural design which can be quite logically applied to the *vaṭadāgē*, and which is very much more in keeping with the Sinhalese building tradition than the domed structure which Paranavitana favours.[4]

The circular ground plan, together with the elliptical, is of great antiquity in the Indian architectural tradition and one that was of special interest to the Buddhists, emphasising as it did the essential circularity of the *stūpa*. One of the earliest surviving structural monuments of the historical period in India is the round temple at Bairat, dating from the 3rd Century B.C.[5] This shrine has distinct Buddhist affiliations and seems to have housed a *stūpa*. Rock-cut

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1946, pp. 91-96.
[2] See below, pp. 362 ff.
[3] The close parallels—so far largely ignored by architectural historians and archaeologists—between the Sinhalese and Kerala traditions, especially with regard to the roof superstructure, are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8 below.
[4] Roland Silva, who is engaged in a parallel study of Ceylonese architecture, also believes that the *vaṭadāgē* probably had a conical roof. He is attempting a detailed conjectural reconstruction of such a roof, a task which he, as an architect, is better equipped to perform than myself.
[5] Sahni, D. R. (1937), pp. 28-31; Piggott, S., 1943, pp. 1-9. It is interesting to note that the wooden columns of the Bairat temple, which form, in Piggott's opinion, an open colonnade around the central sanctum, were octagonal—as they were in the Sinhalese shrines of a much later date.

versions of religious buildings with circular or nearly circular chambers, also from the 3rd Century B.C., are to be found in the Sudāma and Lomas Ṛṣi cells in the Barābar Hills.[1] A similar plan of a circular chamber preceded by a rectangular vestibule—in effect, anticipating the classic apsidal *caityaśāla*—can be seen in an excavated sanctuary at Kondivte, in this case actually enshrining a *stūpa*.[2] Two rock-cut *cetiyagharas* of a purely circular shape, corresponding to the structural temple at Bairat and dating from the period B.C., are the shrines at Guṇṭupalle[3] and Junnār.[4] It is these which Paranavitana refers to in his attempt to reconstruct the roof of the Sinhalese *cetiyagharas* in the form of a dome. Circular structural *cetiyagharas* are also known in Āndhradeśa, some of them from the early centuries A.D. The best preserved of these is one of two brick-built shrines at Śālihundam.[5] Other similar structures in this area, particularly at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, do not enshrine *stūpas* but served either as image-chapels or more frequently as monastic cells.[6] Hemispherical, excavated 'tombs', resembling, as it were, 'hollow *stūpas*', have been found in Kerala.[7] These were thought to have been from the Vedic Period but they are more likely to be of Buddhist origin.

A parallel form to these structural and excavated monuments and one that must be closely linked, if only collaterally, with the Ceylonese *cetiyagharas*, are the circular *śrīkoils* of Kerala that we mentioned earlier. These are Brahmanical shrines with a circular outer structure, closely resembling the *cetiyagharas*, but with a square inner sanctum.[8] They are characteristic of the indigenous Kerala tradition, which like the Sinhalese is one of mixed constructional methods, combining a stone (or brick) substructure with a timbered superstructure and tiled roofs. Those structures which are entirely built of masonry are usually rendered in an 'imported' style, in this case the *Drāviḍa* tradition, which is in the mainstream of Hindu architecture.[9] This tendency is also noticeable in Sinhalese architecture. Circular temples, or temples with circular sanctums are almost unknown in Hindu architecture outside Kerala. Rare examples are the Śankarācharya and the larger of the two temples at Loduv.[10] They are both square shrines with circular *garbhagṛhas* and represent, perhaps not without significance, the earliest temples in Kashmir.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Sinhalese *cetiyaghara* is a version of the early Buddhist *stūpa*-temple represented in India by the shrines at Bairat, Guṇṭupalle, Junnār, Śālihundam, etc. Such shrines were a natural development of the cult of the *stūpa* in early Buddhism. They demonstrate the increasing influence of *bhakti* or devotional tendencies in Buddhist monasticism and provide an alternative to the uncovered, monumental *stūpa*. Even the earliest freestanding *stūpas*, such as the monuments at Sāñcī, display the natural tendency to surround a sacred object of worship with various demarcatory and protective devices such as a railing or an umbrella. The enshrinement of such an object of worship, of appropriate

[1] Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., 1880, pp. 37-41.
[2] Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., 1880, pp. 41n-42n, 360-361.
[3] *MAR* 1916-17, pp. 30-32.
[4] Fergusson, J. and Burgess, J., 1880, p. 252. Here, too, the pillars of the colonnade are octagonal as in the Bairat shrine and in the Sinhalese *cetiyagharas*.
[5] Subrahmanyam, R., 1964, p. 28, plan facing p. 23.
[6] Sarkar, H., 1966, p. 29.
[7] Gangoly, O. C., (1928), p. 3, figs. 1-2, 4-5.
[8] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 13-17; see also pp. 10-13.
[9] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 5 ff. An interesting example of the fusion of the two styles, the local and the imported, is the central shrine at Valyandyadichapuram (see p. 11 and pl. 6). Such a fusion can also be seen in Sinhalese architecture, for instance in the vaulted brick temples or *gedigēs* of Polonnaruva (see Bandaranayake, S., 1965, Chaps. III-IV and pp. 173-175).
[10] Kak, R. C., 1933, pp. 73-76, 117.

dimensions, in a freestanding temple or rock-cut shrine is a development we might readily expect in the normal progression of ideas. Moreover, it is equally predictable that such a structure should take its basic form from the shape or character of the main object of worship. Thus the circular *cetiyaghara*—or its variant, the apsidal *caityasālā*—is the natural concomitant of the *stūpa*, just as the square *cella* is the appropriate shape for the image, whether standing or seated.

The origin of the circular plan in India has its roots in rural architecture and is still to be found in many local and primitive forms. Whether such forms themselves, were purely indigenous or brought in by prehistoric migrants has little significance in this context. It has been suggested that the peripteral concept, as seen at Bairat and Junnār, may show the influence of ideas imported from some non-Indian source.[1] The origin of the Sinhalese shrines, however, must lie somewhere in the formative stages of Indian and Ceylonese Buddhist architecture. The circular ground plan is generally unfamiliar and recessive in the Ceylonese tradition, although a rare form of circular house—'an indigenous type of dwelling of considerable antiquity'—is known and bears a close resemblance to the conical shape which the ancient *vaṭadāgēs* must have shown.[2] If the idea of a circular temple enclosing a *stūpa* was an imported concept, as it probably was, the actual architectural manifestations of that idea were within the formal and technical conventions of local building, formulated and evolved in the natural course of architectural development in the Anurādhapura Period.

Besides the *vaṭadāgē* proper, there are other circular structures associated with the monastic architecture of this period. The most significant of these, of course, are the circular *bodhigharas* which we shall discuss in the sequel. There are also a few rare examples of buildings of somewhat varied character and dimensions, some of which may well be linked with the *vaṭadāgē*. The smallest of these are the circular cells—usually square inside and not unlike those at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa—found at Vessagiriya, Pācīnatissapabbata, Toluvila, etc.[3] These are not particularly significant in themselves but for the fact that they provide some sort of prototype for a kind of shrine of which there are three rather enigmatic examples. The earliest of these is the circular structure, Building Q, 22 ft. in diameter and standing on a 34 ft. square platform at Veherabäṅdigala, already described above.[4] There is evidence to suggest that this may have enshrined a *stūpa*. The two other examples are the central shrine of the monastic complex known as the Potgulvehera[5] and the badly ruined circular structure near the Tivaṅka temple,[6] both at Polonnaruva.

The Potgulvehera shrine is a large building, about 50 ft. in diameter, with massive walls of brick masonry and a single bayed entrance of quite substantial proportions, recalling the elaborate porticos of the *vaṭadāgēs* at Polonnaruva and Mädirigiriya. The greater part of the building is now destroyed but enough is left to show that it was vaulted and had an entirely brick

[1] Sarkar suggests some possible connection between these Indian shrines and the Greek peripteral temple, while Piggott sees a possible source in the Mauryan dwelling-house (Sarkar, H., 1966, pp. 27-29; Piggott, S., 1943, pp. 1-9).

[2] Naish, R. B., 1946. An interesting survival in Ceylon, retaining perhaps some folk memory of the ancient *vaṭadāgē*, is a circular timber- or bamboo-and-thatch structure that is sometimes erected as a protection around a *stūpa* which is in the course of construction. This is known as a *puragē* and is now only very rarely to be seen. This *puragē* is often thatched with a kind of leaf that is cut into small rectangular shapes, simulating the traditional Sinhalese flat tile.

[3] See above, pp. 78, 98 n. 1, 124.

[4] See above, pp. 124.

[5] *ASCAR* 1906, pp. 14-17.

[6] *ASCAR* 1909, p. 16.

superstructure, possibly in the form of a 'dome'. As Bell observes, 'whatever form this domical roof may have assumed exteriorally—and no clue is left to guide speculation—its interior must have resembled a tapering cone'.[1] If this was in fact the case, and the present remains seem to bear out Bell's surmise, it provides useful corroboration for the suggestion that the *vaṭadāgē* proper had a conical roof. Externally, however, this Potgulvehera structure must have presented a very different form from that of the *vaṭadāgē*. The existence of representations of miniature shrines in reliefs on its outer walls indicates that it was of the same architectural 'order' as the other vaulted brick temples of Polonnaruva, such as the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkātilaka.

Thus, if the Potgulvehera shrine was in fact a type of *cetiyaghara*, it would stand in the same relationship to the *vaṭadāgē* as the circular *Drāviḍa* temples, such as that at Valyandyadichapuram, stand in relation to the traditional Kerala *srīkoil*.[2] This kind of transposition, from a 'mixed' brick-and-timber to a wholly masonry structure, also accompanied by some degree of 'Drāviḍisation', is manifested in the relationship between the conventional Sinhalese *gandhakuṭī* image-house and the entirely brick-built *geḍigē*.

The identity of the building in the Potgulvehera has not been resolved so far. Its religious character is not in doubt, but as there were no traces of any cult object inside it, its precise purpose remains uncertain. The only way to understand this shrine today is by reference to such buildings as the brick-built *cetiyaghara* at Śālihundam,[3] the circular *Drāviḍa* temples of Kerala and the structures at Veherabäṅdigala and Vessagiriya. Curiously, in its present form it closely resembles the *cetiyaghara* at Śālihundam, of course at a distance of over a thousand years. If the Potgulvehera shrine was in fact a type of *cetiyaghara*, the absence of any traces of a *stūpa* is not difficult to explain. This *stūpa* in any case would have been fairly small—the internal dimensions of the sanctum at its widest is only just over 20 ft.—and thus easily destroyed, or, more likely, it would have been obscured in the debris of the fallen superstructure. This debris together with any remains of such a *stūpa* would have been removed when everything inside the building was cleared away many years before Bell examined the monument.[4]

The circular building near the Tivaṅka temple has been conjecturally identified by Paranavitana as the circular shrine for the Tooth-Relic built by Parākramabāhu I in the Jetavanavihāra.[5] Today, very little of this structure remains, but sufficient for us to see that it is in principle similar to the circular shrines at Veherabäṅdigala and in the Potgulvehera. Like Building Q at Veherabäṅdigala it stands in the centre of a low, quadrangular platform and has a single entrance on the west.

The shrine at Veherabäṅdigala has been dated by Hocart in the 3rd or 4th century. We have already suggested that this seems two or three centuries too early for the monuments at this site.[6] However, as Building Q represents two different periods of construction and as the circular structure belongs to the earlier phase, one can roughly guess that it dates from about the 5th Century. Only slightly larger than this circular shrine is the monument at Kandegedara, which also displays two different phases of building. According to Godakumbara, the original *stūpa* belongs to the earliest period of *stūpa* buildings in Ceylon.[7] This *stūpa* and its

[1] *ASCAR* 1906, p. 15.

[2] See above, p. 155 n. 9.

[3] Subrahmanyam, R., 1964, p. 28, plan facing p. 23.

[4] *ASCAR* 1904, p. 4 n.

[5] *CJSG* II, pp. 171-172.

[6] See above, pp. 128, 130.

[7] *ASCAR* 1964-65, pp. 71-72.

small *vaṭadāgē* were buried under a much larger *dāgāba* which has been dated in the 7th Century A.D. on the basis of an inscribed brick found in its debris. Assuming that this is in fact the correct date, the diminutive *cetiyaghara* must certainly date from before the 7th Century and possibly belongs to the same period as the shrine at Veherabāṅdigala. The full chronological implications of these two shrines cannot be assessed without a thorough investigation, but we cannot altogether dismiss the possibility that we have here examples of *cetiyagharas* which might go back to the earliest period of this type of building. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* the *cetiyaghara* was already known in Ceylon in the 1st and 2nd Century A.D.[1] However, until more definitive material concerning these two monuments is available, we can only place them towards the latter part of the period between the 1st and the 5th Centuries A.D.

Thus, these are the earliest extant monuments of this type. The latest example, on the other hand, is the *vaṭadāgē* at Polonnaruva, which in its final form is almost certainly from the latter half of the 12th Century, the period to which most of the major buildings in this city can be ascribed. The dates suggested above for the circular structure at Veherabāṅdigala and the 12th Century Polonnaruva *vaṭadāgē* provide us with a reasonable lower and upper dating for the sequence of Sinhalese *cetiyagharas* which have been examined in the pages above.

Paranavitana has suggested that the substitution of stone pillars for the original wooden ones in these monuments generally took place about the 7th or 8th Century.[2] There is evidence of this in at least one instance and some confirmation in three others. Inscriptions on the stone paving of the *maḷuva* and on the shaft of one of the columns, in letters of about the 7th/8th Century, record the donation of pillars in the *vaṭadāgē* at Mihintalē.[3] A long Sanskrit record and a donor inscription at Tiriyāya, both from the 8th Century, clearly establish the date of this monument.[4] At Rājaṅganē there is a wide range of lithic records from about the 1st to the 9th Century.[5] Hocart, whose dating is usually a matter of informed, and sometimes inspired, guesswork, ascribes the monuments at Rājaṅganē to the 7th or 8th Century.[6] We have already pointed out the close correspondence between the *cetiyagharas* at Mihintaḷē and Tiriyāya and the similarity in dimensions between the latter example and that at Rājaṅganē.[7] The shrine at Rājaṅganē represents a variant form, probably of a slightly earlier or provincial type when compared with the other two buildings. Thus, a date around the 7th or 8th Century would not be inappropriate here either. At Mädirigiriya literary evidence establishes that a *cetiyaghara* was built at this site in the 7th Century. This must surely apply, not to the present structure, but to the earlier shrine beneath, which like the monument at Rājaṅganē seems to have been of the square type.[8]

Thus, we have here a complete series of *cetiyagharas*, two circular and two square, of a like architectural character and all apparently from the 7th or 8th Century. It would not be presumptious, then, to suggest that the *cetiyaghara* as we know it dates from the 7th or 8th Century onwards, that is to say from about the beginnings of Phase IV at Anurādhapura. Of course, this would anticipate two or more centuries of prior development, which would then

[1] *Mhv.* 35.88, 90; 36.9-10.
[2] *UHC* p. 397.
[3] Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 96; *ASCAR* 1951, p. 22.
[4] *ASCAR* 1951, pp. 26-29; *EZ* IV, pp. 151-160, 312-319.
[5] *ASCAR* 1949 p. 9.
[6] *CJSG* I, p. 6.
[7] See above, pp. 146-147.
[8] See above, p. 149.

take us back to Building Q at Veherabāṅdigala, in the 5th Century.[1] This corresponds with the development of other dateable architectural types such as the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*.[2]

As far as the other examples of the *cetiyaghara* are concerned, Paranavitana has suggested that the Thūpārāma, the Laṅkārāma, the present shrine at Mädirigiriya and the basic structure of the *vaṭadāgē* at Polonnaruva, must all be from the 7th or 8th Century.[3] The true position, however, is surely not as simple as that. It is impossible not to differentiate between these various buildings. The Thūpārāma, of course, is a very ancient monument and probably the first *vaṭadāgē* in Ceylon. However, it must have been restored and rebuilt through the centuries and there is no question that anything remains of Vasabha's original shrine of the 1st Century A.D. The reference in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to the construction of a roof over the temple in the Thūpārāma in the 7th or 8th Century,[4] may well apply to the reconstruction of the *cetiyaghara* with stone columns, etc. We have already referred to sections of the stone pavement dating from about the 5th Century. But, in its present form this *vaṭadāgē* substantially bears the features of Parākramabāhu's restoration of the 12th Century.[5] Paranavitana, himself, has attested to the 12th Century style of the pilasters of the retaining wall.[6] Hocart, on the other hand, assigns the stone columns of the Thūpārāma to a period between the 10th and the 12th Century.[7] Together with the Laṅkārāma, which it closely resembles, the Thūpārāma in its present form must then be the product of several additions and alterations throughout the Late Anurādhapura Period culminating in the 12th Century. This is quite in keeping with the architectural character of these two *cetiyagharas*, which are certainly a development of the earlier type represented by the shrines at Mihintaḷē and Tiriyāya but somewhat less evolved than the examples at Mädirigiriya and Polonnaruva.

Similarly, the *vaṭadāgēs* at Mädirigiriya and Polonnaruva may be the result of two or more successive restorations and alterations and may have been, originally, shrines of the Late Anurādhapura Period, although to place them as early as the 7th or 8th Century, as Paranavitana does, is to go against the available evidence. There can be little doubt—and Paranavitana, himself, concedes this[8]—that in their present form they can be assigned to the latter half of the 12th Century.

In substance the structure at Mädirigiriya may well be earlier than that at Polonnaruva, but

[1] Certain sections of the stone pavement of the Thūpārāma must also date from this period, as witnessed by inscriptions of the 5th Century on slabs used in this pavement (Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 96).
[2] See above, pp. 128, 130.
[3] *UHC* p. 397.
[4] *Mhv.* 47.65.
[5] *Mhv.* 78.107.
[6] Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 76.
[7] *CJSG* I, p. 145. We know that the earliest dateable pillars are those of the Silācetiya from about the 7th or 8th Century. Strictly speaking this date only applies to the shaft, which is of the wholly octagonal type. This is also found at Tiriyāya, a monument that has been assigned to the 8th Century. Here, the shaft and the capitals are carved from a single piece of stone, but, while the capitals are basically of the Thūpārāma type, some of "the ornamental features are lacking" (*ASCAR* 1951, p. 28). Thus, we may not be too far wrong in suggesting that in the pillar shafts of the Silācetiya and in the shafts and capitals at Tiriyāya we have the earliest available examples of these features of the *cetiyaghara*. On the other hand, the detached capitals of the Silācetiya and those of the Thūpārāma and other shrines represent a more elaborate and developed type of the Late Anurādhapura Period, probably of the 9th or 10th Century. Presumably the pillar shafts of the Thūpārāma and other shrines, with their square lower section, also represent a later form than the wholly octagonal type of shaft. However, Paranavitana entertains the possibility that the stone columns of the Thūpārāma might be from the 5th Century (Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 96). This seems completely unacceptable. Their true date is probably much closer to Hocart's suggestion, i.e. between the 10th and 12th Century.
[8] *UHC* p. 596.

the disposition of its interior today, the screen wall, massive entrance portico, stairway, etc., are all of the Polonnaruva Period.

As for the *vaṭadāgē* at Polonnaruva, an inscription on the porch of the building itself, as well as two other records in the vicinity of the shrine, clearly ascribe its authorship to Niśśaṁkamalla.[1] Paranavitana suggests that 'he repaired and embellished an edifice already existing' and ascribes the porch, the lower platform and the inner enclosure wall to this ruler, but implies that the pillar capitals and the sculptural detail of the four entrances to the upper platform are earlier and possibly of the Late Anurādhapura Period.[2] In the absence of any definitive chronology of Sinhalese sculptural styles and in view of the difficulty of establishing a precise line of demarcation between the very latest phase at Anurādhapura and the early period at Polonnaruva, the substantive date of this monument, let alone that of its original foundation, must remain a matter for speculation. However, there is to my mind no doubt that the sculptural detail of this building dates from the Polonnaruva Period, although some of it may well represent the work of a reign anterior to that of Niśśaṁkamalla. The moonstones of the four upper entrances, for instance, are not of the fully developed Polonnaruva type, but there is no doubt that they are of the Polonnaruva Period.[3] The discovery of a coin of Niśśaṁkamalla in the lower *garbha* of the *stūpa* suggests that the structure as a whole had been substantially rebuilt by that ruler.[4] Moreover, as Paranavitana himself admits, it is possible, even likely, that 'various architectural fragments ... not ... specially prepared for this building ... have been taken from the ruins of earlier structure'.[5] For our purposes this edifice represents the Sinhalese *cetiyaghara* in its most evolved, late 12th Century form.

Thus, this sequence of shrines, covering a period of about seven centuries, helps us to visualise the evolution of a type of circular building which forms a distinct and integrated feature of the classic Sinhalese tradition. It underlines the importance of architectural concepts which the Sinhalese took from Indian Buddhism in its earliest phases, and which they then formulated and developed within the terms of their own tradition. Nothing displays this process better than the *cetiyaghara* or *vaṭadāgē*, which, being concomitant with the *stūpa*, continued to attract in the highest degree the imagination and skill of the Sinhalese architects throughout the classic period at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva. And yet, the *cetiyaghara*, true to its origins and in common with other circular structures, remains a very distinctive and exceptional type in Sinhalese architecture, not only in its formal qualities but also in its incidence. The rarity of such circular forms and their almost total disappearance—the *stūpa* being the solitary exception—from later, that is to say post-Polonnaruva architecture, can probably be explained by their lack of deep roots in the local building traditions. However, this does not detract in any way from the achievement of the Sinhalese builders, in whose hands the *cetiyaghara* became a highly original vehicle of architectural expression.

[1] *CJSG* II, pp. 164-165.
[2] Paranavitana, S., 1946, pp. 82-83.
[3] There is a ready rule of thumb, generally accepted by Ceylonese archaeologists, that moonstones of the Polonnaruva Period can be distinguished by two particular characteristics. One, the absence of the bull, obviously in deference to Śaivism, now officially permitted in the capital. Two, the row of animals—elephant, horse, lion and bull—seen on the moonstones of the Anurādhapura Period, is changed in Polonnaruva to a a band, or bands, of a single animal, usually either a horse or an elephant.
[4] *ASCAR* 1903, p. 25.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 83.

BODHIGHARA

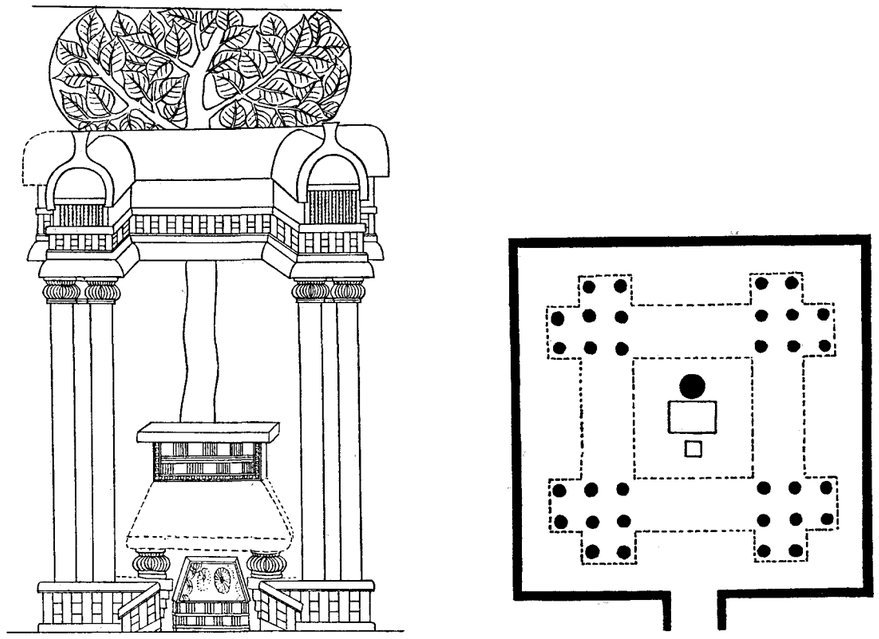
One of the most ancient of Buddhist shrines is the hypaethral sanctuary associated with the *bodhi*-tree, itself an object of worship in the animistic and fertility cults of the pre-Buddhist world long before it became a sacred memorial of the Buddha's Enlightenment at Bodhgayā. The galleried structure which surrounded the sacred tree at Bodhgayā and similar or simpler shrines elsewhere are depicted in the early Buddhist reliefs from Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bodhgayā, Mathurā, Amarāvatī, etc. These reliefs provide us with a comprehensive picture of a type of building, constructed of timber and other light materials such as woven straw, cane and leaf thatch, both in form and purpose quite unlike anything known to other architectural traditions. At once organic and conceptionalised, primitive and sophisticated, these tree-shrines reflect that aspect of the Indian religious sensibility which for all its highly intellectual qualities still remained very closely attuned to the simple phenomena of Nature. They were, above all, a fitting expression of the simple devotional spirit of early Buddhism. These early Indian representations of *bodhigharas* have been studied in some detail by Coomaraswamy, a few of whose drawings we reproduce here (see fig. 52a-d).[1]

The transplantation to Anurādhapura of a branch or sapling of the Mahābodhi-Tree at Bodhgayā marks a great historical event in the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon.[2] The Bodhi-Tree at Anurādhapura has remained in continual worship since its establishment in the 3rd Century B.C., but of its temple or *bodhighara*, often referred to in the ancient literature, little remains today save a sequence of high terraces around the sacred tree and a few sculptures, some of high quality. All else has been obscured by time and by the modern shrines at the site. For obvious reasons, the site is scarcely available for excavation and has therefore received little scholarly attention, with the exception of a recent excavation along the periphery of the great stone embankment which now demarcates the sacred precincts.[3]

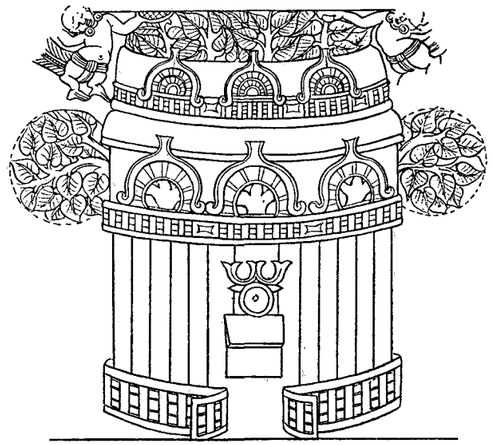
Similarly, despite the prime importance of the *bodhi*-tree in Sinhalese Buddhism and the ubiquitous presence of a *bodhi*-tree and a *bomaḷuva* (or *bo*-tree terrace) in contemporary Ceylonese temples, the *bodhighara* is a shrine which has not received the serious attention of archaeologists in Ceylon.[4] The reasons for this neglect are clear. By its very nature a shrine of this type is much less permanent than a *stūpa*, a *cetiyaghara* or an image-house, and its remains are more easily obscured in the ruins and debris that confront the archaeologist at every ancient site. Moreover, with the single exception of the remains under the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodhgayā,[5] no example of a *bodhighara* has yet been identified in India. The result of all this has been that the *bodhighara* has come to be regarded as a kind of historical phantom of no particular archaeological substance.

In recent times, however, this neglect has been to some extent rectified with the discovery and identification of five or six shrines of this type in Ceylon, all dating from the Anurādhapura Period. The most dramatic of these discoveries was an extremely well-preserved example at Nillakgama, dating from the 8th or 9th Century. This structure was originally noticed by

[1] Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1930.
[2] *Mhv.* Chaps. 18-19.
[3] *ASCAR* 1960, p. 63.
[4] Although there are references to the *bodhighara* as an architectural type, in general works on the Anurādhapura Period, they usually refer only to the well-known shrine at Nillakgama. There is, to my knowledge, only one study which deals specifically with these tree-shrines, a very brief and sketchy article by Godakumbura, referring to the Nillakgama structure and three other examples [see Godakumbura, C. E., 1966 (2)].
[5] Cunningham, A., 1892, pp. 4-7, 11-16.

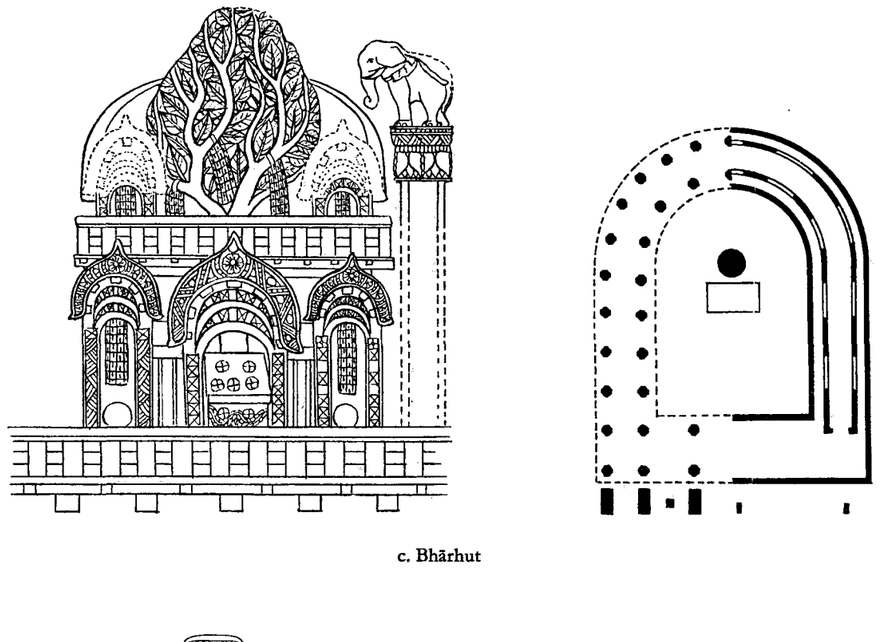


a. Amarāvatī

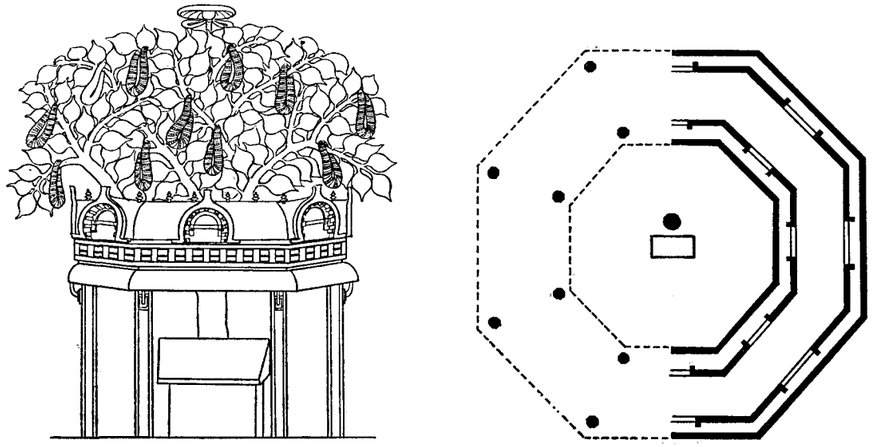


b. Mathurā

Fig. 52. Bodhigharas from early Indian reliefs (after Coomaraswamy)



c. Bhārhut



d. Sāñcī

Fig. 52. (contd.) Bodhigharas from early Indian reliefs (after Coomaraswamy)

Bell, who published detailed drawings of it, but its true identity eluded him (see figs. 53a, b, c, and Pl. XIII).[1] It was Paranavitana who, many years later, identified and dated the shrine on the basis of inscriptional evidence.[2] Briefly, the structure consists of a raised terrace paved with stone flags and surrounded by a high parapet. The enclosure thus formed is entered by two elaborate stone doorways set in the parapet on the east and west. In the centre of the enclosure, which is about 34 ft. 6 ins. square externally, is an open space about 6 ft. square, surrounded by a decorated stone wall. Standing on the pavement outside the central sanctuary formed by this wall are four stone *āsanas* facing the four cardinal directions. The inscription found at the site clearly describes the monument as a *bodhighara*. The *bodhi*-tree itself, no doubt, stood in the open space in the centre of the structure. The remains of stone pillars erected on the paved terrace, and numerous tiles and tile fragments, indicate that the shrine was covered by a tiled structure which surrounded the tree, very much on the same principle as the *bodhigharas* depicted in the early Indian reliefs.[3] Rahula has pointed out that the descriptions of *bodhigharas* in the exigetical writings clearly indicate that the superstructure of the Sinhalese shrines was constructed, as we might expect, around the tree and not over it, thereby preserving the essential design of the Indian prototypes.[4]

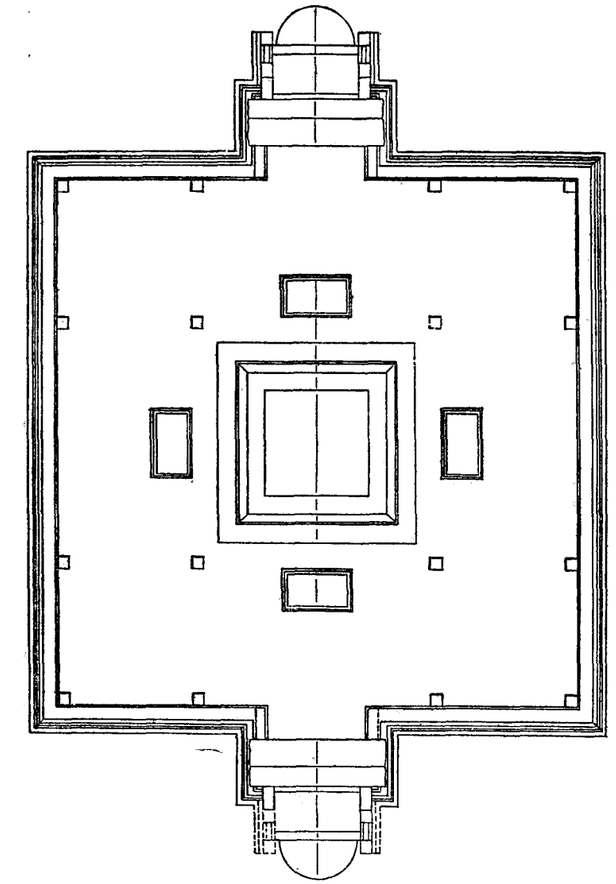
The importance of the Nillakgama shrine lies not only in the fact that it is a proven example of a Sinhalese *bodhighara*, but also in that its form and design correspond very closely to one of the two main types of Sinhalese tree-shrines that we shall discuss in this section.

Although Paranavitana has called the Nillakgama *bodhighara* 'the only specimen of [its] type',[5] there are three other examples of shrines, of a basically similar plan, that have been identified as *bodhigharas*, one by Paranavitana himself.[6] These include two monuments in Anurādhapura itself—the structure associated with the famous *Samādhi* image in Sector IV of the Abhayagirivihāra and the building immediately to the south of the image-house in the Pācīnatissapabbata monastery.

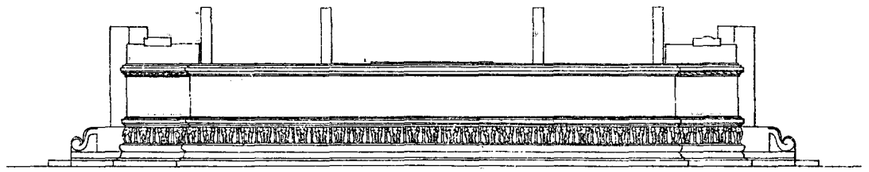
The *Samādhi* shrine is, of course, much simpler than that at Nillakgama, though its essential features remain the same (see figs. 6, 54 and Pl. XIV).[7] It consists of a raised brick structure, 20 ft. square, with projecting bays or altars in the centre of each side and an open space, 12 ft. square, in the middle. The present *Samādhi* image is placed on a brick *āsana* in the northern bay and the remains of another seated image can be seen in the southern bay. A row of stone pillars and a brick enclosure, just over 40 ft. square, surround the central sanctuary. An inner row of pillars is placed along the outer edge of the central structure. In its original state, this edifice may not have matched the Nillakgama *bodhighara* in its elaborate sculptural detail, but it certainly surpassed it in dimensions.

The shrine in the Pācīnatissapabbata (see figs. 17, 58a) is one of the four regular structures in the central precincts of the *pabbata vihāras*. Paranavitana's tentative suggestion that this structure might have been connected with a *bodhi*-tree was, in fact, the first attempt in fifty

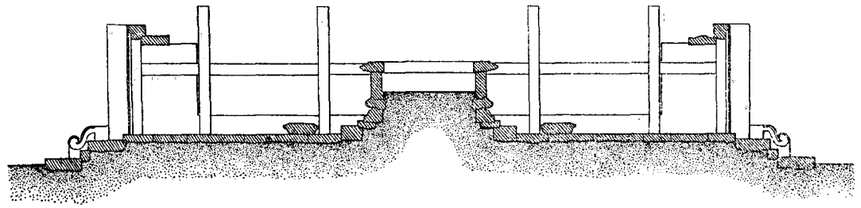
[1] *ASCAR* 1895, p. 13, *PPAR* 1895, pls. XXXII-XXXV.
[2] *ASCAR* 1954, pp. 25-28.
[3] This building also provides us with an important piece of incidental evidence concerning the nature of the ancient Sinhalese roof. The underside of the projecting coping of the stone enclosure around the central sanctuary is 'ornamented' with a series of elongated dentils, simulating the beam ends or rafters of a timbered, pent roof.
[4] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 120-121.
[5] *UHC* p. 398.
[6] Paranavitana seems to have forgotten or ignored the fact that he, himself, had tentatively identified the remains of a *bodhighara* in the Pācīnatissapabbata some years earlier (see *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 23).
[7] *ASCAR* 1960, pp. 66-71.



a. plan



b. side elevation



c. section

Fig. 53. Bodhighara, Nillakgama

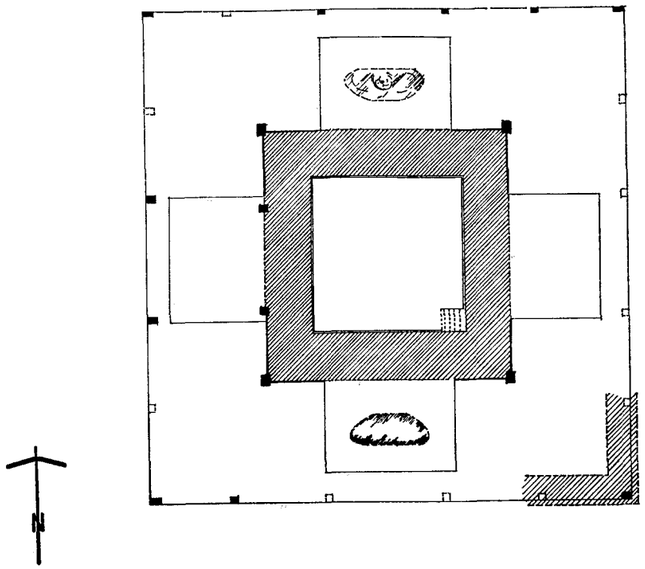


Fig. 54. Bodhighara (Samādhi image shrine), Abhayagirivihāra

years of archaeological work at Anurādhapura to identify the remains of a *bodhighara*.[1] He points out that 'there was no indication that it had any kind of structure on it' and goes on to say that it could 'be conjectured that the platform served as the terrace of the Bodhi tree of the monastery'. Subsequently, Godakumbura identified a corresponding shrine in a *pabbata vihāra* in Ruhuṇa: 'According to legend Runumahavihara [Magulmahāvihāra] is the place where the marriage between King Kavantissa and Viharamahadevi was solemnized... Excavations have proved the so-called nuptial dais to be none other than a *bodhighara* building'.[2] Although these two identifications are somewhat arbitrary they are important in establishing the true nature of the fourth building in the central enclosure of a *pabbata vihāra* (see fig. 24).[3] Bell invariably interpreted this fourth building as some special type of image-house (*'vihāre'*) or *stūpa*.[4] Aryasinha and Prematilleke characterised some of these and other similar structures elsewhere as image-houses with a fourfold orientation or *caturmukha paṭimāgharas*.[5] Dohanian

[1] *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 23.

[2] *ASCAR* 1964-65, p. 73. Despite his own previous suggestion with regard to the existence of a *bodhighara* at the *Samādhi* image shrine and Paranavitana's identification of a similar structure in the Pācīnatissapabbata, Godakumbura still maintains that "The other *bodhi-ghara* so far excavated and conserved by the department is at Nillaggama".

[3] The three other structures being the image-house, the *stūpa* and the *pāsāda/uposathaghara*, all easily identifiable (see above, pp. 73 ff.).

[4] See for example, *ASCAR* 1891, p. 5, 1892, p. 4; 1894, p. 4.

[5] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 88 ff.; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 122-125.

has described the *Samādhi* shrine as an 'iconographic machine ... a diagram, magically describing the Buddha's immanence in All-Space'.[1] Finally, Prematilleke and Silva in their paper on the *pabbata vihāra* have characterised this fourth building as a *bodhighara*.[2]

Thus, considering the views of Paranavitana, Godakumbura, Prematilleke and Silva, there is a consensus of opinion regarding the identity of the *bodhighara*, at least in several *pabbata vihāras*, even though there has been little argument or documentation in arriving at this opinion. This neglect, however, is soon remedied by a simple comparison between the plan and the architectural features of the shrine at Nillakgama, of proven identity, and those of the other structures mentioned above. Moreover, the essential characteristics which emerge from a study of these monuments enable us to identify several other hitherto unidentified buildings as shrines which once housed sacred trees.

The structures which best offer themselves for comparison with the *bodhigharas* at Nillakgama and at the *Samādhi* image in the Abhayagirivihāra are the shrines in the central enclosures of at least five of the six well-established examples of *pabbata vihāras* of Type I: Vijayārāma, Pankuliya, Puliyankuḷam, Pācīnatissapabbata and Magulmahāvihāra (see fig. 24). In each instance, the *bodhighara* is located in the south-western sector of the precinct, and has a basically square shape and usually a fourfold orientation.

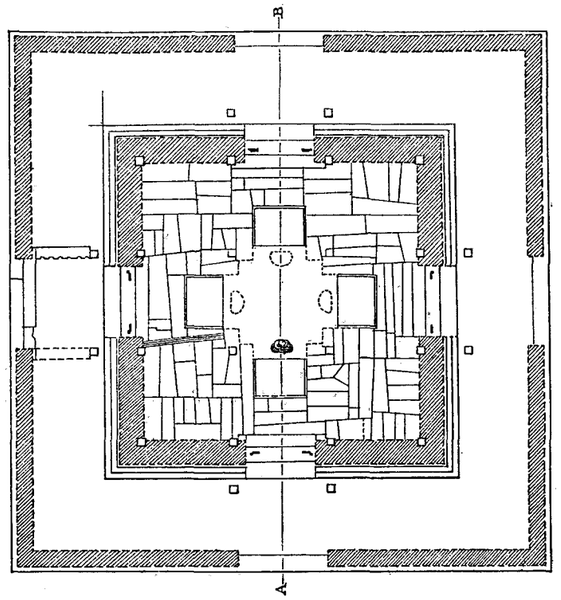
The shrine in the Vijayārāma serves as a typical example (see fig. 55). It consists of a raised terrace, about 47 ft. square, bounded by a brick wall, in the centre of which is a brick-built structure which in effect constitutes the *bodhighara*. In the middle of this is an open, unpaved space.[3] This space itself is demarcated by a brick wall[4] which forms the inner sanctuary of the shrine, which is drawn out into bays in the middle of each side. Against these bays were placed four high *āsanas* which either formed pedestals for four Buddha images, or served as flower-altars in front of images placed on or within the sanctuary walls. The area between this inner sanctum and the outer walls of the *bodhighara* forms a stone-paved ambulatory. Twelve pillars were placed against the inner wall of the shrine and four pillars at the four corners of the inner sanctum. It seems likely that these pillars supported a superstructure which stood over the stone pavement, thus forming a covered ambulatory or temple around the sacred tree which

[1] Dohanian, D. K., 1964, pp. 111-113. At first, Dohanian does not take into account the fact that this shrine has already been described as a *bodhighara*, as early as 1960. It is only in a later article that he recognises that ascription. However, he continues to defend his earlier viewpoint: "I do not agree with the opinion ... that this shrine was a *bodhighara* and was therefore not roofed over its center ... since the new excavations at the site failed to unearth even traces of an irrigation channel, it seems unlikely that the structure should have been meant to "house" a *bodhi*-tree. The issue, of course, may never be resolved, since the construction of a modern shelter has effectively obscured the original remains of the shrine" (Dohanian, D. K., 1969-70, p. 40). In fact, our intention here is to show that the *Samādhi* shrine is clearly an example of a distinct type of monument which can be definitively identified as a *bodhighara*. To consider the *Samādhi* shrine by itself, without any reference to other similar structures, is scarcely an adequate basis for speculation. Moreover, the modern shelter at the site only covers the *Samādhi* image itself, while the remains of the *bodhighara* have been carefully and accurately conserved by the Archaeological Department. Dohanian suggests—rather ingeniously, if it was not so widely off the mark—that the 'empty' sanctum of the shrine may have "symbolized the unmanifest or void nature of the *Dharma-kāya*" while "the Buddha-shapes may be read as the manifest or phenomenal projections of the *Dharma-kāya* throughout all the quarters of Space" (Dohanian, D. K., 1969-70, p. 39). It is true, of course, that the shrine does express the projection of the Buddha's presence in the four directions, as in the case of the *stūpa* with the four frontispieces or *vāhalkaḍas* and the *cetiyaghara* with the four entrances and quartet of images. In its combination of primitive tree-shrine and highly sophisticated directional—and perhaps cosmological—concepts, the *bodhighara* displays the imaginative vitality and highly syncretistic nature of Sinhalese Buddhism.

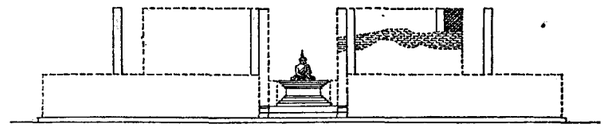
[2] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 64, 66-67.

[3] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 5; see also *ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, p. 9.

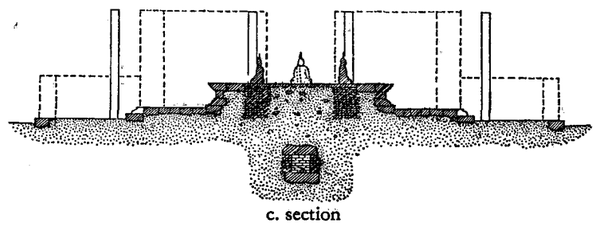
[4] See fig. 55c—Section.



a. plan



b. elevation



c. section

Fig. 55. Bodhighara, Vijayārāma

must have been planted in the open space at the very centre of the whole edifice. A stone image and fragments of other sculptures still to be seen at the site leave us in no doubt that this temple also housed seated Buddha figures, placed, as in the *Samādhi* shrine, on the four bayed projections or on the *āsanas* of the inner sanctum. These images, surrounding the base of the tree,

graphically re-enact the Buddha's Enlightenment at Bodhgayā, now projected, so to speak, symbolically over the four quarters of the universe. Directly aligned with these images, bays and *āsanas* were the entrances to the shrine and to the enclosed terrace around it, one in the centre of each side. The mortised door sills at the entrances to the shrine itself are still *in situ*.

In the Vijayārāma shrine, and in some of the other examples, a small brick-lined chamber covered over with a stone slab and forming a kind of *garbha*, is buried in the centre of the inner sanctum about 1 ft. or so below the level of the ambulatory. These *garbhas* are not exclusive to the *bodhighara*[1] but they can be enumerated amongst its essential characteristics.

The design and dimensions[2] of the corresponding structure at Puliyankuḷam are almost a duplicate of the Vijayārāma shrine (see fig. 56).[3] The brickwork of the inner sanctum, which is better preserved and somewhat more substantial, has a set of steps leading to the open space in the centre. Similar steps are also found at Pācīnatissapabbata and at Pankuliya. At the latter site, this is equipped with a miniature version of the standard Sinhalese entrance: guardstones, wingstones and a moonstone. A crude version of this, here leading *down* into the central space, is also found at the *Samādhi* shrine. Prematilleke and Silva have pointed out that these steps were used in the ceremony of watering the *bodhi*-tree: 'The act of watering the great bodhi tree at Anurādhapura was indeed a special and meritorious act and this ritual was no doubt extended even to other bodhi trees planted in every monastery'.[4]

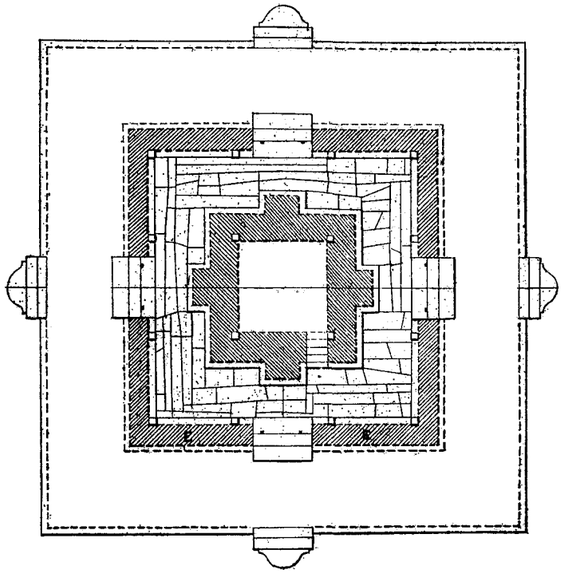
The *bodhighara* at Pankuliya differs from these in the two other *pabbata vihāras* discussed above in that it does not seem to have had an outer terrace and enclosure around the main building but rather was entered directly from the four doorways of the shrine (see fig. 57).[5] These doorways are equipped with the characteristic guardstones, wingstones and moonstones. Attached

[1] Strangely, they are also found beneath the floor of some entrance pavilions, e.g. at Vijayārāma. They probably indicate certain points of ritual concentration within the sacred precinct of a monastery. One could visualise the entrance to this inner precinct as a point of important ritual significance.

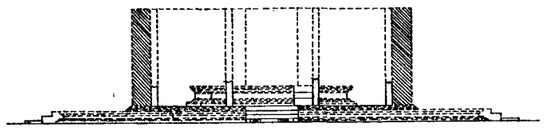
[2] The comparative dimensions of the type of *bodhighara* represented by the Nillakgama and Vijayārāma shrines, and other related examples are as follows (for simplicity, the projecting bays are ignored; all measurements are very rough approximations and are expressed in ft. and ins.):

	Central space	*Inner sanct.*	*Outer struct.*
Identified shrines			
Nillakgama	6 sq.	12 sq.	34.6 sq.
Samādhi shrine	12 sq.	20 sq.	40 sq.
Vijayārāma	(7.6 sq.)	—	30.6 sq. (terrace 47 sq.)
Puliyankuḷam	9 sq.	14 sq.	31 sq. (terrace 48 sq.)
Pankuliya	10 sq.	12.6 sq.	35 sq.
Pācīnatissapabbata	14 × 12.6	18 × 17	—
Magulmahāvihāra	(4 sq.)	circ. diam. 16	(34 sq.)
Unidentified shrines (see below pp. 182-189)			
Vessagiriya	5 sq.	10.6 sq.	50 sq.
Anurādhapura-Kuruṇāgala Rd.	13.6 sq.	20 sq.	(30 sq.)
Toluvila shrine-complex	—	25 sq.	50 sq.
Kapārārāma	(16 sq.)	42 sq.	74 sq.
Polonnaruva B. No. 11	9.6 sq.	15 × 14	31 sq.
Buddhist-Rail.-Site-(1)	8 sq.	(11 sq.)	31 sq.
Buddhist-Rail.-Site-(2)	(8 sq.)	80 × 55	105 × 80 (terrace 138 × 112)

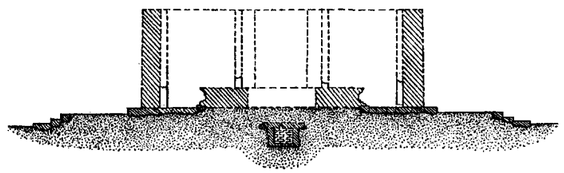
[3] *ASCAR* 1896, p. 3.
[4] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, p. 67.
[5] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 4; see also *ASC Seventh Prog. Rep.*, pp. 8-9.



a. plan



b. elevation

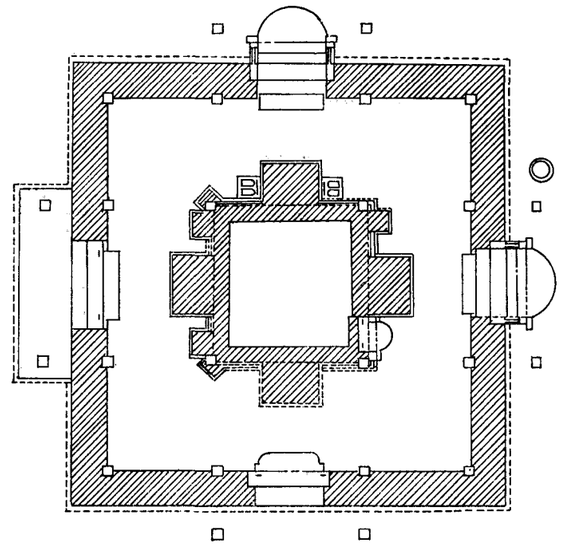


c. section

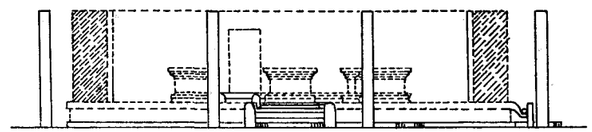
Fig. 56. Bodhighara, Puliyankuḷam

to the central sanctum of this monument, viz. at the four corners and on either side of the northern altar, can be seen a number of subsidiary projections. These may have provided bases for other images or ritual objects such as the *śrīpāda*—representations of the ancient aniconic symbol of the sacred feet—still *in situ*. The ambulatory passage here, unlike in the two earlier examples, is paved in brick and not in stone.

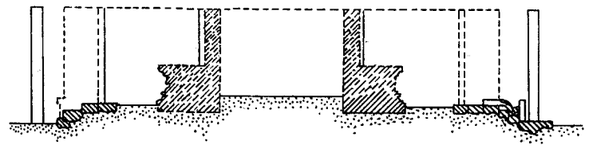
The *bodhighara* at the Pācīnatissapabbata is in many ways much simpler than any of those



a. plan



b. elevation



c. section

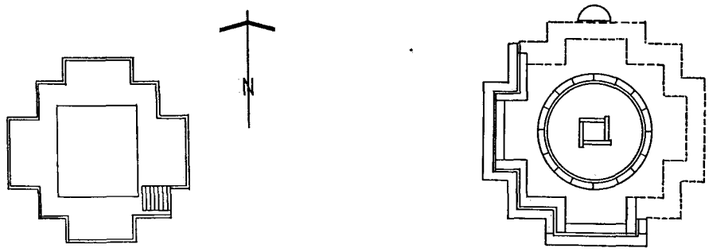
Fig. 57. Bodhighara, Pankuliya

discussed above (see fig. 58a).[1] It consists simply of an elevated brick platform in the shape of a square, with four projecting bays as before, and an open central space. There are no signs today of any enclosure around this platform or of any stone pillars on it. There is no doubt, however, that this is the equivalent of the inner sanctum of the other shrines. But, whether it is a ruined structure of the usual type, or an undeveloped version of a *bodhighara* or simply, as Paranavitana would have it, a platform which 'served as the terrace of the Bodhi tree', is a matter still to be resolved. In its design it is in no way different from the central feature of the

[1] *ASCAR* 1940-45, p. 23.

usual type of *bodhighara*. Whatever other architectural elements it may have had, these have now been obscured, perhaps because they were constructed of perishable materials.

As with many other monuments in Ruhuṇa, the shrine at the Magulmahāvihāra while displaying the same basic principles has an architectural character very different from that of the Rajaraṭa *bodhigharas* (see fig. 58b).[1] Like the structure at Pankuliya, there is apparently no outer enclosure here but only an elevated platform, held in place by an elaborately decorated



a. Pācīnatissapabbata b. Magulmahāvihāra

Fig. 58. Bodhigharas

stone plinth with a frieze of lions in high relief. Wide projecting bays in the centre of each side obscure the basically square plan. In the centre of this platform is a circular stone enclosure or moulded kerb, which almost certainly marks the inner sanctum. The space for the sacred tree lies in the middle of this and consists of a brick-lined pit with a simple stone kerb. The measurements of this shrine are not available but a rough calculation based on the small published plan shows that they are comparable to those of the other shrines.[1] The importance of this *bodhighara* design lies in its combination of square and circular elements, the implications of which have some bearing on a somewhat different type of *bodhighara* that we shall consider next.

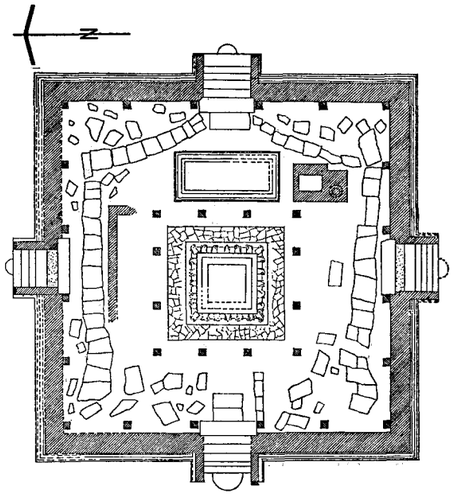


Fig. 59. Bodhighara, Vessagiriya

[1] *ASCAR* 1964-65, p. 73, pl. VII, plan 7.

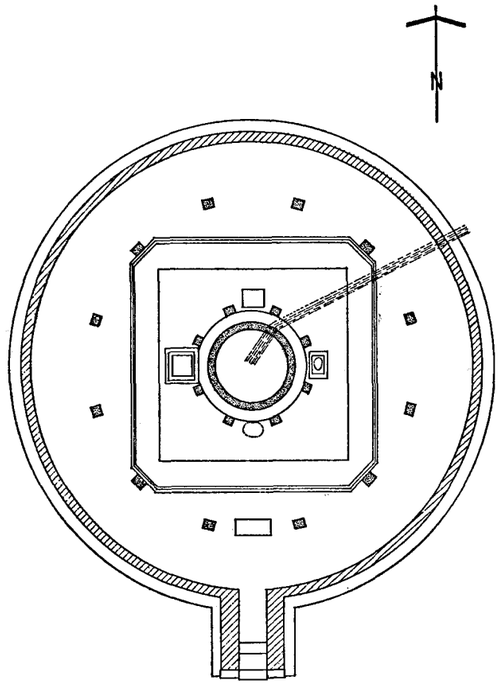


Fig. 60. Bodhighara, Toluvila

The *pabbata vihāras* of Type II and III include the monasteries of Toluvila, Dakkhiṇagirivihāra, Māṇikdeṇa, Sīgiriya, Vessagiriya and Pulukunāvi (see fig. 24).[2] Both the disposition and the architectural character of the *bodhighara* in these monasteries is quite different from that in Type I. In monasteries of Type II the *bodhighara* lies in the north-western sector of the sacred precinct, in front of the *uposathaghara* and not in front of the image-house. In Type III, on the other hand, it lies opposite the *image-house* as in Type I, but in the south-eastern sector. Moreover, these *bodhigharas*, with the exception of Vessagiriya where the shrine in question is still unexcavated, seem to be of an essentially circular type.

The structure at Toluvila presents itself as, perhaps, the best example of this circular type (see fig. 60). It has been described by Bell as a '*vaṭadāgē*'.[3] At first glance the design of this shrine seems to support this conclusion. It consists of a circular platform or *maḷuwa* of brick, with a low wall or parapet around its outer edge. The centre of the *maḷuwa* is occupied by a

[1] See above, p. 169 n. 2.
[2] See above, pp. 73-74.
[3] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 4.

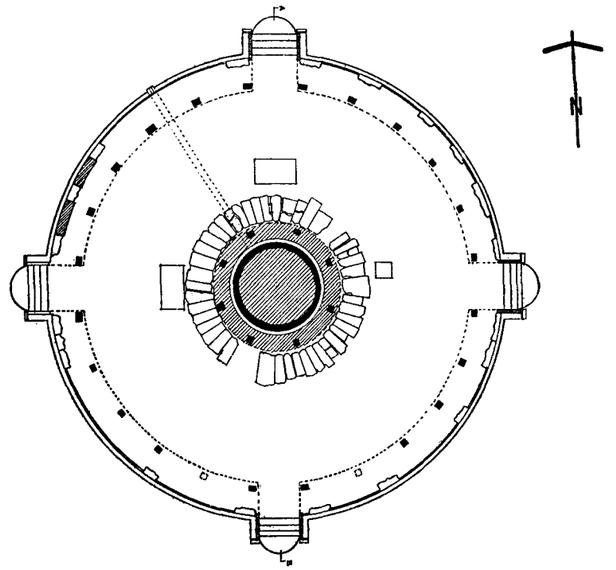
large square section of stone paving. In the middle of this paved area is what proves on examination to be an open circular space edged with a stone kerb. It was this which Bell took to be 'a diminutive dagaba'. There are two concentric circles of stone pillars, the outer one just touching the paved area at its splayed corners and the other placed immediately around the circular central kerb. Arranged around this kerb and strictly oriented to the four cardinal direction were the usual *āsanas*, one of them according to Bell, circular. Amongst the various objects placed between the *āsanas* was a *śrīpāda* of the type seen at Pankuliya.[1] There are no traces now of the so-called *dāgāba*, which Bell says had been rifled, and it is doubtful whether it ever existed. The most telling piece of evidence in this connection is the brick drain which Bell himself noticed, running from the middle of the central space and extending beyond the periphery of the building. We shall see that a similar drain was also discovered in the so-called *vaṭadāgē* at Māṇikdeṇa. If there had been a small *stūpa* at the centre of this monument this drain would be quite meaningless. On the other hand, it would make sense in a hypaethral structure and a tree-shrine. This drain must have played an important part in the drainage of the central pit, either in connection with the watering ceremony or the rainwater which would have collected there. Furthermore, if this shrine was a *vaṭadāgē*, housing a *stūpa*, we would have to explain the presence of two *stūpas* in the sacred precinct of this monastery. It would be much simpler and more logical in these circumstances to maintain that the central area of this particular structure at Toluvila was an open space, as it certainly seems to be, and that the shrine was none other than a circular version of the *bodhigharas* which exist in the other *pabbata vihāras*.

Thus, the *bodhighara* in the sacred precinct at Toluvila presents itself as a circular hypaethral shrine, with a *bodhi*-tree in the middle and a roof which covered (at least) the square paved area around the inner sanctum. Surrounding it is a circular brick enclosure wall with a single narrow entrance on the south. As we remarked earlier in this chapter, the circle and the square are interchangeable in Indian architecture and this mixture of circular and square elements in the plan of a building is already prefigured in Ceylonese architecture in the square *maḷuva* of the *cetiyaghara* at Rājaṅganē, in the square structure beneath the *vaṭadāgē* at Mādirigiriya and in the circular rather than square sanctum of the *bodhighara* in the Magulmahāvihāra. It should not surprise us then to find an alternative type of *bodhighara* which is circular rather than square, a variation which was already anticipated in the Indian *bodhighara* representations studied by Coomaraswamy (see fig. 52). The relative dimensions of this and other similar shrines, where these data are available, are summarised below.[2]

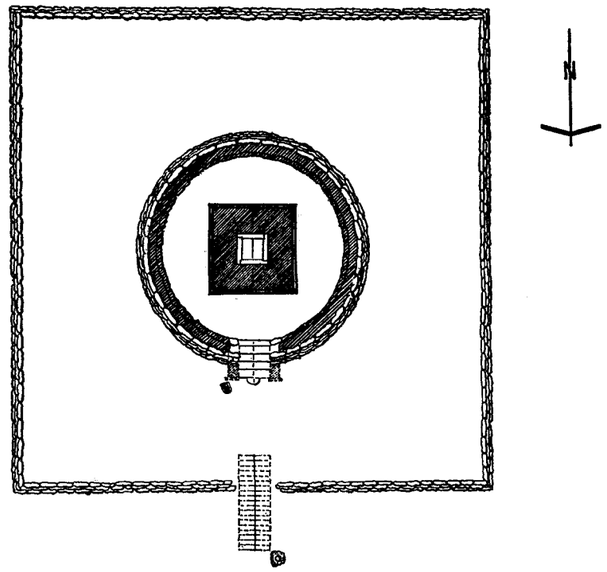
[1] It is interesting to note that by the side of the *bōmaḷuva* in the Laṅkātilaka temple at Uḍunuvara near Kandy, there is also a small shrine housing a *śrīpāda*.

[2] (All measurements are very rough approximations and are expressed in ft. and ins.)

	Central space	*Inner sanct.*	*Outer struct.*
Toluvila	5 diam.	9 diam. (intermediate structure 19 sq.)	38 diam.
Māṇikdeṇa	10 diam.	15 diam.	63 diam.
Sīgiriya	4 sq.	14 sq.	36.6 diam. (terrace 72 sq.)
Pulukunāvi	—	—	(circular structure—35 diam.?)
Kuḍākaṭuvannāva	9 sq.	—	(52 diam.) (terrace 84 × 71)
Kokābē	12 sq.	15 × 14	—



a. Māṇikdeṇa



b. Sīgiriya

Fig. 61. Bodhigharas

The building at Māṇikdeṇa, occupying exactly the same position within the sacred precinct as at Toluvila, is a monument of a very similar type (see fig. 61a and Pl. XV).[1] Excavated and conserved by the Archaeological Department in recent times, it too was thought to have been a *vaṭadāgē*. It has been conjecturally reconstructed on this basis, with a small, low *stūpa* in the centre of the shrine, although there was no material evidence of such a feature. This is certainly the best preserved of these circular *bodhigharas*, which we can see today. It consists of a low circular terrace with a wide brick retaining wall which seems to have continued above the level of the terrace for about 1 ft. or so. This wall was faced in stone with a simple moulding at its base. Along the inner periphery of this wide wall was the outer row of stone columns which supported the superstructure. The wall, itself, is pierced at the four cardinal points by four entrances with moonstones, wingstones, etc. At the centre of the monument is a ring of radiating stone flags forming a paved area around the open space in the middle, now occupied by the *stūpa* constructed by the Archaeological Department. Between the stone paving and the central space is the inner circle of pillars. Around the sanctum and aligned with the four entrances are the remains of three of the four high altars, which are a regular feature of these shrines. Finally, perhaps the most decisive evidence of the true identity of this structure is the drain which runs from the central area across the north-western sector of the building.

The remains at Dakkhiṇagirivihāra have not yet been excavated, but from Hocart's rough plan of this site we can see that the grouping of shrines within the precinct follows the same pattern as at Toluvila and Māṇikdeṇa (see fig. 19). What little can be seen of the *bodhighara* in this plan shows that it was a circular structure with at least one row of encircling pillars.

The monument at Sīgiriya was called a *vaṭadāgē* by Bell,[2] but to all intents and purposes it seems to be a version of the circular *bodhighara*, with a square central area and sanctum and a circular outer structure (see fig. 61b). This latter, with its single entrance on the north, resembles the circular building at Toluvila both in plan and dimensions.

The structure at Pulukunāvi presents us with certain problems of identity concerning not only this particular shrine but also several other examples of a similar type of monument which had been first noticed at this site by Paranavitana[3] and was then subsequently made the subject of a special study by Godakumbura.[4] The latter applied the term *āsanaghara* to a number of shrines in which the main object of worship appears to be a large stone *āsana* or altar. He draws our attention to the fact that a type of building known as *āsanaghara* is mentioned in Ceylonese Buddhist literature and refers us to the early Buddhist reliefs in India in which the throne or altar is one of the aniconic symbols used to represent the Buddha, in very much the same way as the *śrīpāda* symbol. There is no doubt that Godakumbura is right in suggesting that the *āsana* was an object of worship amongst Buddhists from very ancient times and that the large stone slabs that we find in these so-called *āsanagharas* are almost certainly such an aniconic object of worship. But there is one aspect of this problem which Godakumbura—possibly in his eagerness to establish the identity of a building type which he has been the first to document—dismisses quite arbitrarily: the fact that in all the literary references which he quotes,[5] as well as in many of the structural examples which he has examined, the *āsanaghara* seems to

[1] *ASCAR* 1960-61, p. 28; see also *ASCAR* 1960, pl. XI; 1961-62, plan I.
[2] *ASCAR* 1899, p. 7; see also *PPAR* 1899, pls. VII-VIII.
[3] *UHC* p. 263.
[4] Godakumbura, C. E., 1965, pp. 159-170.
[5] Godakumbura, C. E., 1965, p. 162.

be invariably linked with, and complementary to, the *bodhighara*. Godakumbura in fact reverses this relationship and implicitly rejects it: 'If one carefully examines the numerous plates of Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati sculpture published by Fergusson in his *Tree and Serpent Worship*, he will notice that it is not the tree that is being honoured, but a 'throne' placed at its root'.[1]

The matter is certainly not as simple as that. The religious conventions that are connected with the *bodhi*-tree and the *āsana* all derive from the *Mahāsambodhi*, the Great Enlightenment at Bodhgayā, an event which is principally associated with the sacred tree at this site. Again, the two monuments which are generally associated with Bodhgayā are the ancient *mahābodhighara* depicted in the famous relief from Bhārhut, now in the Calcutta Museum, and the present tower-temple commonly known as the Mahābodhi Temple. It is true that, both from the evidence of the Bhārhut relief and the structural remains,[2] the *vajrāsana* or adamantine throne was one of the principal objects of worship in the ancient hypaethral shrine and an important feature in the *garbhagṛha* of the later temple. Moreover, though the name 'Mahābodhi' has been used in connection with the site,[3] Prudence Myer has shown that the true name of the present temple is *Vajrāsanagandhakuṭi*.[4] However, I do not think it could ever be denied that the principal raison d'être of the original shrine, any less than that of the *vajrāsana*, was the sacred tree, which as Coomaraswamy points out was a memorial or associated relic (*pāribhogika dhātu*), an object intimately connected with the Master.[5] Aniconic representations such as the *vajrāsana* or the *śrīpāda*, like the anthropomorphic icons that were to supplant them, were only symbolic relics (*uddesika dhātu*). Thus, the *vajrāsana*, like the images which were placed around a *stūpa* or a *bodhi*-tree, was only a manifestation of the sacred presence within the principal memorial, the tree.

Of the literary references that Godakumbura quotes, those from the Chronicles are instructive. They refer to the installation of a stone *pallāṅka* (or *āsana*) and three stone images in the *mahābodhighara* at Anurādhapura, in the 3rd Century A.D.:

> ... he made a stone 'throne' in the excellent house of the great bodhi-tree...[6]
> ... at the three entrances [of the *mahābodhighara*] he made three statues of stone and at the south gate he set up a 'throne' of stone...[7]

It is evident that we have here a similar situation to that at Bodhgayā. The historical and religious importance of the great Bodhi-Tree at Anurādhapura, a sapling of the original tree at Bodhgayā, is well known. The subsidiary position of the *āsana* and the images referred to above is also clear. And yet, we could say—as Godakumbura does in his remark about the *bodhighara* reliefs—that the worshippers at this *mahābodhighara* may well have directed their attention to the images and the throne. It is a sight familiar to any visitor to Anurādhapura that the most obvious acts of worship are performed today at the shrines and temples that surround the Sacred Tree. However, we must not ignore the fact that the main ritual is still the *pradakṣiṇā* around the tree and that no devotee would deny that the principal object of his devotions is the *bodhi*-tree itself.

[1] Godakumbura, C. E., 1965, p. 162.
[2] Cunningham, A., 1892, pp. 4-7.
[3] Cunningham, A., 1892, pp. 2-3; see also Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1935 (1), pp. 4 ff.
[4] Myer, P. R., 1958, p. 278.
[5] Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1956 (2), p. 11: "L'arbre de Bodhi est le *paribhogacetiya* par excellence"; see also pp. 19-21 and Myer, P. R., 1958, pp. 278-283.
[6] *Dīpavaṁsa*, 22.57.
[7] *Mhv.* 36.104.

The numerous images, *śrīpāda* representations and altars around the central area of the *bodhigharas* which we have discussed earlier show that there were many such supplementary foci of devotion in these shrines, but their main architectural character, in fact their whole raison d'être, is that of a hypaethral temple dedicated to a sacred *bodhi*-tree.[1]

In his paper on the *āsanaghara* Godakumbura lists thirteen shrines in which an *āsana* appears to be the main cult object. In addition to these there are a few others mentioned in the Archaeological Reports of the early 60's.[2] Unfortunately, none of these sites has been completely excavated. Whatever investigations were carried out, their sole purpose was to ascertain the nature of the *āsana* and to confirm its existence. The character of the building around it was only cursorily examined. The question as to whether these shrines were also *bodhigharas*, or the wider question of the general monastic context in which they were placed, was never considered.[3] Features, such as an open space at the centre of the shrine, a drain, etc., which might have indicated that these structures were also *bodhigharas*, were never looked for. The incomplete excavations and the meagre data available scarcely provide a basis for a thoroughgoing investigation of the *āsanaghara* as a distinct building type, if it was such.

However, from the data that is available[4] certain significant aspects of these shrines do arise, aspects which have not so far been given much consideration and which point to some sort of correlation between these buildings and the *bodhighara*.

In most of the sixteen[5] or so published examples the remains of the *āsana* or *āsanaghara* are associated with a *stūpa* in the vicinity of the *āsanaghara*. In three of these it is recorded that the *stūpa* is to the north of the shrine in question, which coincides with the relationship of the *āsanaghara* or *bodhighara* to the *stūpa* in *pabbata viharas* of Type III. In at least two examples *śrīpāda* stones have been found near the *āsana*. In those buildings in which the central sanctum has been wholly or partially excavated or where some impression of the main shrine itself can be obtained, it is always clearly apparent that the *āsana* is not located in the exact centre of the inner sanctum, or of the *āsanaghara*, but slightly off-centre. This is best seen at Pulukunāvi, Kuḍākaṭuvannāva and Kokābē (see fig. 62).[6] The significance of this cannot be ignored in view of the fact that a *bodhi*-tree could have been placed immediately behind the *āsana*, the two together—as in the Bhārhut relief—constituting the sacred objects in the *garbhagṛha*.

The *garbhagṛhas* at Kuḍākaṭuvannāva and at Kokābē are apparently square open spaces with large stone pillars at each corner and surrounding brickwork. The description of the shrine and sanctum at Kuḍākaṭuvannāva is most revealing:

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[1] The point is well illustrated in the *śrīpāda*-shrine at the Laṅkātilaka temple. Here we have a structural shrine protecting a substantial representation of the sacred feet symbol. It stands by the side of a fairly simple terrace around a *bodhi*-tree and yet there is no question that the ritual status of the tree is much greater than that of the *śrīpāda*-shrine.

[2] See *ASCAR* 1962-63, pp. 52 ff.; 1963-64, pp. 57 ff.; 1964-65, p. 75.

[3] Characteristic of the attitude of mind behind these excavations is Godakumbura's comment on the building at Ganevāva:

> The slab (i.e. the *āsana*) is within a square enclosure, which is again inside a larger enclosure. There are no signs of a dagoba or Buddha statue within these enclosures to take the slab of stone to have served as a flower-altar. The only inference that one can make is that the object of worship in the enclosures was the slab of stone. (Godakumbura, C. E., 1965, p. 167).

[4] See Godakumbura, C. E., 1965, pp. 164-169; also *ASCAR* 1962-63, pp. 57-58; 1964-65; p. 75.

[5] Pulukunāvi, Kuḍākaṭuvannāva, Hāmillavāṭiya, Rajagala, Ganēvāva, Kaṭagomuva, Erupotana, Uttimaḍuva, Veheragala, Kihiṁbiyagollāva, Anurādhapura (Abhayagirivihāra), Rājaṅganē, Gana-araṁbe, Tissamahārāma (Yaṭālavehera), Kokābē and Situlpavuha.

[6] *ASCAR* 1961-62, pl. XVI, 1962-63, plans III, IV.

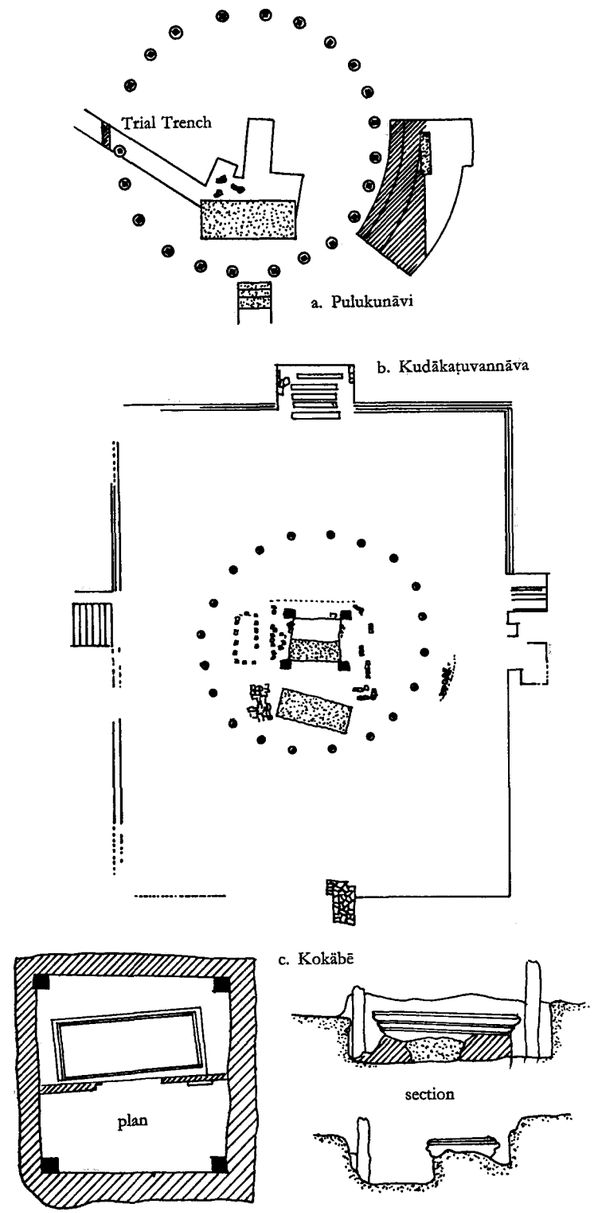


Fig. 62. Bodhigharas ('āsanagharas')

> The ancient structure here is a roughly 60 feet 6 inches square terrace raised about 5 feet from the ground level. At about the middle of each of the southern and western sides of the terrace is a flight of steps. Twenty octagonal pillars set up at regular intervals in a circle on this terrace are, all but one, *in situ*... There is evidence to conclude that the area encompassed by the octagonal pillars had been brick paved originally... In the middle of the circle of pillars are four square pillars. Immediately outside these pillars, only on the eastern side, there are remains of a moulded structure. It appears that outside the rectangle formed by these pillars, there had been two rectangular brick pavings one inside the other so that the sides of the one are parallel to those of the other, each to each.
>
> A rectangular *āsana* stone... placed on a pedestal of brick occupies one half of the rectangle formed by the four square pillars... It is very probable that before the brick pedestal was constructed... the rectangle formed by the square pillars was excavated and converted into a brick-built and brick-lined pit. This pit seems to have been filled with earth before the pedestal was built for the *āsana*... The brick-built pit is a feature so far not met with at any other *āsanaghara*... and we are unable at the present state of our knowledge to say what its function was.[1]

Its function, we might add, may well have been to accommodate a *bodhi*-tree. There is no other conceivable cult object that would be placed behind a stone *āsana* in a large, earth-filled brick pit.

The *āsanaghara* at Pulukunāvi is only partially excavated (see figs. 22, 62a).[2] It seems to be a round, brick structure incorporated within a square building or terrace, also of brick. Just inside the circular wall is a ring of spurstones, obviously the bases of pillars encircling the interior of the shrine. A flight of steps in the middle of the western face, together with traces of similar steps on the north and south, indicates that the building had the usual four entrances. The *āsana*, evidently more or less in its original position, immediately to the west of the centre of the circle formed by the pillar bases, is directly aligned with the western entrance. The central area itself has not been fully investigated, but a trial trench extended into this area uncovered a small moonstone, not unlike that found in the central sanctum at the *bodhighara* at Pankuliya.[3] Again, there is every indication to suggest that this building at Pulukunāvi could have been a *bodhighara* which also housed an *āsana*. The combination of square and circular elements in the plans of this structure and that at Kuḍākaṭuvannāva, and apparently in some of the other examples as well, is a characteristic that we have already noticed in the *bodhigharas* discussed earlier.

Taking these various facts into account, it would seem, therefore, that we have to seriously question Godakumbura's conception of the *āsanaghara* as an independent building type. Within the limits of the available evidence we can tentatively interpret these shrines as a particular type of *bodhighara* in which a large throne or *āsana* seems to have been one of the principal objects of worship along with the *bodhi*-tree itself, as in the *mahābodhigharas* at Bodhgayā and in the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura.[4] With regard to the question why the term *āsanaghara* was used at

[1] *ASCAR* 1962-63, pp. 56-57, see also plan III.
[2] *ASCAR* 1961-62, pp. 77-78.
[3] See above, p. 169.
[4] The largest *āsana* so far reported is a monolith in the Abhayagirivihāra, measuring 16ft. 2ins. by 6ft. The excavations carried out here were the most ambitious investigations of a site associated with these *āsanas*. This throne was situated in the vicinity of the so-called Burrows' Pavilion, immediately adjoining the seated Buddha figure, which, together with the *Samādhi* image and another sculpture in the southern sector of the monastery, forms a trio of very similar images in the Abhayagirivihāra. These may indicate the existence of three important *bodhigharas* in this area. The excavations proved inconclusive, if not confused, and are very poorly documented (see *ASCAR* 1962-63, pp. 52-53; 1963-64, pp. 57-58). The site itself has now been ruined, in a very real sense, and much of the evidence, the stratification, building plans, etc., are irretrievably lost. Lying as it does in the central area of the Abhayagirivihāra, in close proximity to the Ratanapāsāda—the great *uposathaghara* of the monastery—this complex is of enormous significance and could well have been the principal *bodhighara* of the Abhayagirivihāra (see above p. 54). We could also speculate that this might have been the *bodhi*-tree referred to by Fa-hsien in his account of Anurādhapura. For, in the context of his description he seems to refer to a monument in the monastic complex "to the north of the royal city" (i.e. the Abhayagirivihāra) and not to the well-known *mahābodhighara* in the Mahāvihāra (see Giles, H. A., 1923, pp. 67-68).

all, if the *āsana* was, in fact, enshrined in a 'house' for a *bodhi*-tree, Rahula has shown that the term *ghara* could conceivably be applied to a semi- or pseudo-architectural feature associated with an *āsana*, even though that feature itself was merely an appurtenance to a much larger and more important monument.[1]

To return after this long diversion to the *bodhigharas* of the standard type,[2] we have already noted the emergence of two distinct but related types of shrine, the one square and the other essentially circular, both housing some central cult object which has disappeared. Bell, who first described these structures, was convinced that they were some form of image-house, *stūpa* or *cetiyaghara*. It was Paranavitana, in his excavation report on the Pācīnatissapabbata, who first indicated that they might be connected with a *bodhi*-tree. It seems to us it would be too much of a coincidence that in each of these monuments the central cult object, whether sculpted or constructed, had disappeared without trace. On the other hand, a *bodhi*-tree could scarcely have survived the vicissitudes these monasteries suffered through the centuries. As in the case of the so-called *āsanaghara*, a sacred tree is the only conceivable object of worship that could have been placed in an open, unpaved sanctum in the very centre of a religious building. The evidence of the nature of the Sinhalese *bodhighara*, provided by the definitively identified shrine at Nillakgama, helps us to realise with some degree of certainty that the structures in the *pabbata vihāras* which have an open space in the centre, a fourfold orientation of the central sanctuary, and a paved ambulatory, are in fact the *bodhigharas* of those monasteries.

We may then postulate that the characteristic features of the Sinhalese *bodhighara* in the developed form of the Late Anurādhapura Period—from which time the majority, if not all, of these *pabbata vihāras* date—are:

> 1. the existence of an open space, usually bounded by a kerb or revetment, in the centre of an elevated terrace.
> 2. a fourfold orientation of the shrine indicated by altars and images facing the cardinal directions and often emphasised by projecting bays of the inner sanctum and by entrances to the main building from the four directions.
> 3. a paved terrace or ambulatory around the central sanctuary, usually enclosed by walls or half-walls and often covered over by a wooden superstructure supported by stone pillars and a tiled roof.
> 4. the presence of certain other associated features such as the mixture of square and circular elements in the plan, *śrīpāda* stones, large *āsanas* and a submerged drain leading out from the central space.

As a corollary to all this we can say that in a monastery of the *pabbata vihāra* type with a central precinct containing four shrines, including a *stūpa*, a *paṭimāghara*, a *pāsāda* and one other structure, this fourth shrine would invariably be a *bodhighara*.

The *pabbata vihāra* is a formalisation of the basic plan of the organic monastery. It is not without significance that these planning concepts are often to be found, in an undeveloped or submerged form, in both the ancient and the modern Sinhalese monastery. The *bodhi*-tree,

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, p. 120n. Rahula suggests that the term *āsanaghara* may have been applied to the so-called *vāhalkaḍas*, the *āyaka* offsets of the monumental Ceylonese *stūpas*. Ironically, Godakumbura quotes part of Rahula's note as an example of the misinterpretation of the term *āsanaghara*.
[2] See above, p. 176.

usually protected by an open terrace or *bōmaḷuwa*, is a regular feature of the modern Sinhalese temple. It usually occupies a position within the inner precinct along with the *stūpa* and the image-house. Some of the *bōmaḷuwas* are of considerable antiquity and, as in the temple at Beligala, may have been actual *bodhigharas* in the past.[1]

In the light of these findings we may now consider the identity of certain other monuments in Anurādhapura—and, incidentally, in Polonnaruva—which have remained as yet unidentified or whose present identification will have to be questioned.

An example which immediately springs to mind is the shrine directly to the west of the sacred quadrangle of the *pabbata vihāra* at Vessagiriya (see figs. 12, 59). We have argued elsewhere that this structure constitutes the so-called 'shrine complex' of this *vihāra*, to use the term applied to this element of the *pabbata vihāra* plan by Prematilleke and Silva.[2] Aryasinha has characterised this building as a special type of image-house.[3] There is no question, however, that it is a *bodhigharа* of the conventional, square type. Its dimensions are similar to those of the *bodhigharа* in the sacred precinct at Puliyankuḷam and it also has four entrances, a brick-walled enclosure and a stone-paved ambulatory.[4] The most distinctive feature of this structure is a decorative stone kerb, a diminutive *hatthipākāra* or elephant wall surrounding the open area in the centre. This sculptured kerb once served as the base for a railing which circumvented the open central space and the sacred tree, a feature reminiscent of the most ancient Indian tree-shrines. Today, only the slots into which the railing was fixed remain. Equally significant is the presence of a single, large *āsana* placed between the central sanctuary and the eastern entrance to the *bodhigharа*, adding further evidence to our comments in connection with the so-called *āsanagharas*.

A kerb decorated with elephants, a diminutive *hatthipākāra*, similar to that at Vessagiriya was discovered in a badly ruined monument on the Anurādhapura-Kuruṇāgala road'.[5] This kerb and the upper section of the stone structure of which it is a part is now displayed in the grounds of the Colombo Museum. It would appear that this building was also a *bodhigharа* of the conventional square type. It seems to have been rather poorly reconstructed in later times and one of its entrances blocked and converted into a sort of rear shrine-chamber. Fragments of a so-called 'Buddhist railing' were found at this site, a discovery of some relevance to the comments which we shall be making, in the pages to follow, regarding the building at the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' in the Jetavanavihāra.

The 'shrine complex' to the south of the sacred quadrangle at Toluvila (see fig. 18) has been identified as an image-house surrounded by a number of subsidiary structures, including four *kuṭīs* in a *pañcāyatana* arrangement.[6] The central building of this complex occupies a somewhat elevated position dominating the southern sector of this monastery. It consists of an open terrace with a stone retaining wall, in the centre of which stands a walled building (or outer chamber) with a single entrance on the north. This entrance, which is strictly oriented to the north-south axis of the entire *vihāra*, is reached by series of successive stairs. In the middle of the walled structure is an enclosed sanctum, 25 ft. square, also with a single entrance on the north and three projecting bays or niches in each of the other sides. These niches apparently

[1] See *ASCAR* 1965-66, pp. 84-85.
[2] See above, p. 77.
[3] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 100-101.
[4] *ASCAR* 1909, pp. 2-3.
[5] *ASCAR* 1895, p. 2; *PPAR* 1895, pls. VI-XII; see also *Guide to the .... Colombo Museum etc.*, 1912, p. 42, pl. XLII; Mode, H., 1963, fig. 83.
[6] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 5; see also *PPAR*, 1894, pls. AA, BB.

faced the interior of the sanctum. They were of different dimensions, the largest in the back wall facing the entrance. The central area of this inner enclosure is evidently unpaved and empty but for four large monolithic columns with decorated capitals. These columns are arranged in a square, or near square, in the centre of the sanctum.

The presence of a *yantragala* and an *āsana* testify to the existence of an image somewhere within the sanctum, but whether this image was the principal object of worship is a matter for speculation. The present proposal to return the 'Toluvila image' in the Colombo Museum to this monument has, as far as we can see, no basis either in Bell's account of this structure or in the records dealing with the find-spot of the image. Bell specifically states that this sculpture was discovered in the *paṭimāgharа* of the northern, not the southern, quadrangle at Toluvila.[1]

The building scarcely displays the usual features associated with an image-house. In fact, judging from Bell's original plan,[2] the bays or niches seem to have been later additions to the structure. Accordingly, if these niches and the present entrance to the inner shrine were originally bays for altars or *āsanas*, we would have here the essential form of a *bodhigharа*. The recent restoration of this shrine, in fact its virtual reconstruction, has now obscured whatever evidence there may have been to test this hypothesis. Bell's brief notice and plans give us very little to go by. Thus, it is only possible to speculate that this sanctuary might have been a *bodhigharа* corresponding to the similarly situated shrine at Vessagiriya. If it was such, it would have deviated only slightly from the usual square form.

A shrine of a very similar type—but in this case standing behind, i.e. to the west of the central quincunx of a *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*—can be found in Monastery I of the Mahāvihāra (see fig. 4).[3] Today, the monument appears merely as a high mound with four large pillars at its centre, arranged in a 'rough square'. The pillars have decorated capitals. Bell's excavations revealed little more than that the original structure had a series of terraces and flights of steps, a rubble foundation, a *yantragala* and a number of other pillars around the four central ones. Bell himself noticed the resemblance between this shrine and that at Toluvila. He identified it as an image-house. However, there is a distinct possibility that it was actually a *bodhigharа*. Its importance as a religious edifice is emphasised by the fact that it is located on the main east-west axis of the *pariveṇa*, directly in line with the centre of the entrance pavilion and that of the main *pāsāda*.

This strict orientation may provide us with a clue to the true nature of one of the most complex buildings to be seen in Anurādhapura today, the shrine which lies directly behind, i.e. to the east of the central quincunx of the Kapārārāma in the Abhayagirivihāra (see figs. 6, 30, 63).[4] Once again the central feature here is four pillars, with decorated capitals—a characteristic, also, of the Toluvila and Mahāvihāra shrines—forming a square, occupying the greater part of the internal area of the inner sanctum. The monument itself consists of an inner and outer enclosure, both basically square in plan, but with elaborately recessed bays to the inner, brick-walled building. There are three entrances to the outer enclosure and the inner structure, in the centre of three of the sides. The fourth entrance on the east seems to have been subsequently converted into a kind of rear sanctum or shrine-chamber, a feature noticed in *bodhigharas* elsewhere.[5] The columniation—consisting of a colonnade just inside the main enclosure

[1] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 4; *PPAR* 1894, pl. I.
[2] *PPAR* 1894, pl. AA.
[3] ASCAR 1900, p. 4; the monument in question is not the structure immediately behind the *pañcāyatana* but stands some distance away to the west.
[4] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 3.
[5] See above, p. 182 and below, p. 185 n. 1; a similar feature is also to be seen at Pankuliya (*ASCAR* 1892, p. 4).

and an extremely complex arrangement of about ninety small pillars associated with the many-bayed inner sanctum—is basically of the pattern associated with the square *bodhigharas*. In fact, everything about this edifice seems to point to its being an elaborate version of a *bodhi*-tree temple and not an image-house with four entrances or *caturmukha gandhakuṭi*, as both Aryasinha and Prematilleke have suggested.[1]

The conjectural identification of these two *bodhigharas* in the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri-vihāra seems to indicate that such shrines were not only associated with the two major monastery types, the organic monastery and the *pabbata vihāra*, but also with the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*.

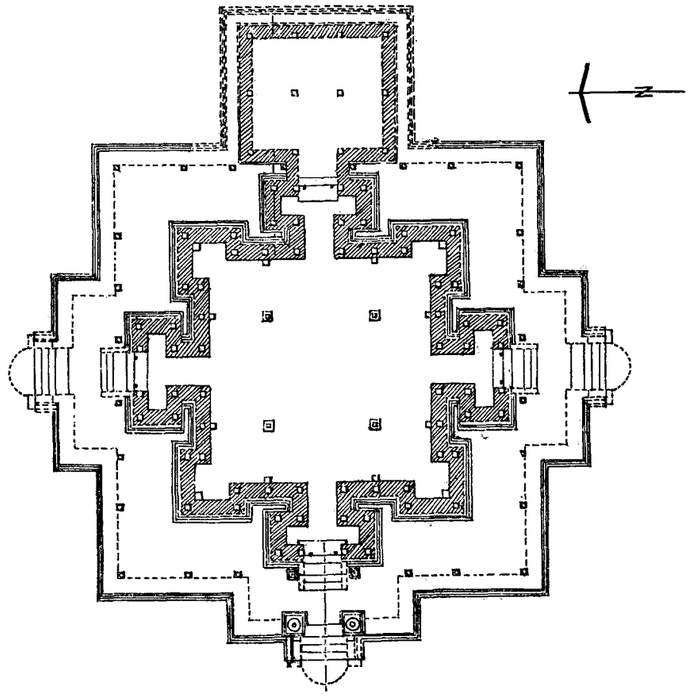


Fig. 63. Bodhighara, Kapārārāma

Furthermore, an example of a *bodhighara* connected with the fourth type of monastery, the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, can be seen amongst the remains of the complex at Mullēgala, in the outskirts of Anurādhapura.[2] The central building in this monastery consists of a double-platformed structure with two *kuṭīs* placed in front in a semi-*pañcāyatana* arrangement. To the south-west of this are four flights of stairs leading to a square structure with a small square enclosure at its centre, around which are placed four cardinally oriented *āsanas*. Bell refers only very briefly to the remains at this site. As usual he is of the opinion that this square monument

[1] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 102-103; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 124-125.
[2] *ASCAR* 1896, p. 3; see also *PPAR* 1896, (Mulle-gala) pl. I.

is the base of a ruined *stūpa*, but even as it appears today it closely resembles the *bodhigharas* discussed above. Appropriately, this shrine occupies a prominent and elevated position behind the central monastic complex.

The various types and the distribution of the *bodhigharas* which have been described in the foregoing pages indicate how widespread these tree-shrines were in the monasteries of the Anurādhapura Period. There are several hitherto unidentified structures of both the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods, which excavation and careful study—on the basis of the characteristic features of the *bodhighara* delineated above—may well reveal as still further examples of such shrines.[1] However, for the present, further description and discussion of these will serve no useful purpose.

There is, however, one edifice which attracted a great deal of interest in the early days of the Archaeological Survey but which is now almost forgotten except in the guide maps—the so-called 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' in the Jetavanavihāra (see figs. 10, 64a-c)—which is well worth considering in the context of the unidentified *bodhi*-tree temples. The very name by which it has been known for the last seventy-five or eighty years is witness to the uncertainty about the true nature of this shrine. In his study of the fragmentary slab-inscription found nearby Paranavitana suggests, in a cursory reference to the building, that it might have been the 'Ratnamāpirivena' referred to in the inscription.[2] There is no question, however, that this term refers to an ecclesiastical hall or residence and not to a shrine.[3]

As Bell's description and plans show, the structure consists of a large rectangular terrace, 138 ft. long and 112 ft. wide, with a moulded base for the stone railing, from which the monument takes its name (see figs. 64a-c).[4] Within this enclosed platform stood a large pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* with a stone-paved floor. This hall consisted of a brick-walled enclosure, rectangular in plan and with an entrance in each side. The stone floor and a single row of pillars on each side continues beyond the brick wall to form a broad elevated walk and a colonnade around the hall. The revetment of the elevated walk was in the form of a *hatthipākāra*, recalling the *bodhighara* at Vessagiriya and that on the Anurādhapura-Kuruṇāgala road.

In the centre of this hall, but at a lower level and obviously representing an earlier phase of building, was a brick structure with a classic *gandhakuṭī* plan. This brick '*gandhakuṭī*' consists

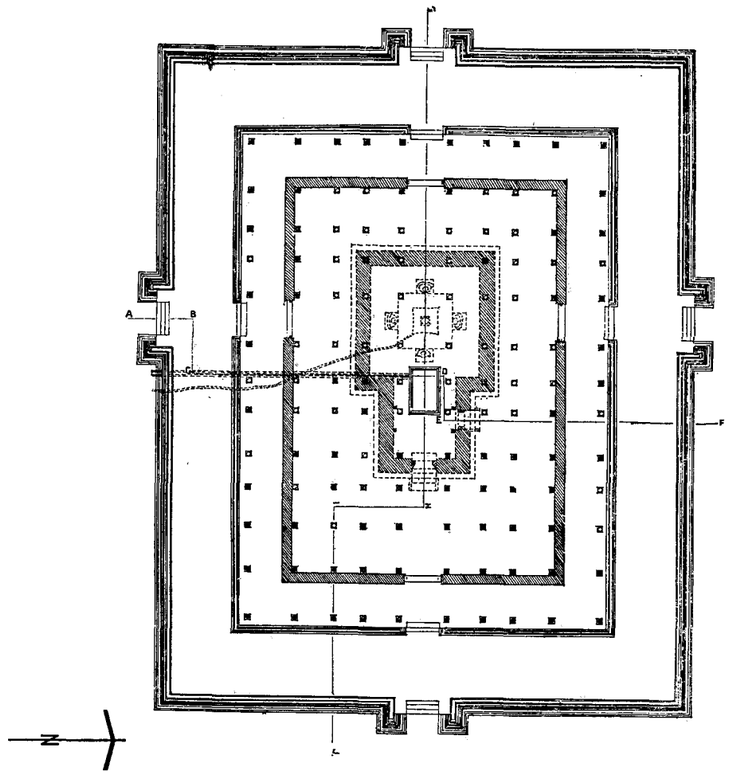
[1] The octagonal, pillared building to the south of Monastery K in the Mahāvihāra (*ASCAR* 1901, p. 2; see also our fig. 4), the structures immediately adjoining the Thūpārāma and Laṅkārāma *cetiyagharas* on the west (*ASCAR* 1896, p. 1; 1910-11, p. 8; see also our figs. 4, 9), Building W to the north-west of the Mirisavāṭi *stūpa* (*ASCAR* 1903, p. 5; see also our fig. 5), the shrine opposite the *stūpa* in the Iṅdikaṭusāya *pañcāyatana* complex (*ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 45; see also our fig. 11) and a square structure with a circular colonnade to the south-west of the 'Convocation Hall' at Mihintaḷē (*ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 24; see also our fig. 11), are all monuments which qualify for such consideration. So also does the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Laṅkātilaka Temple at Polonnaruva (*ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 30). An almost certain example of a *bodhighara* in Polonnaruva is the so-called *piḷimagē* or Building No. 11 in the Daḷadāmaḷuva (*ASCAR* 1903, pp. 20-21; *SPAR* 1903, pl. 11). The originally square plan of this last shrine has been partially obscured by later additions which encroached on two of its four entrances, perhaps in an attempt to convert one or two sides of this *bodhighara* into image-chapels.

We may notice in passing that Building W in the Mirisavāṭivihāra, which has a broad entrance in each of its four sides, somewhat approaches the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāghara* plan in its general outlines. This led Bell to call it an image-house. However, if it proves to have been a *bodhighara*, its plan is of particular relevance to that of the so-called 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' which we discuss in the sequel.

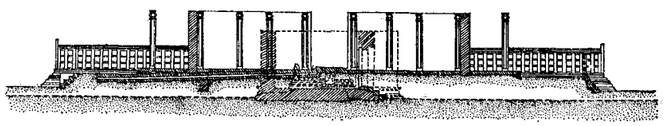
[2] *EZ* III, pp. 226-227; Paranavitana says that the inscription was "found at the building" whereas Bell's original note says that it "was dug up close to the site". This seems to bear out our view that the inscription should not necessarily be connected with the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' itself.

[3] See below, pp. 227-230.

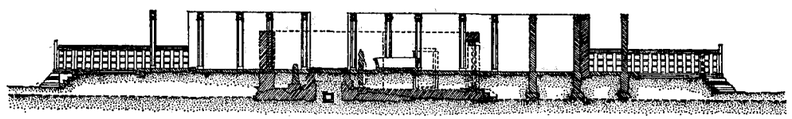
[4] *ASCAR* 1892, pp. 1-2; see also *ASC Second (Prog.) Rep.* pp. 3-4; *Third Prog. Rep.* p. 6; *Fourth Prog. Rep.*, pp. 3-4; *PPAR* 1892 *(Ninth Report)*, pls. I, IA-IG.



a. plan



b. section through ABCDEF (Restored)



c. section through GHIJ (Restored)

Fig. 64. 'Buddhist-Railing-Site', Jetavanavihāra

of a square *cella* with a vestibule on the east. At the very centre of this sanctuary was a small square, brick-lined chamber or pit with a pillar near each of the four corners of the pit. As we shall see the chamber seems to have been an integral part of the later hall, in spite of its foundations being at a much lower level. The entire complex is entered by steps and doorways in each of the four sides. The eastern and western entrances are placed centrally. As the hall has been extended to the east, reflecting the eastward extension of the *gandhakuṭī*, the northern and southern entrances are to the west of the central north-south axis, in alignment with the central chamber, which lies opposite each entrance.

Bells's description of this chamber merits careful consideration:

> Starting near the centre, the brick walls of what proved to be a small chamber, 8 ft. square, were soon exposed, at a depth of 3 ft. to 4 ft. below the level of the stone pavement, which was laid down in the corridors of the pillared buildings, if not throughout it. Some two or three feet height of the chamber walls remain above a well-laid brick flooring outside. It was full of the fallen brickwork. When this *débris* had been cleared, in the centre was discovered a box-like receptacle, 2 ft. square by 1 ft. in height, divided into half a dozen irregular partitions by bricks set up endwise.[1]
>
> ... an open drain ran from the centre of the building out through the south wall and the railing beyond... A covered brick drain crossing diagonally beneath the open stone drain starts from the brick-built chamber... This square chamber is situated centrally as regards the north, west and south entrances of the stone railing, and directly opposite all. Its walls were slightly convex: inside was earth, only save for the small 'box-like receptacle' in the middle. Levels show that this was 1 ft. 6 in. lower than the ground line outside the railing, and that the brick pavement around the chamber was 4 ft. below the floor flags of the later time hall... It is, therefore not unreasonable to assume the brick 'box' to have been the receptacle for the relics enshrined in a small dāgaba, of which the walls of the square cella mark the relic chamber. Round this dāgaba would be arranged the several images exhumed—all belonging to a walled vihārē.[2]

The plans and cross-sections of the monument published by Bell show that there were two, if not three, periods of building at the site.[3] As Bell himself observes:

> The profusion of stone pavement, basement slabs, pillars, ornamental bosses, & c., cove ring and inextricably running down into the unconnected brickwork below at all angles in baff ling confusion, is almost certain evidence of a stone superstructure richly colonnaded (to which the magnificent railing was a fitting frame) raised upon the ruins of a still earlier structure of brick. The natural impression to be gathered from the present stage of the excavation seems to point to the site marking the ruins of two periods—a brick era, before the employment of mortar, followed by an age of stone construction, here exemplified at its best.[4]

There is little doubt that the inner chamber forms the sacred nucleus of both the earlier and the later shrines. This chamber was in fact a square, brick-lined pit, open at the top and bottom, with a small buried *garbha*, of the type noticed in the *bodhighara* at Vijayārāma, etc. Around this chamber was a brick structure, apparently of a square shape and with protruding bays—'brick walls ...or narrow pavements, 3 ft. in width, branch off in several directions'.[5] It seems clear that we have here a typical square *bodhighara* sanctum. This was enclosed, perhaps at a slightly later date, within a square room. This room had a vestibule to the east, thereby creating a composite building which, with its principal and subsidiary entrances, conforms (if we are to

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[1] *ASC Fourth Prog. Rep.*, p. 4.
[2] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 2.
[3] *PPAR* 1892 *(Ninth Report)*, pls. I, IA-IG.
[4] *ASC Fourth Prog. Rep.*, p. 4.
[5] *ASC Fourth Prog. Rep.*, p. 4.

trust Bell's highly conjectural plan) to the classic design of an image-house. This vestibule is certainly a rather unusual feature. However, at Toluvila we have conjecturally identified a type of *bodhighara* with an outer chamber that has only a single entrance.[1] That this entrance could have developed into a vestibule is quite understandable.[2] The existence of a covered drain, leading from the open central space through the brick construction, would be inexplicable in an image-house. Taking into account the fact that this open central pit remained an integral part of the *gandhakuṭī* structure, we can conclude that the shrine continued to be a *bodhighara*. Bell's suggestion that there was a small *stūpa* over the pit is so characteristic of his remarks about other similar *bodhigharas* that it can be dismissed without argument.

At a much later period this whole brick structure was enclosed in a large, brick-built and pillared hall, which was itself surrounded by a further row of columns and a stone plinth. Almost the entire extent of this hall or *maṇḍapa* was stone-paved, but Bell's conjectural reconstruction of this stone-paving over the top of the central pit[3] is, by virtue of his own remarks quoted above, rather dubious. In fact, there is some reason to believe, from the available evidence of the *Reports*, that the central open space was still a feature of the later construction. The most convincing proof of this is that, although the later hall is several feet above the level of the earlier brick structure, it is laid out so as to conform to the general shape and position of the brick shrine. Moreover, the four entrances to the hall are strictly aligned with the central pit, and the new stone drain follows more or less the same path as the old brick drain, though admittedly it leads to (or from) a stone cistern which lies in the vestibule of the *gandhakuṭī*, immediately to the east of the central space. May we not surmise that the old drain, which leads just beyond the railing, was still functioning in later times and served to drain out the excess water from the pit, while the stone drain fed water into the cistern, to be used in the ceremonial watering of the tree?

Thus, this whole complex of enclosures, with its succession of paved corridors or ambulatories and its rows of massive, decorated columns, sunk several feet below ground level, must have supported an extensive superstructure surrounding a *bodhi*-tree at the very centre of the temple. Indeed, it is reminiscent of the *bodhighara* at Nillakgama, laterally extended and multiplied several times over (see figs. 53, 64). The great stone railing which circumscribes the entire structure shows a typical ancient Buddhist design. As Bell observes, 'it follows that at Buddha Gaya in being rectangular [in plan], therein differing from the Bhārhut, Sānchi, and Amarāvati rails. In sculptured bareness it resembles the railing round the Great Tope of Sānchi, but carries simplicity even further by square, in lieu of octagonal posts'.[4] Probably dating from the very latest phase of the Anurādhapura Period, it testifies to the persistence of such antique motifs in the Sinhalese tradition. Fragments of a similar railing were found at the *bodhighara* on the Anurādhapura-Kuruṇāgala road.[5] Other architectural details often associated with shrines of this type, such as *śrīpāda* stones and a *hatthipākāra*, were also found in the excavations of the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site'.

The identification of this shrine as a *bodhighara* is in keeping with its location. It stands by the side of the monumental *uposathaghara* of the Jetavanavihāra, within a specially demarcated

[1] See above, pp. 182-183.
[2] We may visualise a similar process of evolution in Building W of the Mirisavāṭivihāra, which we have conjecturally identified as a *bodhighara* with a *gandhakuṭī* ground plan (see above, p. 185 n. 1 and our fig. 5).
[3] *PPAR* 1892 *(Ninth Report)*, pl. IG.
[4] *ASC Second (Prog.) Rep.*, p. 4.
[5] See above, p. 182.

precinct containing both these major monuments (see fig. 10). This precinct lies to the south of the main *stūpa*. Thus if this 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' was, in fact, a *bodhi*-tree temple, it constitutes the largest and the most elaborate surviving example of such a shrine anywhere in the Buddhist world, a status scarcely acknowledged by its present neglect, which has obscured whatever remained of the internal features of this monument.

The origins and the history of the Sinhalese *bodhighara* are already implicit in our discussion of this architectural type. Apart from the shrines depicted in the early Indian reliefs and the fragmentary evidence of the hypaethral temple at Bodhgayā, no examples of these ancient structures are known in India. It is interesting to note that the ground plan of Cunningham's reconstruction of the ancient *bodhighara* at Bodhgayā,[1] with its bayed, quadrangular central structure and surrounding rectangular railed enclosure, anticipates the basic design of one of the two types of Sinhalese tree-temple. There is also a structure, (Building C), excavated by Vogel at Kasiā, which may have been a *bodhighara* of the square type associated with the monastery at this site.[2] Vogel thought it was a '*stūpa*... of an uncommon type' but was unable to explain the total disappearance of its dome and drum, and the pit sunk in its centre. Our enumeration of the characteristics serving as a key to the identification of unrecognised *bodhigharas* may well be applied to this monument.

With the information that is presently available any attempt to provide some form of chronological framework or evolutionary sequence for the Sinhalese *bodhighara* is scarcely possible. Speaking very generally, however, it can be conjectured that the largely brick-built monuments, such as the early structure at the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site', the *Samādhi* image shrine and the building in the Pācīnatissapabbata, are early examples, looking back towards the beginnings of the Late Anurādhapura Period, that is to say the 5th to the 7th Centuries. The Nillakgama *bodhighara* has been ascribed, on the basis of inscriptional evidence, to about the 9th Century. Thus, this shrine, together with the even later structure at the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site', would represent subsequent developments, characterised by the extensive use of stone elements in their construction.

The monuments of the Polonnaruva Period, if they were indeed shrines of the same type, preserve the basic design and structural features of the Anurādhapura Period. The rather simple square *bodhighara* standing next to the Thūpārāma temple in the Daḷadāmaḷuva at Polonnaruva clearly echoes the architectural character of the earliest brick-built Anurādhapura shrines. This serves to remind us of the essentially simple nature of these ancient hypaethral sanctuaries and the tenacity of the Sinhalese architectural tradition in preserving its ancient Buddhist forms.

PAṬIMĀGHARA

The most easily identifiable and unambiguous building type of the Anurādhapura Period is the image-house or *paṭimāghara* (Sinh. *piḷimagē* or, today, more commonly *vihāragē*), with its

[1] See Cunningham, A., 1892, pl. II; Myer, however, believes that the *bodhighara* at Bodhgayā had "a circular or polygonal plan" (Myer, P. R., 1958, p. 282).
[2] *ASIAR* 1904-05, pp. 49-51. It is also possible to speculate that the so-called *cetiyaghara* at Bairāt may have been a circular *bodhighara*, although both Sahni and Piggott are in agreement that a few pieces of brick and the fragments of a stone *chattra* point to the existence of a *stūpa* as the central cult object [Sahni, D. R., (1937), pp. 30-31; Piggott, S., 1943, p. 2].

distinctive ground plan of a square shrine or sanctum and a smaller, projecting vestibule in front. In Ceylonese archaeological terminology it is generally referred to as a *gandhakuṭī paṭimāghara*, to distinguish it from the more substantial *giñjakāvasatha* or *geḍigē*. The term *gandhakuṭī* aptly describes both the ritual origins and the structural design of these buildings. In ritual terms, it brings to mind the fact that these shrines commemorate or reproduce, in a meaningful architectural and iconographic symbolism, the original 'perfumed chamber' in which the Buddha had his residence in the Jetavana.[1] Architecturally, the *paṭimāghara*, in its essential form, derives from the eremetical or monastic cell, the *kuṭī*. It is in fact designed as a single residential chamber for a Buddha image, which occupies the central position within the shrine chamber—sometimes multiplied into three or more figures. This sacred dwelling has both ritual—or mystical—as well as monastic implications. As a memorial to the Master, it dramatizes, in a tangible and visual form, the presence of the Buddha in very much the same way as a *stūpa* or a *bodhi*-tree. As the primal *kuṭī* or residence of the founder of the monastic order, it provides a kind of ritual sanction both for the monastic cell—from which, in turn, the *paṭimāghara* is thought to have been derived—and for its occupant.[2] The triangular relationship between shrines such as the *stūpa* and the *bodhighara*, the various types of monastic dwellings and the image-house is discussed at length in an earlier study of the Polonnaruva temples and their origins.[3] The *stūpa*, the *bodhighara* and the *paṭimāghara* are interrelated religious sanctuaries of equal status in the developed monastic architecture of the Late Anurādhapura Period. These three shrines still remain the essential components of the modern Sinhalese temple. Appropriately, it is in the sacred quadrangle of the *pabbata vihāra*, which we have characterised as the essential Sinhalese monastic plan, that this trinity of shrines and their parity of status is best expressed. Thus, it is not without justification that, in our discussion of this building type, we begin with the image-houses in the *pabbata vihāras*.

Of the twenty or so image-houses in and around Anurādhapura and its environs, at least six are to be found in this type of monastery. A typical example is the *piḷimagē* in the Vijayārāma (see figs. 14, 65).[4] It consists of a main shrine, 26 ft. square, entered through a vestibule, 17 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep, attached to the southern face of the shrine-chamber. The main doorway is on the south of the vestibule, directly aligned with the entrance to the shrine-chamber and with the principal image in the sanctum. There is a smaller, subsidiary doorway in the eastern side of the vestibule. The entire structure stands on an elevated terrace, with a brick retaining wall and parapet. This enclosure or elevated precinct has a single southern entrance and conforms in its general outlines to the plan of a *gandhakuṭī*.

The interior is stone-paved throughout. A doorway and light, brick walls separate the shrine-chamber from the vestibule. The superstructure, now completely destroyed, was supported by stone pillars embedded in the brick walls. Within the shrine-chamber, itself, twelve freestanding pillars are so arranged that they demarcate a large square area in the centre of the room. This may have been screened off to provide a *garbhagṛha* or inner sanctum, with a passage on three sides. The fourth side, at the back of the room, has been blocked. There seems to have been a large, elevated brick altar covering the rear section of the inner sanctum. This was recessed in front and had a moulded stone plinth which still survives.

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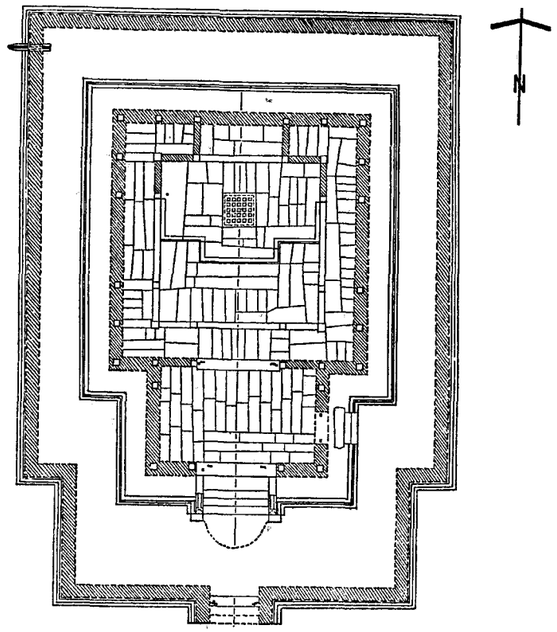
[1] Norman, H. C., 1909.
[2] Foucher, A., 1905, pp. 99-100.
[3] Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, Chaps. I and II.
[4] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 5; see also *ASC Fourth Prog. Rep.*, p. 3; *ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, pp. 9-10.



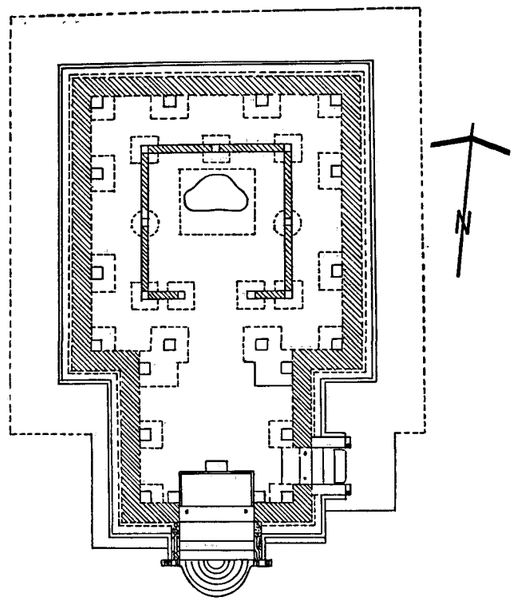
a. plan

b. front elevation

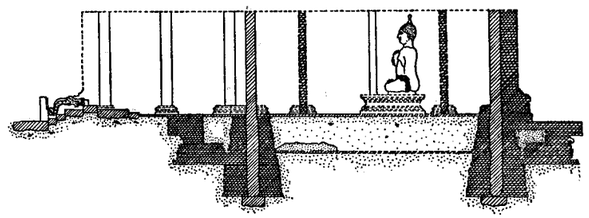
c. side elevation

d. section

Fig. 65. Paṭimāghara, Vijayārāma



a. plan



b. section

Fig. 66. Paṭimāghara, Pankuliya

As in many other *paṭimāgharas*, this image itself has not survived but its original location is marked by a *yantragala*, the compartmented stone reliquary which is always placed under images in Sinhalese shrines of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.[1]

The image-houses at Pankuliya, Puliyankulam, Pācīnatissapabbata, Toluvila and Vessa-

[1] For the significance of these *yantragalas*, denoting the symbolic power and immanence of the Buddha, presiding over the universe, see *ASCAR* 1946, pp. 13-16; Rowland, B., 1953 (2); *ASCAR* 1955, p. 24; Dohanian, D. K., 1964, pp. 96-97.

giriya conform in their general design and dimensions to the Vijayārāma shrine (see figs. 12, 15-18, 66-70 and Pl. XVI).[1] The *piḷimagē* at Pankuliya (see fig. 66 and Pl. XVI) has a distinct inner sanctum with an ambulatory around it. There is no permanent structural division here between the shrine-chamber and the vestibule. The image, in a rather unusual position with

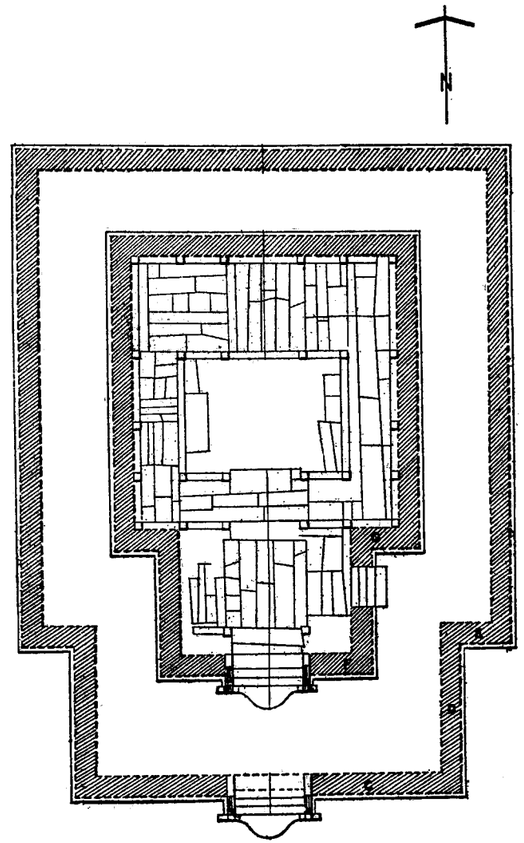


Fig. 67. Paṭimāghara, central precinct, Puliyankulam

both hands raised, and its stone *āsana* are still *in situ*. Sculpturally, this figure represents a more febrile and activated icon than the better known images in *dhyānamudrā* in the Abhayagiri-vihāra and at Toluvila, and constitutes one of the most powerful expressions of Sinhalese plastic art in this genre. In the *paṭimāghara* within the central precinct at Puliyankulam (see fig. 67), the image no longer exists but a fragment of a *yantragala* found outside the image-house testi-

[1] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 6; 1896, p. 3; 1940-45, p. 24; 1894, p. 4; 1907, p. 5.

fied to its original presence. This *paṭimāgharа* is similar to the Vijayārāma example, except for the fact that the freestanding pillars of the shrine-chamber are arranged in a rectangle rather than a square. This temple is the largest of its type in the *pabbata vihāras* of Anurādhapura. Closely approaching it in size is the image-house at Toluvila (see fig. 69). The internal arrangements of this latter shrine are, however, more elaborate than in any of the other examples. There is a substantial brick inner sanctum with a surrounding ambulatory. The main image in *dhyānamudrā*—one of the best-preserved of its type and now in the Colombo Museum—is flanked by two standing figures. There is no subsidiary entrance to the vestibule nor an enclosed precinct around the building, but rather a high terrace with a stone retaining wall and *sīmā*-stones placed at its corners. Such a terrace and *sīmā*-stones are also featured at Vessagiriya. The internal arrangements here are unusual. There seems to have been a screen-wall and probably a doorway between the shrine-chamber and the vestibule rather than a more substantial separation. The sanctum is demarcated by four clusters of columns grouped at the corners of the central area. The interior seems to have been unpaved.

In none of the provincial *pabbata vihāras* have the corresponding monuments been excavated, but there is usually fairly clear evidence of their existence.

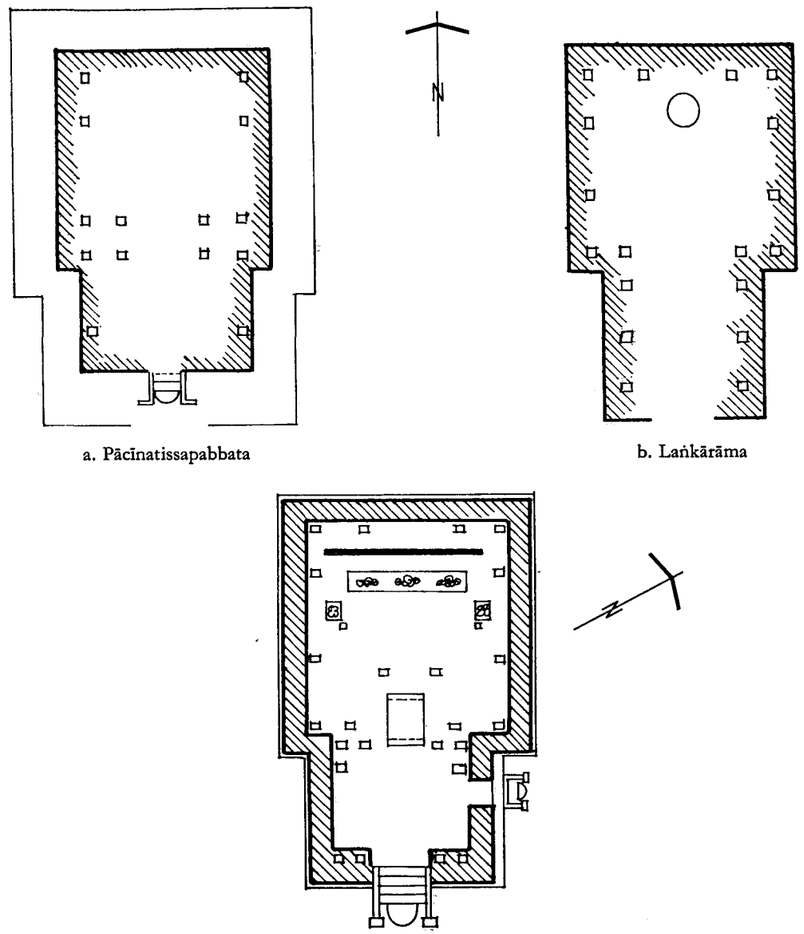
Strictly speaking, the *gandhakuṭī* image-house does not feature as one of the principle shrines in any of the four major *vihāras* in Anurādhapura. There are *paṭimāgharas*, however, in the monastic complexes of the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma, and at the so-called Kiribatvehera to the north of Anurādhapura, as well as image-houses that are associated with the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* of the major *vihāras*. The largely subsidiary role of the *piḷimagē* in these older monasteries, in contrast to the important position it occupies in the *pabbata vihāras*, probably points to its somewhat late arrival on the Ceylonese architectural scene and the hesitancy with which it was accepted as a major architectural feature in the older monastic complexes.

This does not mean, however, that the *paṭimāgharа* was not sometimes an important institution in these *vihāras* but rather that in the overall conception of the older, organic monasteries, it is a feature which is not fully developed. Where it is a substantial and even elaborate structure, it is clearly a later addition which has been imposed on an already existing plan.

One of the smallest and probably one of the earliest surviving *paṭimāgharas* at Anurādhapura is the chapel near the Kiribatvehera (see fig. 71).[1] With substantial, 3 ft. brick walls, it consists of a square chamber and a vestibule to the west. There is only a single entrance to the vestibule. Four huge, monolithic columns embedded in the walls at the four inner corners of the shrine-chamber, together with two smaller pillars in the vestibule, were the sole supports of the superstructure. This is possibly due to the smallness of the building and its relatively thick walls. Occupying the centre of the shrine-chamber, which was about 14 ft. square internally, was a large standing image, the original height of which Bell calculated to be about 12 ft.

Bell has suggested that the Kiribatvehera *stūpa*, with its entirely brick construction, detailing and *maḷuwa*, is one of the earliest in Anurādhapura.[2] Whether this is in fact the case has yet to be ascertained, but certainly the *stūpa* itself, like the *piḷimagē*, displays a relatively simple character when compared with other similar monuments in the area. Whatever its actual age, the image-house demonstrates, as it were, the raw principles that went into the designing of such buildings. This design consists basically of a simple square room or cell, without any visible internal features, to which has been attached a small projecting vestibule. The shrine-

[1] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 4.
[2] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 5.



a. Pācīnatissapabbata b. Laṅkārāma

c. Mādirigiriya

Fig. 68. Paṭimāgharas

chamber, which constitutes the major spatial entity of the entire structure, is just adequate to house the large image.

The *piḷimagē* in the Laṅkārāma (see figs. 9, 68b) displays a different and less monumental kind of simplicity, of the type already noticed at Pankuliya and Vessagiriya.[1] Here the shrine-chamber and the vestibule are not separated. There may have been some form of temporary partition between the two, but architecturally they are certainly conceived as a single entity. However, the differentiation between the compartmented and the non-compartmented shrines

[1] *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 8-9.

is one very difficult to establish if it is at all meaningful. It does not necessarily imply any chronological sequence, though it would probably be correct to say that the compartmented, Kiribatvehera type (see fig. 71) represents, *at least in principle*, an earlier stage in the evolution of the *gandhakuṭī* plan. Some of the fully developed image-houses of the latest phase at Anurā-

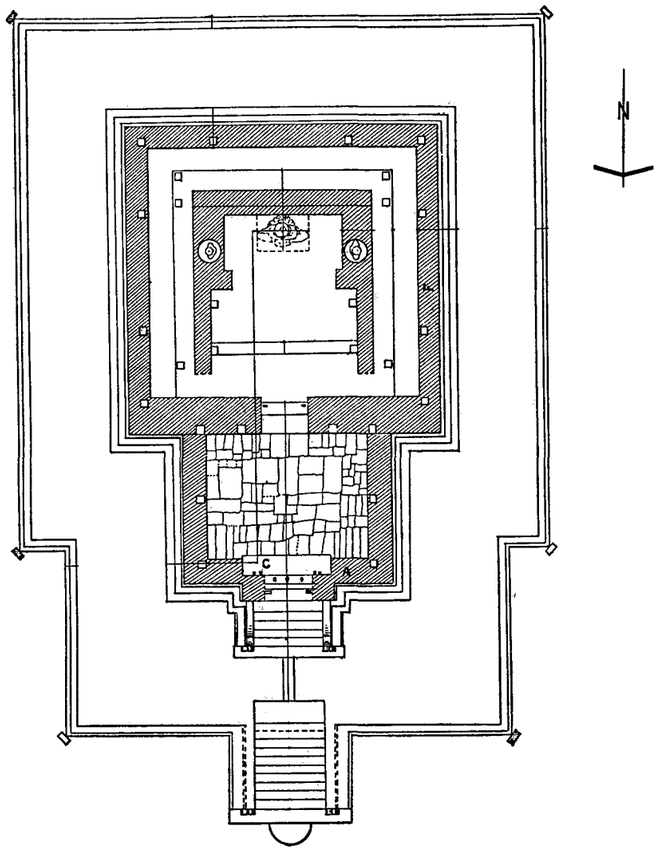


Fig. 69. Paṭimāghara, central precinct, Toluvila

dhapura are structurally separated into two compartments, but the overall design is more fully integrated than at Kiribatvehera. On the other hand, some of the Polonnaruva Period shrines have the open, non-compartmented plan,[1] showing that the two alternative designs are in fact coterminous in the mature periods of building, both in the final phase at Anurādhapura and at Polonnaruva.

We may mention, in this context, some of the small image-houses that are occasionally

[1] E.g. *ASCAR* 1901, p. 12; *PPAR* 1901, pl. XIII.

attached to the monumental *stūpas* at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva.[1] These chapels are not a regular feature in Anurādhapura and when they do occur they are of various types. Amongst

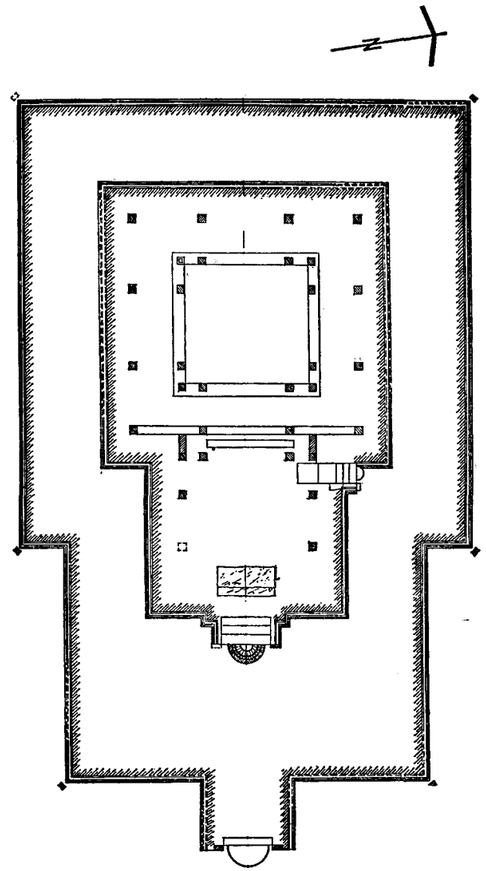


Fig. 70. Paṭimāghara, Vessagiriya

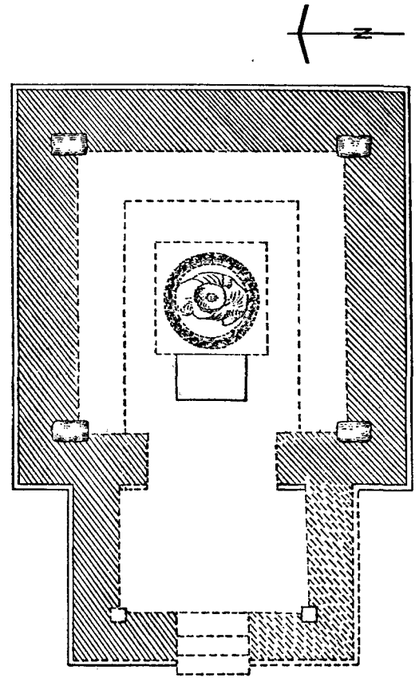


Fig. 71. Paṭimāghara, Kiribatvehera

[1] These were placed on either side of the *vāhalkaḍas* or frontispieces of the *stūpa*. They certainly existed at the Ruvanvälisāya [Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 32-35, 38-39, pl. XXIII], the Mirisavāṭi *stūpa* (see Pl. XX) and probably at the Abhayagiri. At the Ruvanvälisāya there seem to have been both *gandhakuṭī* and *pāsāda paṭimāgharas*. At least two examples of each were noticed by Smither. These have now been either destroyed or totally reconstructed. There was apparently a similar combination of shrines at the Mirisavāṭi *stūpa*. However, it is in the Rankotvehera and the Kirivehera at Polonnaruva that these structures can still be seen in a fair state of preservation (*ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 28, pl. LXXXV and plan; 1911-12, "Plan of Ruins in Jētawanārāma Monastery, Polonnaruwa"; 1939, p. 5; 1952, p. 27). These are small, entirely brick-built chapels with masonry domes. Their ground plan is a simple square with a pronounced doorway but no vestibule. All these shrines are of the same type and are very formally arranged, one on either side of each *vāhalkaḍa*. The Pabaluvehera has similar features but in a more mixed and less regularised manner (*ASCAR* 1938, p. 10).

them are shrines which show very clearly the original cell-like character of the image-house. The examples in Anurādhapura—effectively, there is only one shrine in Anurādhapura that remains in any state of preservation, i.e. the chapel by the side of the northern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Mirisavāṭi *stūpa* (see Pl. XX)—are probably all additions dating from the Polonnaruva Period, as they seem to be characteristic of that epoch. They recall, however, a feature that must have

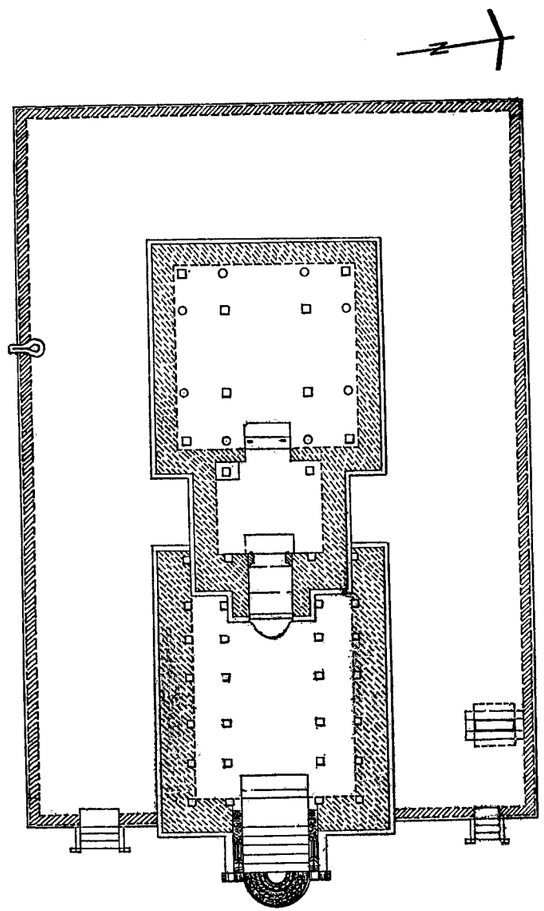


Fig. 72. Trident Temple, Thūpārāma

been present in Sinhalese monastic architecture from the period in which the first anthropomorphic images were introduced and possibly preserve something of the character of the original cells or pavilions in which those early sculptures were housed. We know, from literary evidence, that some of the earliest images in Ceylon were placed in the precincts of

existing shrines such as the *stūpa* and the *bodhighara*.[1] We may justifiably conjecture that, as in India—e.g. at the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* in Taxila—the earliest images were placed in small shrines around the *stūpa*. Judging from the crudely built image-houses of a later period in the *cetiyagharas* of the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma, this practice seems to have been continued even after the end of the Polonnaruva Period proper, although it is no longer noticeable at modern *stūpas*, except in a debased form in the small icons which are sometimes placed above flower-altars, etc. The chapels of the Polonnaruva Period are apparently a revivalist feature recalling a phase in which the image and the image-house was entirely subordinate to older and more important monuments.

While the *paṭimāghara* in the Laṅkārāma[2] is a simple and unimposing edifice, given no more prominence than the neighbouring residential *pāsādas* by its architectural character or location, the corresponding shrine in the Thūpārāma is one of the most elaborate and impressive image-houses in Anurādhapura (see figs. 4, 72).[3] It enjoys a unique position on more than one count. It is the only example which has come to light so far of a *paṭimāghara* in the ancient Mahāvihāra. Its pillar capitals are rendered in the form of a *vajra*, a motif rare in Sinhalese art and unknown in pillar capitals anywhere else. For this reason it is familiarly but wrongly known as the 'Trident Temple'. An unusual feature of its plan is the addition of a *maṇḍapa* to an existing *gandhakuṭī paṭimāghara*. In its final form, this plan, which is quite foreign to Sinhalese architecture, is more characteristic of Brahmanical shrines or of Buddhist temples that are directly influenced by or wholly derived from the subcontinental tradition—as in the case of the Nālanda *geḍigē* and the image-house at Velgamvehera.[4]

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 122-128.
[2] See above, pp. 195-196.
[3] Smither, J. G., (1894), pp. 56-58; *ASCAR* 1895, p. 3.
[4] *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 43 ff.; 1953, pp. 9-12. The ground plan of this type of building consists essentially of a *garbhagṛha* connected by a narrow *antarāla* to a large *maṇḍapa* in front with one or more compartments, a design familiar to mature Brahmanical temple architecture. Examples of this architectural type can be seen in a number of stone and brick monuments in Polonnaruva (see *ASCAR* 1902, pp. 7-8 and plan; 1908, pp. 3-4, 8; *SPAR* 1908, pls. I-III, XVI-XVII; 1909, p. 17; 1911-12, p. 85). Most of these are Brahmanical temples and date from the period of the Coḷa occupation in the 11th Century, although they seem to have remained in worship throughout the Polonnaruva Period, while others may belong to the 12th or 13th Century. Some of these stone temples, such as the Śiva Dēvālēs No. 1 and No. 2, exhibit an entirely imported style and have little connection with the Sinhalese tradition (see *ASCAR* 1907, pp. 17-24; 1906, pp. 17-22). Judging from the existing remains, this was probably also true of the brick-built shrines, but their constructional methods are certainly much more indigenous and would therefore have provided some link between the Brahmanical and the Sinhalese styles. Buildings such as the Trident Temple in Anurādhapura (see fig. 72) and the shrine at Velgamvehera, which were both Buddhist *paṭimāgharas*, seem to have played some part in the later development of the Sinhalese image-house during the post-Polonnaruva Period. While the *gandhakuṭī* plan does survive into modern times, the characteristic form of the Kaṇḍyan Period seems to have been a rectangular or square conception in which the main shrine is often preceded by a *maṇḍapa* or enlarged vestibule of the same proportions as the main shrine itself. In its most developed form, these two sections are contained in a single, integrated rectangular building, in essence a variation of the *pāsāda* plan. This is not, as Hocart suggests, a development of the double-platformed structures of the Anurādhapura Period (*CJSG* I, pp. 9, 143-145; Hocart, A. M., 1931, pp. 38-39) but a return to the more natural and indigenous forms based on the *pāsāda* or Sinhalese living-house. The idea of a *maṇḍapa* or frontal extension to the shrine-chamber must have been influenced by the Brahmanical temples rather than the double-platform buildings in so far as the Buddhist *paṭimāghara* and the Hindu *dēvālē* serve the same basic purpose. Besides the Trident Temple, there are several Brahmanical shrines in Anurādhapura itself, but possibly of Polonnaruva Period date, which display the *maṇḍapa* type of plan [*ASCAR* 1893, pp. 4-5; *PPAR* 1893 (*Eleventh Report*), pls. XIII-XXXVI; *ASCAR* 1898, p. 5; *PPAR* 1898, pl. IV]. Both in their structure and in many features of their architectural detailing, these buildings are within the Ceylonese architectural spectrum. There is no doubt that there must have been some cross-currents of influence between this type of structure and the classic Sinhalese *paṭimāghara*.

Apart from the Laṅkārāma and the Thūpārāma shrines, a third example of an image-house associated with a *cetiyagṛha*, but in this instance of the classic *gandhakuṭī* form, is the *piḷimagē* at Mädirigiriya (see fig. 68c and Pl. XVII).[1] This is a large structure which displays very clearly the open or non-compartmented plan. There are altogether five images in the *garbhagṛha*, all standing Buddha figures. These were placed against screen-walls or backdrops, in a manner characteristic of many temples of the Polonnaruva Period. The central image is flanked by two similar figures. Two smaller sculptures were placed against the side walls. Excavation revealed the *yantragalas*, each with twenty-five compartments, which were placed under the pedestals of the images. The contents of the reliquary under the central figure were found intact. They included a representation of a deity, thought to be Kuvera, the four animals symbolising the cardinal directions and other aniconic emblems.

Apart from the image-houses connected with the organic monasteries and the *pabbata vihāras*, we have at least two or three cases of shrines in Anurādhapura which are associated with the *pañcāyatana* complexes in the Abhayagiri and Jetavana monasteries. The first of these is the so-called Building No. 7 in Monastery A, Abhayagirivihāra Sector I (see fig. 7). It is a *piḷimagē*, apparently of the 'open' type, standing more or less within its own precinct, to the right of the main avenue leading to the central quincunx. Situated almost opposite this structure is Building No. 8, which appears to have been a *stūpa* of the Satmahalprāsāda type. In this connection we may point out that a similar *paṭimāgṛha* exists near the Nakhāvehera, the only structure in Anurādhapura, which is almost certainly another example of such a stepped *stūpa*.[2]

The only other *paṭimāgṛha* in the Abhayagiri is in Sector III, the area explored by Burrows in the 1880's and scarcely examined since. Burrows tells us very little about this shrine, designated 'Vihara No. 3'—'(an) elaborate vihāra... surrounded by an embattled frieze cut in white limestone'.[3] His plan shows a typical *paṭimāgṛha*, facing north, flanked by two rear *kuṭīs* facing in the same direction (see fig. 8). Some distance away to the north of this shrine are two further *kuṭīs* facing each other. This whole cluster of buildings seems to be a kind of *pañcāyatana*, but with the main structure placed towards the rear rather than in the centre of the complex.

A similar arrangement can be seen in the Jetavanavihāra, but here not so closely incorporated with a *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*. Standing between the sacred southern precinct, containing the *uposathagṛha* and the *bodhigṛha* of the monastery, and the eastern row of *pariveṇas*, is a trio of image-houses—the so-called 'Monastery M'—placed in a semi-*pañcāyatana* arrangement (see figs. 10, 73, 74).[4] They occupy a rather prominent and elevated position with an entrance pavilion leading into the precincts.

The main temple, No. 40 (see fig. 73), is the largest *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgṛha* so far reported from the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods. It has a total of 82 pillars and while it appears to be of the non-compartmented type, the presence of some fragments of stone paving at the point where the sanctum and the vestibule meet, suggests that there was some sort of division between the two parts of the building. As in the Kiribatvehera shrine, the central image—now missing but indicated by a large *yantragala* and parts of a *padmāsana*—was placed exactly in the centre of the sanctum. Considering its size, the large number of pillars, the thin-

[1] *ASCAR* 1946, pp. 13-16. There is also a small image-house standing very close to the *vaṭadāgē* at Tiriyāya.
[2] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 41.
[3] Burrows, S. M., 1886, p. 4.
[4] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 3; *PPAR* 1893 *(Twelfth Report)*, pls. XIV-XXII.

ness of the brick walls and the bare minimum of stone detailing, this temple is a true example of the perennial Sinhalese tradition, of a mixed timber and light masonry architecture, at its most ambitious. We may well imagine that it was a largely timbered construction with a great deal of carved and probably painted decoration and an elaborate superstructure. These factors, together with the rather squat and disproportionate plan almost approaching the *pāsāda* shape, stand in sharp contrast to the more standard design and the heavily sculptured stone detailing of its small attendant shrines, Nos. 41 and 42 (see fig. 74). The richly carved stone *adhiṣṭhānas*, one with a frieze of squatting lions, the decorated pillars and the stone-paved interiors of these

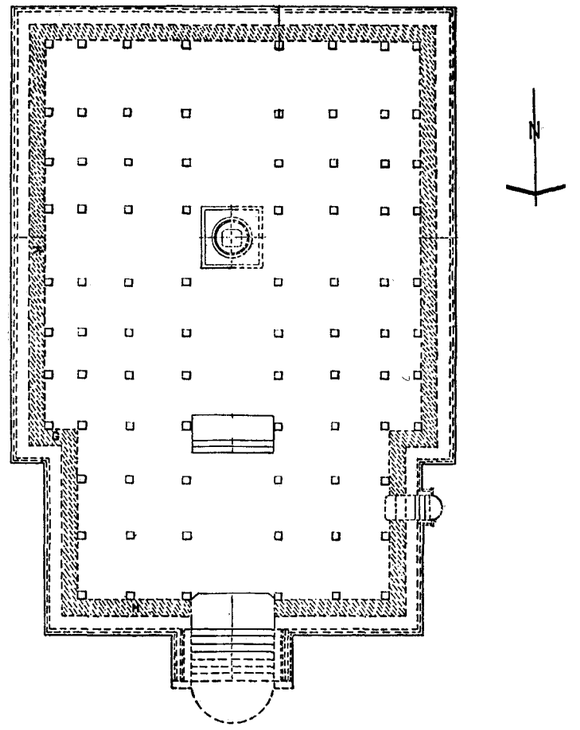
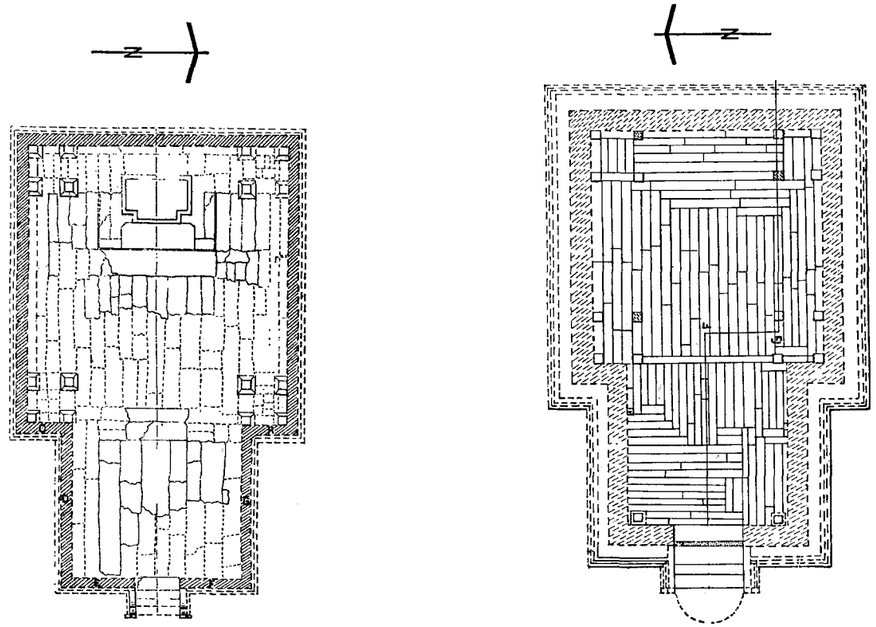


Fig. 73. 'Piḷimagē No. 40', Jetavanavihāra

shrines all seem to suggest a somewhat later date, possibly even the Polonnaruva Period.[1] The stone *āsana* of image-house No. 41 still remains in place. Unlike in the main shrine, this stands in the more usual position towards the back of the sanctum.

[1] No. 40 is the largest structure of its type. If it is, indeed, earlier than Nos. 41 and 42, its altogether preponderant size might point to the fact that some of the earlier buildings in Anurādhapura may have been larger than their successors. It is conceivable that, in the interests of economy, etc., the greater emphasis on thick brick walls and stone detail in the later buildings may occasionally have led to restrictions in size, whereas the more lightly constructed timber structures that preceded them suffered from no such inhibitions. We have, for instance, at Pankuliya an image-house which was built over the remains of a much larger

The semi-*pañcāyatana* principle demonstrated in this trio of shrines in the Jetavanavihāra is also found in a unique Tamil Buddhist temple at Velgamvehera.[1] Here the main shrine has been converted from a *gandhakuṭī* to a more complex structure with a *maṇḍapa*. Just beyond the *maṇḍapa* and at right angles to it are two small *piḷimagēs*, facing each other. At least one of them housed a standing Buddha image. The three shrines were enclosed by a substantial *prākāra*. A large entrance pavilion gave access to the enclosed area, which was stone-paved. From the Sinhalese inscriptions discovered at this site, which date from the 2nd, the 4th and the 11th Centuries, it appears that the monastery was an ancient foundation. There are, however, several 11th Century Tamil records which indicate that the original Sinhalese foundation



a. 'Piḷimagē No. 41' Jetavanavihāra b. 'Piḷimagē No. 42' Jetavanavihāra

Fig. 74. Paṭimāgharas

gandhakuṭī (*ASCAR* 1891, p. 6). Obviously, this was not always the case, but it is a useful corrective to the simplistic view (that we ourselves are sometimes guilty of) that there was a progressive increase in size in the buildings of the Anurādhapura Period. This tendency has also certain implications with regard to the development of sculptural styles. The shift from wood to stone sculpture, in the Late Anurādhapura Period must have produced a greater simplicity in the early stonework in comparison to the wood carving which it replaced. The fact that fairly elaborate stone sculpture from the early periods of Sinhalese art shows a considerable degree of sophistication, while later pieces are often simpler and cruder, only underlines the point that each mode, each historical phase generates its own progressive momentum, passing from crude and primitive beginnings through maturity to final efflorescence. Thus we have an evolutionary process that is not gradual and consistent but which proceeds in succesively dynamic stages or cycles, one often 'overlapping' the other and yet separated in time—a progression that can be best expressed not as a two-dimensional curve but a three-dimensional spiral.

[1] *ASCAR* 1953, pp. 9-12.

was reconstructed as a Tamil Buddhist *vihāra* during the Coḷa hegemony over the island. In its present form, the temple must date substantially from that period, when it was called the Rājarājaperumpaḷḷi. It displays a mixture of Sinhalese and Coḷa architectural characteristics, and, as Paranavitana has pointed out, its base-mouldings resemble those of the Coḷa temples in Polonnaruva. The 11th Century date of this semi-*pañcāyatana* shrine complex seems to confirm our suspicions that the smaller shrines in the similar group in the Jetavanavihāra are also of the Polonnaruva Period. This date may also apply to the so-called Trident Temple in the Thūpārāma, which has the same kind of *maṇḍapa* as the image-house at Velgamvehera.[1]

We have seen that the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharа* is a well-defined architectural type of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.[2] Whatever elaborations of plan it manifests are of such a nature that they are merely additions to or multiplications of the archetypal form. It has, no doubt, a long history of development but in itself it remains a rather basic and simple conception integrated within the Sinhalese tradition.[3]

There is, however, a certain type of image-house known to Ceylonese archaeologists as *giñjakāvasatha* or *geḍigē*, in which the *gandhakuṭī* undergoes certain changes in its standard design. These *geḍigēs* were originally differentiated from the *gandhakuṭī* on a purely constructional basis, and although they do not deviate fundamentally from the classic *cella*-cum-vestibule plan, in time their architectural character undergoes an extensive transformation which justifies their inclusion in a separate category. It was Paranavitana who first isolated this type, on the grounds that Buddhist literature described a structure entirely 'built of bricks' which was the residence of the Buddha.[4] The *geḍigē* reaches its culmination in the vaulted, brick temples of Polonnaruva. As we pointed out in our previous study of these monuments, they are

[1] See above, p. 199.

[2] The classic Anurādhapura form continues virtually unchanged in the Polonnaruva Period, where its architectural status, so to say, is of such an order that it is retained in the Tooth-Relic temples of both Vijayabāhu I and Niśśaṁkamalla in the Daḷadāmaḷuva at Polonnaruva (*ASCAR* 1903, pp. 8-14; *CJSG* II, pp. 162-164). These shrines, the so-called Aṭadāgē and Hāṭadāgē (or Vihāra No. 2 and Vihāra No. 3), are two of the best-preserved and most impressive examples of the *gandhakuṭī* in the classic period. Apart from the fact that they are both securely dated, they are significant in that they are the only image-houses of their type in which there is clear evidence of the existence of upper storeys. Storeyed *paṭimāgharas* are often mentioned in the Chronicles, but mostly from the Polonnaruva Period onwards.

[3] The comparative dimensions of some of the shrines discussed above are as follows (all measurements are given in ft. and ins. and some are approximations):

	Sanctum	*Vestibule*
Vijayārāma	26 sq.	17 × 10
Pankuliya	29.6 sq.	19 × 13
Puliyankuḷam	34 sq.	21 × 9.3
Pācīnatissapabbata	23 sq.	19 × 8
Toluvila	33.3 sq.	22.8 × 13.7
Vessagiriya	33 sq.	24 × 17.6
Kiribatvehera	20 sq.	14 × 9
Laṅkārāma	25 sq.	17.6 × 12.6
Trident Temple, Thūpārāma	27 sq.	19 × 14
Mādirigiriya	33 sq.	24 × 17
Abhayagiri Sect. I, Mon. A.	28 × 25	12.8 × 10.4
Jetavana No. 40	52 sq.	45 × 20
Jetavana No. 41	22 × 23	15 × 11
Jetavana No. 42	24 sq.	18 × 11.6
Aṭadāgē, Polonnaruva	45 sq.	30 sq.
Hātadāgē, Polonnaruva	47 sq.	32 sq.

[4] Paranavitana, S., 1945.

the Sinhalese equivalent of the early, brick tower-temples of North India, both Buddhist and Brahmanical. They also constitute the point at which the Sinhalese tradition closely approaches the *śikhara* temples of later Brahmanical architecture. Notwithstanding Paranavitana's hypothesis of 'a common source' for the *geḍigē* and the later South Indian temples, the Sinhalese developments are profoundly influenced by the mature South Indian tradition.[1] The stone *geḍigē* at Nālanda, dating from the Late Anurādhapura Period, but of an entirely imported type, demonstrates that such strong South Indian influences were already felt in the architecture of that period. Still it is true, as Paranavitana emphasises, that the Sinhalese *geḍigē* has its roots in Buddhist tradition and in earlier Sinhalese forms. To hold this view, however, to the

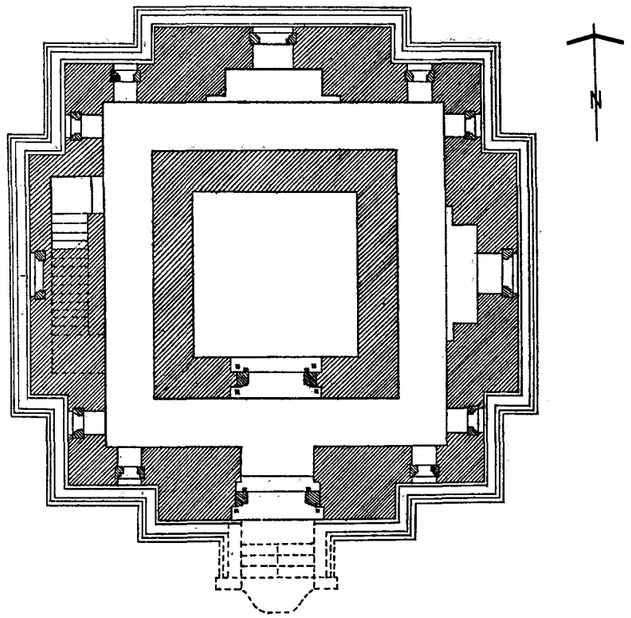


Fig. 75. Geḍigē, Citadel, Anurādhapura

exclusion of any possible influences from the later Brahmanical tradition of South India is not only a simplification of the material evidence but also to ignore the continuing relationship between Ceylon and Southern India throughout the Late Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva and post-Polonnaruva Periods.

At the same time, the close relationship between the *gandhakuṭī* and the *geḍigē* is obvious enough when comparing the ground plans (see figs. 65a, 66a, 67-74, 76, 77) and is perhaps best seen in the *piḷimagē* at the Kiribatvehera (see fig. 71), which we have earlier presented as an example of a structure that displays the characteristics of the primitive *gandhakuṭī*. This shrine can also be considered as the point of departure for both the *gandhakuṭī* and the *geḍigē* type of

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (1), p. 26; Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, Chaps. III-IV and esp. pp. 173-175.

image-house. In a very simple building like this, the distinction between the two types is rather difficult to make. Although it appears to be a *gandhakuṭī*, its massive walls and narrow confines allow the possibility that it once had a vaulted roof and was thus an incipient version of the *geḍigē*.

The best known examples of the type of building represented by the term *giñjakāvasatha* or *geḍigē* are the two similar and neighbouring temples in the Citadel at Anurādhapura, known respectively as 'the Geḍigē' and 'Building A' (see figs. 75, 76 and Pls. XVIII, XIX).[1] There is

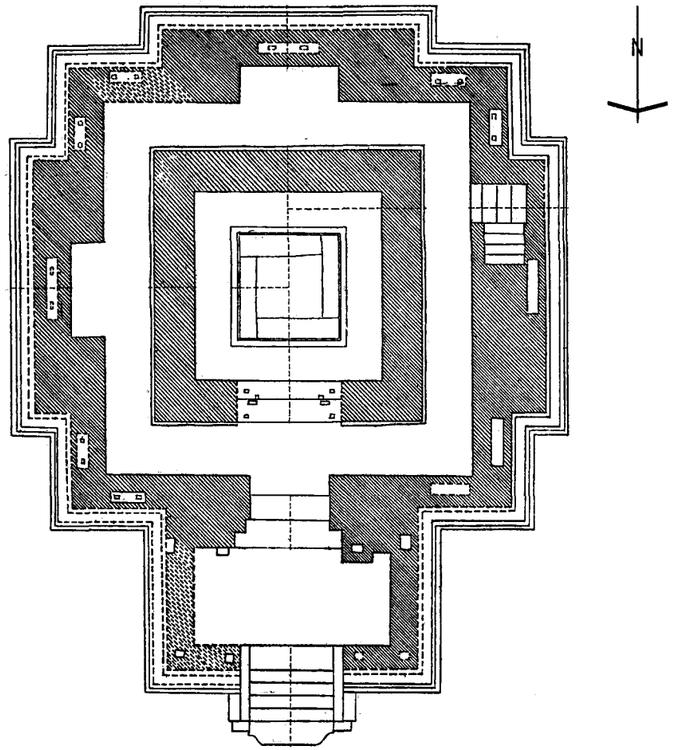


Fig. 76. 'Building A', Citadel, Anurādhapura

no doubt that both were wholly brick-built structures with vaulted superstructures and, possibly, tiled roofs.[2] There is material evidence of their vaulted ceilings and there are also the remains of stone staircases that led to the upper storeys. Both structures have a square outer shrine with projecting bays in each face, and an inner sanctum which is a regular square. Building A has in addition a vestibule, a feature now missing—if it ever existed—in the

[1] For a full discussion of these shrines and earlier reports on them see Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, pp. 77-82.

[2] The possible combination of vaulted superstructures and tiled roofs is discussed below: see pp. 361, 366-367, 371.

Geḍigē. Leaving this vestibule out of consideration the two buildings have nearly the same dimensions, Building A being 36 ft. square and the Geḍigē 34 ft. The outer walls are about 5 ft. thick in the bays and about 3 ft. elsewhere. The ambulatory passages around the sanctum are lit by windows, which were also features of the upper floor of the Geḍigē. The rather large and unusual, square *āsana* in Building A is placed exactly in the centre of the sanctum. This might confirm our suspicions that either one or both these monuments were, in fact, Tooth-Relic temples in the vicinity of the royal palace of the Anurādhapura kings.[1] Both shrines date from Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period and epigraphical evidence from Building A places it in the 8th-9th Century.[2]

However elaborate and substantial these temples may have been, they are not larger, at least in their ground plans, than the *gandhakuṭis*. The only example of a structure of this type in Anurādhapura which surpasses all other image-houses in the area, and which must have been one of the largest temples in Ceylon is the *geḍigē* in the Jetavanavihāra (see figs. 10, 77).[3] A 69 ft. square structure with a 32 ft. square vestibule and an inner sanctum, its most dominant features today are the massive brick walls (5 ft. thick in the outer shrine and 6 ft. in the sanctum), now quite ruined, and the monolithic door jambs which still stand to a height of 26 ft. Only the *yantragala* and fragments of its *padmāsana* remain but it has been calculated that the original, standing image must have been nearly 30 ft. high.

The largest freestanding temple in Ceylon from the Anurādhapura Period is a much ruined structure at Māligāvela, where the main shrine is 72 ft. square.[4] The colossal image, a freestanding sculpture 34 ft. high, and its massive lotus pedestal were found within the shrine. (Not far from this Buddha temple the remains of a Bodhisattva image and shrine of comparable size were discovered.) Paranavitana has suggested that the image dates from about 600 A.D.[5] It is possible, judging from the stylistic features of some of the architectural details, such as the guardstones, to surmise that the image-house is somewhat later and probably closer in time to similar Anurādhapura Period temples of the 8th or 9th Century and to its two 12th Century successors in Polonnaruva, the Laṅkātilaka and Tivaṅka temples.

Closely related to these freestanding *geḍigēs*—in fact, basically the same type of building—are the image-houses built against rock boulders or outcrops which housed monumental images carved out of the living rock. The most famous of these is the image and *paṭimāghara* at Avukana.[6] The image is 43 ft. high and the shrine measures about 74 ft. by 63 ft. It had an inner sanctum and there is evidence to suggest that it was vaulted.

There must have been similar temples enshrining the comparable images at Sässēruva and Buduruvagala,[7] but it is unlikely that the structures here were entirely of brick, or brick and stone as at Avukana. They were probably of a lighter, mixed architectural character. Grooves and mortise holes cut in the rock beside the sculptures are the only traces left of these buildings. The Polonnaruva Period equivalents of the *paṭimāgharas* at Avukana and the two other sites are the temples which were built over the well-known rock-cut images at the Galvihāra or Uttarārāma in Polonnaruva. A much later version of a *paṭimāghara* built against a rock boulder

[1] See below, pp. 383-385.
[2] Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 7.
[3] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 4.
[4] *ASCAR* 1934, pp. 21-22, 1951, p. 37.
[5] *UHC* pp. 404-405.
[1] *ASCAR* 1895, pp. 6-7; 1949, pp. 18-19; 1952, pp. 29-31; 1955, pp. 23-24; Devendra, D. T., 1958 (1), fig. 174.
[7] *ASCAR* 1895, pp. 12-13; 1934. p. 8; Paranavitana, S., 1937, p. 27.

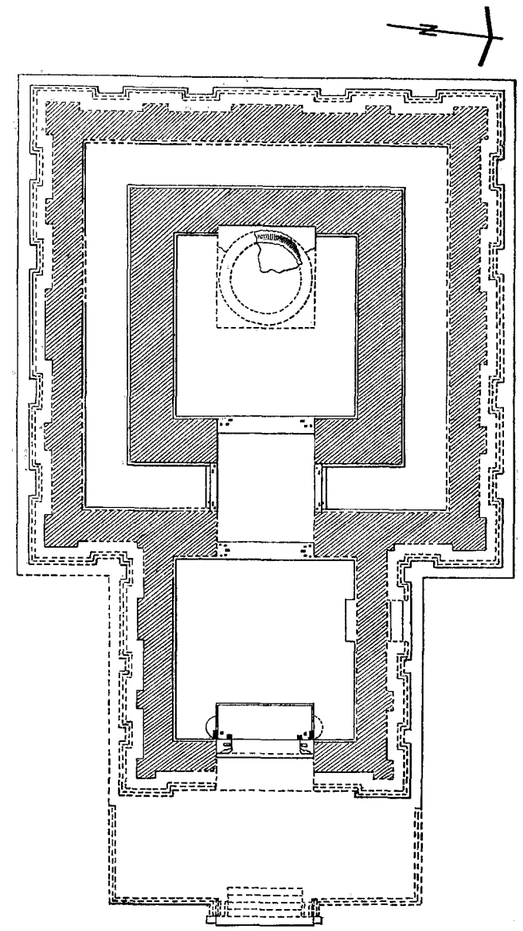


Fig. 77. Geḍigē, Jetavanavihāra

and housing a large standing Buddha figure is the main image-house of the Gaṅgārāma in Kandy (see Pl. XLV).

These monumental sculptures and their image-houses constitute a particular aspect of Sinhalese iconography and architecture especially in the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.[1] Dohanian has interpreted these colossi in these terms:

[1] The comparative dimensions of the images and their temples are as follows (all measurements are given in ft. and ins.; the figures in brackets are approximations or conjectural):

> The idea that the Buddha is in his secret essence transcendent and beyond the spheres of the world was the seed concept from which the theology of Mahāyāna grew. In time, the increasing preoccupation of Mahāyāna art and thought was with the development of techniques and instruments with which to realise the fact of the Buddha's transcendental perfection. One of the most straightforward and compelling of these instruments was the iconic image of spectacular size... In a general sense, there is no doubt that the colossal type of Buddha image was inspired by Mahāyānistic theology. In a very specific way, the Buddha of Aukana embodies the Mahāyānistic concept of the transmundane quality of the Buddha.
>
> The giant form, looming motionless above the double-lotus on which it stands, may be understood to express the cosmic character of the divine personality. The lotus contains within it the cosmographically disposed images of the directional gods and may be thought of as the Universe, All-Space, within which are contained Heaven and Earth and all phenomenal things. The Buddha towers above the macrocosmic lotus as Lokottara, transcending and beyond (uttara) the spheres of the world (loka).[1]

Of course, not all *geḍigēs* contain large standing figures nor are they all buildings of such monumental proportions as those at Avukana and Māligāvela. The Thūpārāma Temple at Polonnaruva and the two principal *geḍigēs* of the post-Polonnaruva Period, the Laṅkātilaka and Gaḍalādeṇiya temples near Kandy are all shrines which house seated figures. One of the smallest *paṭimāgharas* in Anurādhapura is the image-house at the Kiribatvehera, which may have been, as we suggested earlier, a prototype of the *geḍigē*. There are other examples of buildings constructed entirely of brick or stone masonry and, therefore, coming within the concept of the *geḍigē*, which are monuments of extremely modest proportions, such as the image-house near the Śiva Dēvāle No. 2 at Polonnaruva[2] and the Upulvan shrine at Devundara.[3]

The last-named monument is an interesting example of a flat-roofed temple of extraordinarily beautiful and economical proportions, built entirely of stone. Paranavitana has placed it in the 7th Century and pointed to its obvious similarity to the well-known Gupta monuments such as the temples at Sāñcī (No. 17), Bhumara and Nāchnā-Kuṭhara. Although this striking

	Sanctum	*Vestibule*	*Image*
Geḍigē	34 sq. (excl. bays)	—	—
Building A	36 sq. (excl. bays)	20.6 × 11.3	—
Geḍigē, Jetavana	69 sq.	32 sq.	(30)
Māligāvela	72 sq.	—	34
Avukana	74 × 63	—	43
Sässēruva	—	—	39.3
Buduruvagala (central fig.)	—	—	over 50
Polonnaruva			
Thūpārāma (seated fig.)	52.6 sq.	38.4 × 32	—
Galvihāra (seated fig.)	40 × 18	23 × 99	15.6
Galvihāra (standg. fig.)	(20 × 25)	(20 × 10)	22.9
Laṅkātilaka	66 sq.	51 × 41	41
Tivaṅka	67.6 sq.	51.6 × 45	(26)

[1] Dohanian, D. K., 1964, pp. 93 ff.
[2] *ASCAR* 1909, p. 7.
[3] Paranavitana, S., 1953 (1), pp. 6-10, pls. III-VIII.

similarity in design is quite apparent, the question of its date and architectural affiliations has to be reconsidered.[1]

Apart from the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāghara* and the *geḍigē*, there are two other types of image-house that have featured in recent studies of Sinhalese monastic architecture, namely the so-called *caturmukha paṭimāghara* and the *pāsāda paṭimāghara*.[2]

Our discussion in the previous pages of certain structures which were characterised as *caturmukha* shrines has shown that these were usually *bodhigharas* and not image-houses.[3] With the exception of the unique *stūpa*-temple at Gaḍalādeṇiya, the Vijayotpāya, no proven example of a true four-directional image-house has so far come to light in Ceylon. Thus, we can say with some confidence that this type of *paṭimāghara* has no place in the Sinhalese tradition.

The *pāsāda paṭimāghara*, on the other hand, is a well-established form in Sinhalese architecture and continues right down to modern times. In essence, it is an elongated structure of the characteristic *pāsāda* shape, which houses a large, recumbent Buddha image. These shrines derive, no doubt, from the need to accommodate a new type of image representing the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*. This concept seems to have come into fashion in India around the 5th Century. The most famous example of such a monument in India was the Nirvāṇa temple at Kasiā (ancient Kuśinagara), which appears to have been originally constructed in the 5th Century, on the site of an earlier Kuṣāṇa sanctuary.[4] The remains of this ancient shrine have now been obscured by modern restoration. Of the many existing temples of this type in Ceylon one of the largest and the most familiar is the now ruined structure which housed the monumental recumbent Buddha in the Galvihāra at Polonnaruva. Although examples of this type of image-house are known from sites mainly associated with the Anurādhapura Period—such as Mādirigiriya and Tiriyāya—the *pāsāda* temples at these sites could well be structures of the Polonnaruva Period. No *pāsāda paṭimāghara* is known from the monasteries of Anurādhapura or its environs. On the other hand, such shrines are a regular feature of Polonnaruva architecture. It seems likely, therefore, that it was essentially a building type that prevailed during the Polonnaruva Period. Whatever antecedents it may have had in the preceding epoch, there is no

[1] While conceding that certain features in this building, such as the brackets above the pilasters and the *kūḍus* of the cornice, bear "some resemblance" to those of Coḷa architecture, Paranavitana rejects the possibility of this shrine having any affinities with the *Drāviḍa* school [Paranavitana, S., 1953 (1), pp. 9-10]. However, Prof. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw draws my attention to a hitherto ignored detail in this temple—two small snakes carved in relief on either side of the doorway, their heads projecting inwards beyond the jambs, on either side—which is characteristic of South Indian architecture. Taken together with the brackets and *kūḍus* of a Coḷa type, this rather distinctive, if only minute, detail requires us to consider the possibility that this structure is an example of provincial *Drāviḍa* architecture. This seems all the more likely if we consider that there are no Sinhalese shrines which are entirely built of stone and that the monument in question bears very little affinity with Sinhalese architecture in general. Moreover, its simplicity of design and lack of ornamental detail is not uncharacteristic of minor *Drāviḍa* shrines, such as some of the smaller temples at Enādi in Puḍukoṭṭai (see Raju, V., 1937, p. 89, pl. XI). Although Devundara has a recorded history—as a Buddhist site—from the 7th and 8th Century, its renown as a major religious centre dates only from the Polonnaruva Period onwards. The Upulvan shrine is said to have been 'restored' in the 13th Century and Paranavitana notes that the present monument shows signs of an ancient restoration. If this was actually the case, it indicates that the temple had been in existence at least a century or two before the 13th Century. A detailed investigation of this temple has to be carried out in the context of a study of 'imported' South Indian monuments in Ceylon, which is beyond the scope of the present work. Suffice to say that the temple appears to us to be a minor, provincial example of *Drāviḍā* architecture, probably dating from the Late Anurādhapura or—more likely—the Polonnaruva Period.
[2] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 88-127; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 122-128.
[3] See above, pp. 166 ff.
[4] *ASCAR* 1904-05, pp. 45-49.

example of such a shrine that we can confidently place in that period. Consequently, the *pāsāda* temples do not really come within the purview of this study.

On the other hand, the *gandhakuṭī* image-houses and the *geḍigēs* are architectural forms which go back well into the Anurādhapura Period. Considering the history of the *cetiyagharа* and the *bodhigharа*, the Sinhalese *paṭimāgharа* too must be related to its Indian counterparts, as any simple comparison would demonstrate. But, to what extent foreign influence and indigenous development went into the formation of the mature Anurādhapura form is a matter that cannot be resolved without access to the material remains of the earlier phases of the Anurādhapura Period and without a more positive chronological sequence of artistic and architectural development.

In India, on the other hand, there is a fairly continuous pattern of evolution.[1] The anchorite huts and the monastic dwellings, not to mention certain types of shrines, depicted in the early Buddhist reliefs seem to be the main structural prototypes from which the cellular chapel was derived. The actual remains of these shrines have been preserved, from about the 1st or 2nd Century A.D. onwards, at sites such as the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila, Takht-i-Bāhai and Jamālgaṛhi. The freestanding temple or sanctuary, as a monument in its own right, had already been anticipated in the earliest Buddhist architecture in such conceptions as the *caityaśāla* and the *bodhigharа*. The multi-cellular *saṅghārāma*, itself an early development, also played its part in the formation of the image-house. Together these various early conceptions were, in one way or another, the sources from which the first image-chapels derived, usually in the form of a series of shrines around a central *stūpa*. Finally the image-house comes into its own as an independent entity. The flat-roofed Gupta temples and such rare survivals as the domed shrine at Bālo[2] mark important stages in this development, which finds its fullest expression in the Buddhist tower-temples and the Brahmanical *śikharа*-shrines.

It is impossible at present to say what form the original Sinhalese image-houses took. We know that the first images were placed near *stūpas* and in *cetiyagharas* and *bodhigharas*. It is likely that some sort of niche, pavilion or chapel was devised to accommodate these images.[3] We may also speculate, on the basis of the Indian developments, that these pavilions were based on the principle of the square cell. The square or rectangular shape is more natural to the indigenous Sinhalese tradition than the circle, which is almost unknown to domestic architecture.

The square, cellular chamber is the natural concomitant of the anthropomorphic image sculpted in the round. The addition of a bay or vestibule in front is an equally natural addition or extension of the entrance to the cell, thus constituting the classic *gandhakuṭī* plan. This development first appears in India in a distinct form in the porches of the small, stone shrines of the Gupta Period, between the 4th and the 6th Century A.D., that transitional phase in Indian and as well as in Sinhalese architecture, which forms a bridge or watershed between the earlier and the later periods of classic architectural evolution.

Historically, the 4th-6th Century in Ceylon demarcates the Early from the Late Anurādhapura Period. In India, it witnessed the beginning of the shift from Buddhist to Brahmanical dominance, from an architecture in timber or brick (or mixed) to one based on stone. By the

[1] See Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, Chap. I.
[2] Stein, A., 1930, pp. 12-13.
[3] The *Mahāvaṁsa* says that Vasabha (65-109 A.D.) made four Buddha images and built a house for them in the courtyard of the Mahābodhi; and that Vohārikatissa (214-236 A.D.) set up two bronze figures in the eastern temple of the Mahābodhi (*Mhv.* 35. 89; 36. 31-32).

end of this period, the *gandhakuṭī* plan has become the germinal concept from which all Indian temple architecture derives. This plan is manifest in the freestanding stone temples of the Cāḷukyas and the Pallavas, in which the great Brahmanical architectural tradition of South India has its origins. The *gandhakuṭī* concept comes to the surface from time to time in its purest form in those regions outside India—or in the peripheral Indian areas such as Kerala and the Himālayan states—where some of the older forms and usually a mixed, brick-and-timber architectural tradition prevails (see Pl. LIII). Within the mainstream of the Indian tradition itself we still see it very clearly in some of the simpler Brahmanical shrines such as the small Coḷa temples at Enādi in Pudukoṭṭai and the brick-built monuments in the *Drāviḍa* style at Vizhinjam in Kerala.[1] Similar examples abound in the simple village shrines and small temples in India and Ceylon, most of them of fairly recent date (see Pls. XLII and XLIII).

Thus, the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharа* of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods represents the perennial form of the image-house in many South Asian traditions. It would not be going beyond the limits of justifiable conjecture to say that the type probably appeared in Ceylon somewhere between the 4th and the 6th Century i.e. by the end of Phase II or the beginnings of Phase III of the Anurādhapura Period. This is in broad agreement with the dates that we have suggested for many other architectural forms discussed here. A more specific chronology is as yet scarcely possible. To begin with, there is still no agreement on the dates of the early Sinhalese Buddha images. Most scholars place the numerous standing and seated figures of the Anurādhapura Period between the 2nd and the 4th Century A.D., and recognise their affinities with the more or less contemporary schools of Amarāvatī and Mathurā.[2] This is generally confirmed by literary evidence, which indicates that images were in existence at least from about the 1st Century A.D., i.e. from the beginnings of Phase II, but that the cult of image-worship really grew in importance only from the end of this phase, in the 4th and 5th Century A.D.[3] There are only two or three references in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to Buddha figures before the 3rd Century, but from the 4th Century onwards the reference to both images and image-houses are numerous.[4]

Recently, however, Dohanian has argued in some detail that both the standing and the seated Buddhas of the Anurādhapura Period are related to the Later School of Amarāvatī and other Southern Indian traditions, and that they date, by and large, from around the 7th or 8th Century.[5] Earlier, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw had suggested that the Toluvila image, one of the classic icons of the Sinhalese school, should be assigned to the 7th or 8th Century, on stylistic grounds.[6] She has also dated the 'Ceylonese' bronze Buddha from Sikèndèng, in Sulawesi, to the end of the Anurādhapura Period.[7]

The question of the date of the classic Sinhalese Buddha images is one of the major 'problems' of Ceylonese art history—one that is adequately documented with material evidence to justify an exhaustive study—and we have no intention of discussing it here. It is sufficient to

[1] Raju, V., 1937, p. 89, pl. XI; Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 26-28.
[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1927, p. 161; Rowland, B., 1953 (1), pp. 213-214; *UHC* (Paranavitana, S.,), p. 266; Mode, H., 1963, pp. 71-93; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 214-223. For dissentient views which stress the indigenous development of the Buddha image and suggest dates in the 2nd Century A. D. or earlier, see Devendra, D. T., 1957 pp. 31 ff. and Gunasinghe, S., 1956 and 1960.
[3] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 121-129.
[4] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 124-125.
[5] Dohanian, D. K., 1964, pp. 99-110, 116-120, etc.
[6] Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E., 1957, p. 50.
[7] Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E., 1964, p. 62.

say that Dohanian and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw have raised an issue which deserves careful consideration, particularly in the light of the tentative chronology of various architectural types that we have put forward in this study. Apart from the stylistic features of the Anurādhapura Period images, which Dohanian has treated at some length, the literary evidence has so far been the principal argument on which the earlier chronology of the Sinhalese Buddhas was based.

There are several references in the contemporary literature to stone images between the 4th and the 7th Century. It is, however, significant that many of these passages—though not all—pertain to a single, renowned figure, the *urusilāpaṭimā* or 'great-stone-image' which seems to have occupied a very special place in the Sinhalese tradition[1]—apparently on account of its great antiquity, its size and perhaps because it was of stone. The fact that it is ascribed to Devānampiyatissa in the 3rd Century B.C. suggests that its origin may have been unknown to the compiler of the Chronicle in the early 6th Century. Whatever images did exist in Ceylon before the 7th Century, the actual dating of the existing sculptures must be decided, ultimately, on the style of the images themselves.

There are, however, a few more definite indications concerning the age of certain *paṭimāgharas*. Epigraphical evidence from the image-house at Pankuliya and from Building A in the Anurādhapura Citadel and at Avukana places all these monuments in the 8th-9th Century. Building A in the citadel is a structure of fairly modest proportions (see fig. 76, and Pl. XVIII) but it displays a mature architectural character that must have had at least a century or two of previous development. These earlier forms are prefigured in the rather small and simple but substantially built shrine at the Kiribatvehera (see fig. 71). We may then, conjecturally, date this in the 6th or 7th Century, as it seems to be a type of image-house which lies halfway between the *gandhakuṭī* and the *geḍigē*. The Avukana temple is one of the largest in Ceylon. Its general character is one of severe austerity and its design is rather crude. It does not display quite the usual pattern of mouldings in its surviving stone walls, which provided a base for the brick superstructure. Altogether its architectural features stand in sharp contrast to the elaborately moulded brickwork of the *geḍigēs* in the Citadel and to the usual ornamentation of developed stone detailing in Anurādhapura. Thus we might speculate that the building at Avukana represents the earliest attempt at a monumental *geḍigē*.

The comparable shrine at Maligāvela seems to have been more carefully constructed. It could be of a date similar to that of the Avukana monument, but then later rather than earlier, i.e. the late 8th or 9th Century. Of similar dimensions is the Geḍigē in the Jetavanavihāra, (see fig. 77), which could also belong to the same time, unless it is a structure of the Polonnaruva Period.

As for the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharas*, the date of the example at Pankuliya merely shows us that the standard form had evolved by the 8th Century. Again, there must have been some history of previous development, covering perhaps two or three centuries, which takes us back to the period when the *gandhakuṭī* appeared in India.[2] There was an earlier shrine of similar design

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 122-124.

[2] Paranavitana's view, which we ourselves accepted in our earlier study of these temples (see Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, pp. 71-72), viz., that the image-houses in the Pācīnatissapabbata and at Mādirigiriya date from the 3rd or 4th Century A. D., now seems untenable. His argument is based on a 5th Century inscription in the Pācīnatissapabbata, the *Mahāvaṁsa* reference to the founding of this monastery in the 3rd Century A. D., the "archaic" character of its buildings and, specifically, the usual arrangement of moonstone and guardstones at the entrances to both these image-houses (see *ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 22-25; 1946, pp. 13-16). The literary evidence itself is of little consequence in such matters. The 5th Century epigraph certainly establishes that there was already a monastery at the Pācīnatissapabbata site in that early period, but whether we can also apply that date to the present remains is a matter of some uncertainty (see above, p. 81 n. 3). The peculiar arrangement of moonstone and guardstones—the outer edge of the moonstone is more or less in line with the guardstones, rather than projecting beyond them—is also found at Sīgiriya, which certainly belongs to the 5th-7th Century. It is possible that the original image-houses at Mādirigiriya and the Pācīnatissapabbata date from the 5th or 6th Century, but we know that the monastery at Mādirigiriya was restored in the Polonnaruva Period. Its image-house displays, especially in its internal arrangements, features characteristic of that period. Thus, it is likely that in its present form this shrine dates substantially from Polonnaruva times. The correspondence between the Pācīnatissapabbata shrine and that at Mādirigiriya is based on the similarity of the arrangement at the entrance, a factor scarcely sufficient to establish a date in the Early Anurādhapura Period for the image-house at Mādirigiriya. No definite date can as yet be attached to the building at the Pācīnatissapabbata but we can be fairly sure that it cannot be as early as the 3rd or 4th Century A. D.

but larger proportions beneath the present image-house at Pankuliya, which we may place tentatively between the 5th and the 7th Century. The very large and primitive *paṭimāghara* No. 40 in the Jetavanavihāra[1] and the original foundations of the image-houses in the Pācīnatissapabbata and at Mādirigiriya could probably also be assigned to this period. On the other hand, the structures at Puliyankulam and Toluvila of similar dimensions are of a fully evolved type and may well date from the 10th Century.[2] Thus we could assume that the Sinhalese *gandhakuṭī* image house was developed in Phase III and Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period.

The basic design of the Anurādhapura type continues into the Polonnaruva Period. In the 11th Century Aṭadāgē and the 12th Century Hātadāgē we have a progressive elaboration of this basic type culminating in the stone-lined highly ornamented form of the latter (see fig. 139). Thus, we have arrived at a conjectural chronology for the *paṭimāghara* which tallies with the evolutionary pattern noticed in other architectural forms.

The Sinhalese *paṭimāghara* corresponds in its basic ground plan to a type of temple which is wide-spread in the classic architectural traditions of Southern Asia and even further afield.[3] Its incorporation in the local monastic architecture of Ceylon depends largely on the constructional methods employed, the architectural details and, probably, on the design of its lost superstructure. That the *gandhakuṭī* plan was not entirely natural to the indigenous tradition is witnessed by the fact that it seems to have been replaced by a more domestic, rectangular or square shape (see for instance Pls. XL, XLI, XLIV, XLV) between the 16th and the 19th Century, when Sinhalese architecture reverted to its organic roots, to a more indigenous, rather than an international, character. However, it does not seem to have been entirely lost and re-emerges from time to time in something very similar to its original form (see Pls. XLII, XLIII).

[1] See above, p. 200-201.

[2] See above, p. 81 n. 3.

[3] See below, pp. 374-375.

CHAPTER SIX

ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS

In its germinal philosophy Buddhism stressed that salvation could only be achieved by the intellectual efforts and spiritual discipline of the individual. It counterposed a kind of humanism to the theism and ritual of the Vedic and Brahmanical tradition. However, in practice it soon developed those features which we normally associate with other religions, such as an organised body of monks, on the one hand, and theistic systems, rituals, metaphysics, etc., on the other. In doing so, Buddhism implicitly acknowledged the need for the collective organisation of those dedicated to the observance and preservation of its doctrines and its spiritual disciplines, as well as the necessity to create the institutions and practices which could transmit these doctrines and disciplines to the society at large. In most other religious traditions these functions are usually held together and motivated by a body of mystical beliefs and practices which are vested in the rituals of the religion, in the form of worship, prayer and other magical and symbolical acts. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this ritual aspect and its iconographic and architectural instruments were not lacking in Sinhalese Buddhism. In fact, they played a central role in the development of the religion and its architecture. However, by virtue of the prevailing Theravādin traditions of Southern Buddhism, at least the formal influence of the original humanistic or individualistic orientation was retained both in the separation of the ritual elements from the purely monastic and didactic aspects and in the avoidance of any form of congregational worship. Thus, those specialised practitioners of the religion, the *bhikkhus*, did not directly intervene in the act of worship or devotion between the worshipper and the object of his veneration.

This did not mean, however, that there were no religious assemblies or gatherings where the *Saṅgha*, or the *Saṅgha* and the laity, met together for a monastic or religious purpose. There were a number of such occasions, usually organised by the monasteries themselves and sometimes by the state or, as in modern times, by private individuals. These were in response, as it were, to the recognition that there was a whole area of religious observance that lay between the ritual, on the one hand, and the purely residential organisation of the *bhikkhus*, on the other. The most important aspect of this was the doctrinal and disciplinary organisation of the body of individual *bhikkhus*, the constitution of the organised and united body of monks, the *Saṅgha*. Of almost equal importance to the organisation and preservation of the religion was the transmission of the doctrine and its practice—embodied and exemplified in the life of the monk and of the monastery—to the laity. It was to serve these dual purposes that religious assemblies were held in the monasteries. Consequently, these gatherings were of two types: those connected with purely ecclesiastical activities, where the monks of one or several monasteries came together over matters connected with the Doctrine (*Dhamma*) or with the Monastic Rule (*Vinaya*)—including activities such as meditation and study, which were performed either individually or in groups; and those in which the monks administered to the doctrinal and spiritual needs of the laity. To this we may add a further category of activities, not unconnected with the monastic rule but of a more secular character, in which the *bhikkhus* and lay officials met to discuss the administrative affairs of the monastery.

These various ecclesiastical and organisational requirements led to the development of appropriate architectural forms. Contemporary literature records a number of building types which could be included in the general category of ecclesiastical structures—*uposathaghara*, *padhānaghara*, *caṅkamanaghara*, *potthakālaya* and many *sālās* or assembly halls, such as *dhammasālā*, *catussālā*, *upaṭṭhānasālā* and *sannipātasālā*.[1] Unfortunately, amongst the remains at Anurādhapura and elsewhere, we can only distinguish two main structural types—the *uposathaghara*, which is the sabbath-house or chapter-house, and a *sālā* of uncertain identity, to which we have applied the rather general term *upaṭṭhānasālā*.

The *padhānaghara* can no longer be identified as an isolated building type, although the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* or meditation monastery is one of the major monastery types in the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period. Similarly, the *caṅkamana*, or ambulatory terrace, is a regular feature of these meditation monasteries but can scarcely be called a *caṅkamanaghara* or meditation house. A solitary example of such a building has been noticed, however, in the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* complex at Araṅkālē.[2]

The library or *potthakālaya* is mentioned in the Chronicles, but only from the Polonnaruva Period onwards. There is no doubt, though, from the extensive literary activities which are known to have taken place in the monasteries of Anurādhapura, that large collections of manuscripts must have been stored in these *vihāras* and *pariveṇas*. It seems likely that there were special rooms in the major *pāsādas* or the *uposathaghara* for this purpose. In modern Ceylonese monasteries, a separate library building is a rare and often a very recent feature. There is no Sinhalese equivalent of the Thai *ho trai* or the Burmese *pitakattaik*.[3]

Most of the other building types mentioned in ancient literature, such as the *dhammasālā*, *catussālā* and *sannipātasālā*, may well exist amongst the ruined monuments of Anurādhapura, but those features which once distinguished them from each other seem to have been so completely obliterated that we can no longer identify them. In effect, we are left with the *uposathaghara*, or chapter-house, with its usually monumental size and distinctive architectural character, and the somewhat mixed, general category of assembly halls, brought together under the term *upaṭṭhānasālā*. This corresponds in general to the arrangements in a modern Ceylonese monastery where the two major ecclesiastical buildings are the *uposathaghara* and the *dhammasālā*. These modern *dhammasālās* are distinctive structures, usually with three-tiered roofs, four entrances and a central dais, corresponding in these two latter features to the *upaṭṭhānasālās* of the Anurādhapura Period (see Pls. XLVII, XLVIII). The modern *dhammasālā* often serves as a multi-purpose building, Basically a preaching hall, it is also used for the purpose of the *paritta* ceremony, the ceremonial recitation of sacred verses or *paritta* (*pirit*), and often serves as a monastery school. The only clearly identified example of an ancient *dhammasālā* amongst the surviving *upaṭṭhānasālās* is the royal preaching hall in Polonnaruva, the Niśśaṁkadānavinōdamaṇḍapaya (see fig. 91).

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[1] See above, pp. 27-28.

[2] The structure in question has not been recorded in any published account of this monastic complex, but was pointed out to me by Mr. Roland Silva. It is a narrow, elongated platform with a low stone basement. Postholes for wooden columns placed along the periphery of this basement must have once supported a light superstructure.

[3] For an interesting account of Burmese libraries and books, which helps us to visualise the collections in the Sinhalese monasteries, see Quigly, E. P., 1956; see also Luce, G. H., 1969-70, Vol. I, pp. 253-254.

UPOSATHAGHARA

The *uposathaghara* was a central architectural feature in a monastery and one of the few ecclesiastical buildings that are still to be found in the monastic remains of Anurādhapura. It was the building in which the monks assembled on the main *uposatha* days of the new moon and the full moon to observe various ecclesiastical acts connected with the *Vinaya*, in particular the recitation of the *pātimokkha*, the rules of conduct, and the associated ceremony of confession. From the *Mahāvaṁsa* description of the Lohapāsāda, the *uposathaghara* of the Mahāvihāra,[1] and from the structural remains at Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, it would appear that the *uposathaghara* also served as a major monastic residence. The *uposathaghara* (Sinh. *pōyagē*) remains a feature of modern Ceylonese temples (see Pl. XLVI), although it no longer retains its position of pre-eminence or any distinctive architectural character, the *uposatha* ceremony itself no longer being observed with any regularity.[2]

There are a number of references to *uposathagharas* in the Chronicles,[3] but the most exhaustive description is that of the Lohapāsāda of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī:

> The pāsāda was four-sided, (measuring) on each side a hundred cubits, and even so much in height. In this most beautiful of palaces there were nine stories, and in each story a hundred window-chambers. All the chambers were overlaid with silver and their coral vedikās were adorned with manifold precious stones, gay with various gems were the lotus flowers on the (vedikās) and they (the vedikās) were surrounded with rows of little silver bells.
>
> A thousand well-arranged chambers were in the pāsāda, overlaid, with various gems and adorned with windows. And since he heard of Vessavaṇa's chariot which served as a car for the women, he had a gem-pavilion set up in the middle (of the palace) fashioned in like manner. It was adorned with pillars consisting of precious stones, on which were figures of lions, tigers and so forth, and shapes of devatās; a bordering of pearl network ran around the edge of the pavilion and thereon was a coral vedikā of the kind that has been described above.
>
> Within the pavilion, gaily adorned with the seven gems, stood a shining beauteous throne of ivory with a seat of mountain-crystal, and in the ivory back (was fashioned) a sun in gold, a moon in silver, and stars in pearls, and lotus-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-tales in the same place within a festoon of gold.
>
> On the exceedingly beautiful throne covered with costly cushions was placed a beautiful fan of ivory, gleaming (magnificently), and a white parasol with a coral foot, resting on mountain-crystal and having a silver staff, shone forth over the throne. On it, depicted in the seven gems, were the eight auspicious figures and rows of figures of beasts with jewels and pearls in between; and rows of little silver bells were hung upon the edge of the parasol. Palace, parasol, throne and pavilion were beyond price.
>
> Costly beds and chairs, according to rank, and carpets and coverlets of great price did he command them to spread about. The rinsing-vessel and the ladle (belonging thereto) were even of gold; what need then to speak of the other utensils in the palace? Surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided with four gateways the pāsāda gleamed in its magnificence like the hall in the heaven of the thirty-three (gods). The pāsāda was covered over with plates of copper, and thence came its name 'Brazen palace'.
>
> When the Lohapāsāda was ready the king assembled the brotherhood, and the brotherhood came together as at the consecration-festival of the Maricavaṭṭi (vihāra). Those bhikkhus who were yet simple folk stood on the first story, those learned in the tipiṭaka on the second, but those who had entered on the path of salvation and the others (stood) each on one of the third and higher stories, but the arahants stood on those four stories that were highest of all.[4]

[1] *Mhv.* 27.24-46.
[2] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 133-134.
[3] *Mhv.* 34.30-31, 35.85-87, 37.16-17, 108 etc.
[4] *Mhv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., 1960, pp. 184-186.

We may compare this with the much briefer description of the Baddhasīmāpāsāda of Parākramabāhu I:

> (He) also (built) the twelve-storeyed Uposatha-house which bore the name of Baddhasīmāpāsāda, which was furnished with numbers of turrets, with buildings containing apartments and halls and with cells as dwelling-places.[1]

We can gather from these accounts that these two buildings, closely resembling each other, were monumental, multi-storeyed edifices with numerous cells and apartments and congregational halls. The colourful description of the Lohapāsāda is probably over-written but in its essential details, largely dealing with the interior furnishings and ornamentation, it says nothing that we cannot apply to contemporary architecture and architectural ornament, if not of the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī at least of the period during which the *Mahāvaṁsa* was written. This account is preceded by an interesting description of the plan of the building as being a copy of a celestial palace drawn 'with red arsenic upon a linen cloth', brought back from the heavens by a delegation of eight monks expressly sent there on the orders of the king.[2] This provides us with useful evidence of architectural methods and of the importation, probably from India, of novel designs. This is of particular significance here, as buildings of this storeyed type—resembling in principle the classic Indian *saṅghārāma*, preserved for us in its external aspect in the Arjuna and Dharmarāja Rathas at Māmallapuram—could not have been a purely local development. The tiered, pyramidal form is familiar enough in Indian architecture and its earliest appearance in that tradition is associated with Buddhist buildings.[3]

From the description of the Lohapāsāda we are able to extract some of the essential features of an *uposathaghara*. It was a square building, each side measuring about 150 ft. ('a hundred cubits'), with four entrances. It had nine storeys, each equipped with windows and altogether with 'a thousand', that is to say a large number, of cells or chambers. The allocation of these apartments was on a hierarchical basis, the simplest and least learned monks below and the *arhants* at the top. In the centre of the *pāsāda* was an elaborate pavilion with an expensive, highly ornamented throne. The significance of this throne is not explained and we are not in a position to say whether it was, as the description might suggest, an aniconic symbol representing the Buddha or the seat of the high priest or chairman of the assembly—or, in fact, whether it performed both functions at the same time. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Duṭṭhagāmaṇī speaks of his attempt to preach in the Lohapāsāda seated 'in the (preacher's) chair in the midst of the brotherhood'.[4] Certainly, in other types of assembly hall in Anurādhapura a central stone seat or platform seems to indicate the 'high chair' of the chairman who presided over the assembly.[5] In the modern Ceylonese preaching hall (*dhammasālā*), the monk delivering the sermon invariably occupies a special elevated seat. In the *paritta* (or *pirit*) ceremony, the ceremonial recitation of sacred verses, the monks are accommodated in a special and usually temporary structure, traditionally though not always set up in the centre of the hall. A rare example of a painted, 19th Century *pirit maṇḍapaya* in the *dhammasālā* at Mihiripänna, near Galle (see Pl. XLVII) may give us some idea of the 'gem-pavilion' in the Lohapāsāda.

[1] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 108.
[2] *Mhv.* 27.9-20.
[3] Brown, P., 1959, p. 80.
[4] *Mhv.* 32.42-44.
[5] See below, pp. 237-238, 242-244.

The internal arrangements of the *uposathaghara* are not very clearly described in the *Mahāvaṁsa* account. Although we may assume that there was a central assembly area, as in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda at Polonnaruva (see fig. 78), it is not mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. There is, however, sufficient evidence in this description and in the remains of the Baddhasīmāpāsāda to suggest that internal chambers were placed along the periphery of the building, thereby leaving a large open space in the centre. Whether this open space existed only on the ground floor or whether it ran through the height of the building, either as a continuous space or 'well' or repeated on every floor, it is no longer possible to say from the literary evidence or the structural remains.

Percy Brown's account of the evolution of the storeyed *saṅghārāma*, as represented in the *rathas* at Māmallapuram, might well be applied to the Sinhalese *uposathaghara*:

> In shape and appearance these vihara rathas seem to have been evolved out of a building composed of cells arranged around a square courtyard, the inner court being afterwards covered in with a flat roof on pillars. In the course of time, as the community of monks occupying the monastery increased another storey was added, and, finally, still another...[1]

It would seem that the storeyed *uposathaghara* in Ceylon (which from its inception was as much a residential as an ecclesiastical building) was a similar type of structure, probably imported in an evolved form from the mainland and translated into the local tradition with its own building styles and techniques. The pyramidal type of superstructure with diminishing tiers or storeys and multiple roofs is well established in Sinhalese architecture.[2]

Each of the four major *vihāras* of Anurādhapura has a monumental structure, much larger than any other in the monastic complex, usually situated to the south-west or the south-east of the main *stūpa* (see fig. 13). It is generally agreed that these are in fact the *uposathagharas*—the 'chapter-house' or 'priory' as Bell called it—of the respective monasteries. Although no direct evidence exists to support this identification, in a process of elimination no other identity presents itself which we might reasonably ascribe to these unique buildings.

There is a considerable degree of correspondence between the major *uposathagharas* which have survived. They fall conveniently into two types, the one based on a square ground plan and the other a monumental version of the rectangular *pāsāda*. In the first category we have the Lohapāsāda in Anurādhapura and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda in Polonnaruva, as well as the much smaller 'Priory' at Vessagiriya (see figs. 78, 79). In the other catagory are two almost identical buildings in the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra, a much ruined structure of a less distinct design in the Mirisavāṭivihāra, and a large *pāsāda* partially surrounded by cloisters in the Thūpārāma (see figs. 80-83, Pls. XXI, XXII). To this we may add a number of *pāsādas* of the conventional shape and dimensions in the *pabbata vihāras* and *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* which, as we have suggested earlier, were possibly the *uposathagharas* of these establishments.[3]

For purposes of comparison, the essential features of the monumental *uposathagharas* may be conveniently summarised as follows (all measurements are given in ft. and ins.; the figures in brackets are approximations or conjectural):

[1] Brown, P., 1959, p. 80.
[2] See below, pp. 362 ff.
[3] See above, pp. 75-76, 93-94, and also below, pp. 232-233, 267-271.

	Length	*Width*	*Columniation*	*Frontal Orientation*	*Location in relation to stūpa*
Mahāvihāra Lohapāsāda	(232)	(231)	1600	(north)	south-east
Polonnaruva Baddhasīmāpāsāda	113	106	108	east	south-east
(incl. cloisters)	203	(200)	—	—	—
Vessagiriya 'Priory'	54	50	(36)	north	south (in relation to centre of mon.)
Abhayagiri Ratanapāsāda	(138)	(66)	(268)	east	south-west
(bay)	(63)	(30)			
Jetavana Monastery A	109	60	176	north	south-east
(bay)	(60)	(25)			
Mirisavāṭiya Monastery A	80	(54)	62	north	west
(bay)	?	?			
Thūpārāma Piriveṇa A	87.6	57.6	60	east	south-west

We may notice certain rough correspondences in dimension, but, more significantly, there appears to be a clear relationship, at least in the Anurādhapura monuments, between the orientation of the *pāsādas* and their location in relation to the central *stūpa*. Those which face east are consistently placed to the south-west of the *stūpa* and those facing north to the south-east. The single exception is in the Mirisavāṭivihāra where the *pāsāda* faces north and lies almost directly west of the *stūpa*. These correspondences help us to establish the connection between these structures, only two of which are definitely identified as *uposathagharas*.

Pre-eminent amongst these was the Lohapāsāda which, as the *uposathaghara* of the Mahāvihāra, was one of the principal historic monuments of Ceylonese Buddhism, together with the Bodhi-Tree and the Mahāthūpa. Ostensibly founded by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī, in the 1st Century B.C., an earlier and somewhat contradictory tradition in the *Mahāvaṁsa* attributes the original structure to the first days of Buddhism in Ceylon, in the time of Mahinda and Devānaṁpiyatissa.[1] Whatever the truth of the matter, it is of little relevance to us at the moment—even if the slightest traces of those earlier buildings remain they must be buried well below the surface. What is more important is that these traditions sustain the venerable ancestry of an institution that was the fountain-head of Sinhalese monasticism.

The present remains of the Lohapāsāda, the 'veritable forest of pillars' lying some hundred yards to the north-east of the Bodhi-Tree, give us less information about the *uposathaghara* than the poetic description in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (see figs. 3, 13). Paranavitana's excavations in 1949 were able to establish that the 1600 columns grouped together in a square of 232 ft. by 231 ft., in forty rows of forty pillars each, are the remains of the building constructed in the reign of Parākramabāhu I in the 12th Century.[2] As Paranavitana points out, it is possible that its original position was slightly to the north of the present location. Literary evidence suggests that the arrangements of the major monastic institutions in the Mahāvihāra were such that the Lohapāsāda was 'balanced' with the *sannipātasālā*. This *sannipātasālā* has now been identified,

[1] *Mhv.* 15.36-37, 206. The reference to the Mahāmucalamālaka which Mahinda designated the future site of the Lohapāsāda gives us an insight into the early practice of establishing open terraces or *mālakas* demarcated by ritual boundary marks or *sīmā*-stones (thereby, *sīmā-mālaka*) for religious purposes. Temporary structures designed to give protection from the weather on these open terraces may have, as in this instance, given rise later to more permanent edifices. The use of *sīmās* can be seen in a number of buildings in Anurādhapura and is not restricted to *uposathagharas*, although the most elaborate examples are from the Baddhasīmāpāsāda in Polonnaruva. The practice of demarcating the ritual orbit of a building by means of *sīmās* has survived in the modern *pōyagē*.
[2] *ASCAR* 1949, pp. 11-12.

though not with any certainty, with the so-called Ransimālaka,[1] which lies off the north-west corner of the Lohapāsāda across the sacred road connecting the Bodhi to the Mahāthūpa (see figs. 3, 85). If the Lohapāsāda was placed slightly to the north of its present site, a line drawn between its centre and that of the *sannipātasālā* would intersect the sacred road exactly at right angles. The discovery of an old pond underneath a corner of the present structure and the absence of any other signs of earlier remains beneath seem to support the suggestion that the Lohapāsāda was shifted from its original position. No proper excavations, however, have been carried out at this site.

The continuing history of the Lohapāsāda is detailed from time to time in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's original edifice was destroyed by fire in the reign of his successor Saddhātissa (137-119 B.C.) and rebuilt as a seven-storeyed structure.[2] Khallāṭanāga (109-103 B.C.) is said to have built thirty-two *pāsādas* around the Lohapāsāda,[3] perhaps anticipating the cloister arrangement we find over a millennium later in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda. Subsequently, it was rebuilt in the reign of Sirināga I (195-219 A.D.) as a five-storeyed building.[4] Abhayanāga (236-244) built a pavilion in its courtyard and under Goṭhābhaya (253-266) and Jeṭṭhatissa I (266-276) the main structure was reconstructed with seven storeys.[5] This was completely destroyed in the time of Mahāsena (276-303) and rebuilt soon after by Sirimeghavaṇṇa (303-331).[6] From time to time, the *uposathaghara* served a number of purposes. The ground floor had been regularly used as a preaching hall from the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī onwards.[7] Aggabodhi II (608-618) temporarily stored the collar-bone relic from the Thūpārāma in a strongly guarded inner room of the Lohapāsāda.[8] The last record from the Anurādhapura Period refers to the restoration by Sena II (853-887), after the Pāṇḍyan invasion in the 9th Century, when it served as a residence for thirty-two monks and a golden image was placed in it.[9] The final reconstruction of the Lohapāsāda was undertaken by Parākramabāhu I over a hundred years after its destruction by the Coḷas:

> The Lohapāsāda destroyed by the Coḷas—which measured in every direction one hundred cubits, one hundred in length and breadth and as much in height, which was adorned with many hundreds of apartments, with fine turrets and with rows of cells and which had several storeys, whose embellishment called forth admiration —the Ruler of men restored by raising again its thousand and six hundred pillars.[10]

These 1600 pillars, obviously gathered together from a number of other structures, and the decayed plinth is all that is now left of Parākramabāhu's monument.

This long record of restoration and reconstruction of a single edifice gives us an idea of the extensive building activities which went on in Anurādhapura over a period of nearly fifteen centuries, from Devānaṁpiyatissa to Parākramabāhu. It must be kept in mind that what is recorded here is not necessarily the whole story. There must have been many other chapters in the history of the Lohapāsāda which did not attract the chronicler's attention. But it is

[1] *ASCAR* 1949, p. 12; 1959, p. 35; see also below, p. 235.
[2] *Mhv.* 33.6-7.
[3] *Mhv.* 33.30-31.
[4] *Mhv.* 36.25.
[5] *Mhv.* 36.52-53, 102-103, 124-125.
[6] *Mhv.* 37.11, 59, 62.
[7] *Mhv.* 32.42-44; Rahula, W., 1956, p. 129.
[8] *Mhv.* 42.53.
[9] *Mhv.* 51.69-72.
[10] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 114.

revealing even as it stands. One conclusion that we may draw from these accounts is that the constant renewal of an important edifice such as this confirms the view, often expressed in this thesis and elsewhere, that the architecture of Anurādhapura was mainly of perishable materials. The account of the fire which destroyed the building in the reign of Saddhātissa and the other recorded instances of destruction or damage may not have been the only reasons for the renewal of the structure. We know from the example of old temples and monasteries in countries such as Japan, Thailand, Burma, and Kerala that buildings in wood and other perishable materials are constantly reconstructed, often as exact copies of the edifice which is replaced.

However, we do not know whether the present square ground plan of the Lohapāsāda preserves a longstanding tradition in its design or whether it is an innovation by Parākramabāhu's architects. The square design of the *uposathaghara* is unusual and restricted to the Lohapāsāda in Anurādhapura, the Baddhasīmāpāsāda in Polonnaruva and a much smaller structure at Vessagiriya, the 'Priory'. The revivalist tendencies of the Polonnaruva builders may have brought back, in these two major *uposathagharas*, an ancient design which had been preserved throughout the centuries in the Lohapāsāda, or rather in whatever remained of the 9th Century version which had been destroyed by the Coḷas. As Geiger observes, there is still some evidence in the remains of the Lohapāsāda to suggest that it was, in its latest phase, a tiered, pyramidal building of the same type as that implied in the *Mahāvaṁsa* description of Duṭṭhagāmaṇī's original edifice—'As the innermost pillars are the strongest, and had thus the heaviest weight to bear, we may suppose the building to have been a stepped pyramid'.[1] Of course, the present remains only permit speculation. We are on firmer ground when we compare the present Lohapāsāda with the much better-preserved Baddhasīmāpāsāda.

Briefly, the Baddhasīmāpāsāda (see fig. 78)[2] consists of a nearly square structure, 113 ft. by 106 ft., surrounded on all four sides by uninterrupted cellular cloisters, the whole complex standing on a high terrace or platform, 203 ft. 6 ins. by 200 ft. The central edifice is separated from the cloisters by an average distance of 30 ft. The cloisters have forty-eight cells and had four entrances in the centre of each side, until the north entrance was subsequently bricked-up, turning it into an extra cell. The cells vary in size from the largest, 24 ft. by 9 ft., to the smallest, 6 ft. by 9 ft. Slightly off centre in the space enclosed by the cloisters stands the *pāsāda*, constructed, like the cloisters, of substantial brick masonry. Its outer walls are about 7 ft. thick. Aligned with the entrances to the cloisters are four, staired doorways which lead into an enclosed hall, 60 ft. by 57 ft. 6 ins. Surrounding the hall on all four sides, that is to say along the inner periphery of the *pāsāda*, are a series of cells. This design is anticipated in other buildings of the Anurādhapura Period, especially in the central *pāsāda* of the *padhānaghara pariveṇa* and in the so-called hospital monasteries.[3] It is strongly reminiscent of the Indian *saṅghārāma* with its central hall or courtyard and surrounding cells. There are eleven cells in all, the place of the twelfth in the south-west corner[4] being occupied by the staircase which led to the upper storeys. These cells, with the exception of one adjoining the staircase, are of three uniform sizes, being either 18 ft. by 9 ft. 6 ins., 16 ft. 9 ins. by 9 ft. 6 ins. or 9 ft. 9 ins. square. The three small corner cells (four if not for the stairs) intercommunicate with the largest cells. They are

[1] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. I, 1953, p. 3 n.
[2] *ASCAR* 1911-12, pp. 82-85.
[3] See above p. 121 and below p. 250.
[4] If, by analogy with the adjacent Laṅkātilaka temple, we assume that the Baddhasīmāpāsāda 'faces' east, then the location of the staircase in the south-west corner is in keeping with the schematic positioning of staircases noticed elsewhere (see below, p. 256-257).

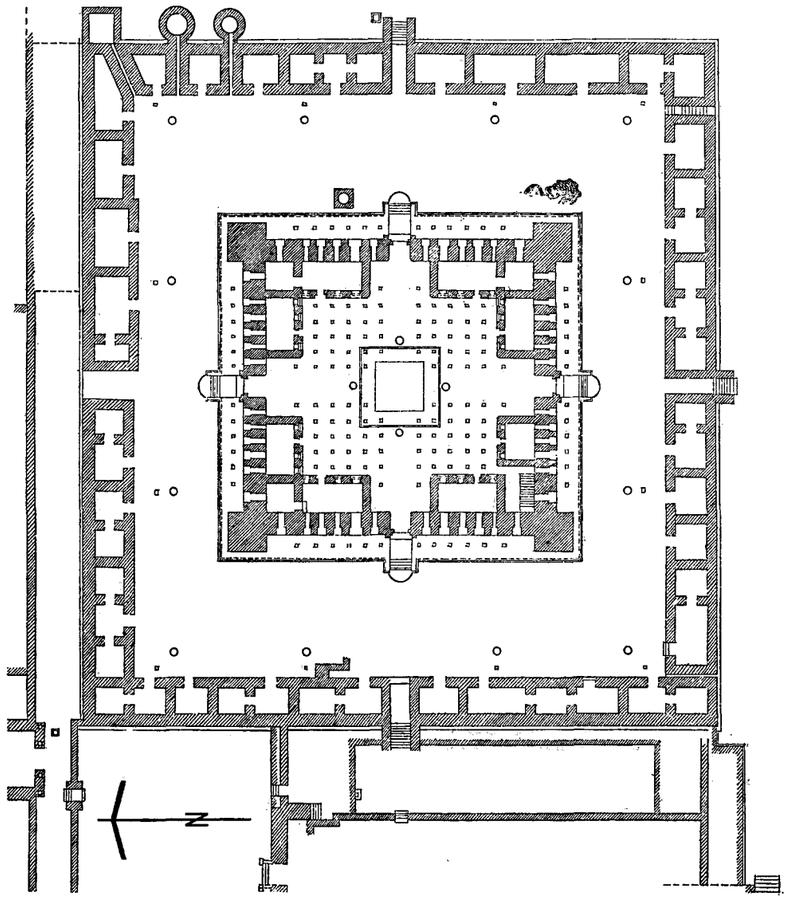


Fig. 78. Baddhasīmāpāsāda, Polonnaruva

all lit by windows in the outer wall, four each in the larger cells and two in the smaller. The long, narrow windows have pointed, corbelled arches.

The hall is columned with four uniform groups of pillars, 108 in all, which together with the masonry walls supported the upper storeys and the roof. The discovery of small flat tiles in the building reveals that the tiled roofs of Sinhalese architecture were not dispensed with even in an edifice of this size. That the building had upper storeys is recorded in the Chronicles. The staircase and vestigial remains of the brick masonry of these upper storeys confirm this. The existence of what Bell rightly supposes to be a 'lean-to roof' above and outside the windows of the ground floor is established by the row of pillars along the wide gangway

above the *adhiṣṭhāna*. This *adhiṣṭhāna* is 4 ft. 6 ins. high and displays the typical mouldings of the Late Anurādhapura Period, thus resuming the conventional motifs of the Sinhalese tradition.[1]

A particularly interesting feature in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda is the existence of two concentric ranges of *sīmās* placed one behind the other and spaced out around the *pāsāda*. These 'boundary' stones were and still are an essential feature of an *uposathaghara*,[2] and at the Baddhasīmāpāsāda they take a most elaborate form. Each range has twelve stones in all and the area they delimit is, in each case, an exact square of 148 ft. and 158 ft., respectively. The inner row of *sīmās* is the taller and the more elaborate, nearly 6 ft. high, with a square shaft, an ornate neck and a heavily moulded capital supporting a lotus, a full-bellied vase and topped by an *āmalaka*. The stones of the outer row are about half this height, with an octagonal shaft but simpler, though similar, capitals.

In the centre of the hall is a two-tiered dais, each tier 1 ft. high and measuring 24 ft. and 15 ft. square, respectively. The dais has no decorative mouldings but the three pillars at each corner "may have", as Bell suggests, "sustained a canopy".

Thus, in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda we have the substantial remains of a fully developed form of *uposathaghara* with its multiple roofs, its storeyed and possibly tiered superstructure, a hall of

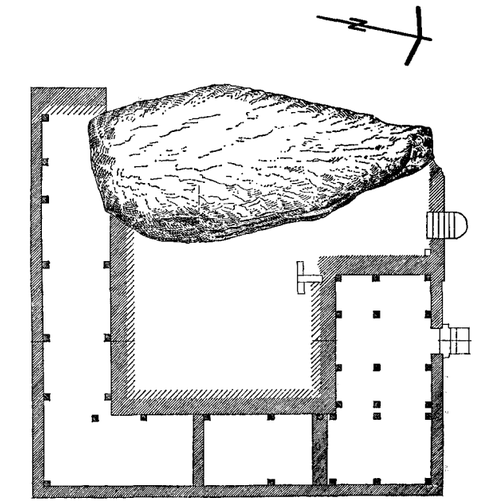


Fig. 79. 'Priory', Vessagiriya

assembly, a central dais and internal residential chambers. The plan impresses us with the logic and symmetry with which it solves the multiple problems of accommodation, assembly, circulation, ventilation and light. It displays the accumulated knowledge of Ceylonese architectural practice over the centuries.

What is exceptional in the Lohapāsāda and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda is the square ground plan. This is not unusual in other large *sālā* types of building, but is unknown in the surviving examples of *uposathagharas* in the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods, with the single

[1] See Paranavitana, S., 1954 (1), pp. 24-25.
[2] See above, p. 219 n. 1.

exception of the so-called 'Priory' at Vessagiriya. We have seen that, although the Lohapāsāda and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda are from the Polonnaruva Period, there is some reason to believe that they look back to an earlier prototype. It is likely that the 'Priory', a small,square hall amongst the remains in the southern sector of the Vessagiriya complex (i.e. 'Rock C, South'), is a version of such a prototype from the Anurādhapura Period (see figs. 12, 79).[1] This structure is unusual in that it is built against a large boulder, which seems to have been incorporated in the hall, itself. On plan, it is a square monument, 54 ft. by 50 ft., with a large central platform or room surrounded on three sides by an enclosed passage partially subdivided into separate chambers. The fourth, or western, side is occupied by the boulder. This seems to have provided some support for the superstructure and probably also served as a foundation for upper chambers. The grooves on which these upper chambers were built can still be seen on the boulder. The north-western section of the central platform has been extended along the

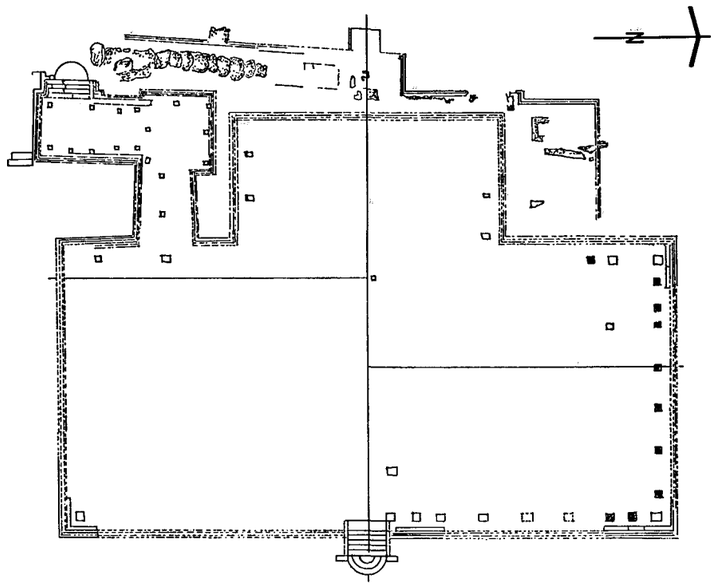


Fig. 80. Ratanapāsāda, Abhayagirivihāra

boulder to the front of the building. Both this extension and the enclosed passage have their own separate entrances on the north. This northern orientation and the location of the monument in the southern sector of the monastic complex is a feature which it shares with many other major *uposathagharas*.

Bell's identification of this edifice as the 'priory'[2]—i.e. the chapter-house or *uposathaghara*—of the Vessagiriya monastery is quite in keeping with its form and layout. In the basic principles of its plan it is no less than a smaller version of the Lohapāsāda and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda. In so far as the remains at Vessagiriya often display an earlier and simpler character than many other monasteries in Anurādhapura, we may take this to be an example of an early type of *uposathaghara*, although the actual structure itself may not be much earlier than the 7th or 8th Century.

[1] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 5.
[2] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 5.

In contrast to this square plan, the *uposathagharas* of the three other major monasteries in Anurādhapura, all ostensibly of a fully developed Late Anurādhapura Period type, have a common design in the familiar elongated *pāsāda* plan, with the addition of a bay at the back of the building. Not unexpectedly, the largest of these is the so-called Ratanapāsāda, one of the most impressive edifices of the great Abhayagirivihāra (see figs. 6, 80).[1] Familiarly known as 'the Elephant Stables' in the 19th Century, it was Burrows who first suggested that it was 'a large durbar hall or monastery'.[2] Several decades later it was excavated by Ayrton who argued very convincingly that this ruined structure was probably the famous Ratanapāsāda,[3] often mentioned in the Chronicles and also in an inscription of Mahinda IV (956-972) as one of the dominant architectural features of the Abhayagirivihāra. The inscription, found in the grounds of the *vihāra*, not far from the monument itself, describes the Ratanapāsāda in the grandest of metaphors:

> . . . there rises in splendour the Ruvan-maha-pahā surrounded by the noble Parivēṇas, like unto the golden Mēru centred by the Kuḷa-gal; where around [the residences of] the four fraternities is shed the effulgence of the shrine of the image of the Lord of Sages, like the lustre of the Ruvan-pav around the abodes of the four regent gods; where dwell bands of scholars directing their wisdom to great literary works and adorning the Abayaturā-maha-sā, just as a flight of *garuḍas* hovers with widespread wing over rows of serpents on the Himālayan range; which resounds with the voice of those versed in the scriptures, expounding the Dharma; which is adorned by virtuous men as by mines of gems; where flourish like unto an assemblage of coral tendrils numbers of *Śakya-śramaṇas* endowed with the virtues of temperance, contentment and religious austerity; whose broad and white ramparts rise aloft like the waves (of the ocean); which waxes with the offerings to the Lord of Sages; where frequent various teachers of eminence, as the great fishes *Timi* and *Timiṅgala* [gambol in the sea]; and over which [Abhayagiri-vihāra] presides the Head of the *Dhammaruci* [fraternity], just as the sea-god [over the sea].[4]

There is, of course, no direct evidence to identify the present remains with the ancient Ratanapāsāda, nor to establish that this building and its counterparts in the Jetavanavihāra and the Mirisavāṭivihāra were the *uposathagharas* of these monasteries. They are, however, the only structures of an identical pattern common to all three *vihāras* which answer to the basic requirements of the *uposathaghara*; that is to say, large enough to provide both a congregational hall and residential apartments, with substantial columns and other evidence such as staircases indicating upper storeys. There is also some evidence to suggest that the term 'Ratanapāsāda' (and its alternative forms 'Ruvanpahā' and 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa') was applied to these monumental buildings, including perhaps the square type represented by the Lohapāsāda.[5] There is no doubt that these monumental *pāsādas* were a special type of structure occupying a pre-eminent position amongst the monastic institutions of each *vihāra*, just as the Lohapāsāda and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda do in their respective monasteries. Until such time as there appears good reason

[1] *ASCM* I, pp. 1-14.
[2] Burrows, S. M., 1886, p. 3.
[3] *ASCM* I, pp. 13-14.
[4] *EZ* I, p. 226.
[5] See below, pp. 227-230.

to question this line of argument, we may identify these monuments as *uposathagharas*, a hypothesis which meets with general agreement amongst Ceylonese archaeologists.

The Ratanapāsāda, although of a different shape, covers about the same area as the Baddhasīmāpāsāda.[1] Its pillars have largely been despoiled in recent times but from the remaining pillar stumps and the massive blocks of masonry in which the pillars were embedded Ayrton calculated that it had 268 pillars in all. The nine remaining stone columns are 22 ft. long, 6 ft. of which is embedded in the masonry foundations. The tops of these columns are deeply notched to take the timbers of the superstructure. There are no signs, now, of internal divisions, but fragments of glazed tiles found in the excavation debris suggest a colourful tiled roof.

The bay at the back of the building is an integral part of the main structure. The *pāsāda* faces east and attached to its south-west corner is an L-shaped extension which both Burrows and Ayrton interpreted as the staircase leading to the upper floors. The pillars of this extension 'grow in height' as they progress towards the building suggesting an upward slope or incline.[2] When taken together with the fact that, according to convention, the staircase in an eastward oriented structure would be in the south-west, the purpose of this L-shaped passage is clear. That this is of a somewhat later date than the main building is suggested by the difference in the base-mouldings: though both are of the usual type, those of the staircase are smaller and simpler.

A single guardstone of the most ornate *nāgarāja* type still remains in situ at the main entrance to the *pāsāda*. Directly opposite this entrance and across the modern road which passes in front of it is the entrance pavilion to the precinct of the Ratanapāsāda. This pavilion itself is a substantial structure whose extremely tall monolithic columns suggest that it probably had upper storeys.

Ayrton has summarised the history of the Ratanapāsāda as recorded in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[3] According to this chronicle, it was founded in the 2nd Century A.D. by Kaniṭṭhatissa (164-192). However, in the course of his excavations Ayrton unearthed an earlier structure beneath the present Ratanapāsāda, with an inscription of Gajabāhu I (112-134) which definitively fixes the date of this early building.

Gajabāhu was one of the most dynamic rulers of the 2nd Century. His historical importance is scarcely reflected in the two short paragraphs to which he is relegated in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. In the architectural sphere, his major achievement was to turn the original Abhayagiri *stūpa* into a monument of colossal proportions. If this is an index to his building activities during a long reign of twenty-two years, we may well conjecture that as a patron of the Abhayagiri his contribution to the architecture of that monastery was considerable. It has been suggested that the *Mahāvaṁsa* attributes some of the achievements of Gajabāhu to Kaniṭṭhatissa and, thus, that the original founding of the Ratanapāsāda on the present site may in fact be to the credit of the earlier ruler.[4] Bearing in mind that the whole question of the identity of the Ratanapāsāda is uncertain, we can only make a rather tenuous link between Gajabāhu's early structure, Kaniṭṭhatissa's Ratanapāsāda and the present *uposathaghara*. If we assume, however, that this connection does exist, we can then go on to suggest that the early building (which, as the remains

[1] The former has an area of 10,998 ft. and a perimeter of 468 ft.; the latter an area of 11,978 ft. and a perimeter of 438 ft.
[2] *ASCM* I, p. 6.
[3] *ASCM* I, pp. 13-14.
[4] *ASCM* I, p. 14; see also, *EZ* I, p. 253.

indicate, was substantial enough to have been an *uposathagbara* comparable in size and construction to the later building) was replaced in time by the great *pāsāda* which now confronts us.

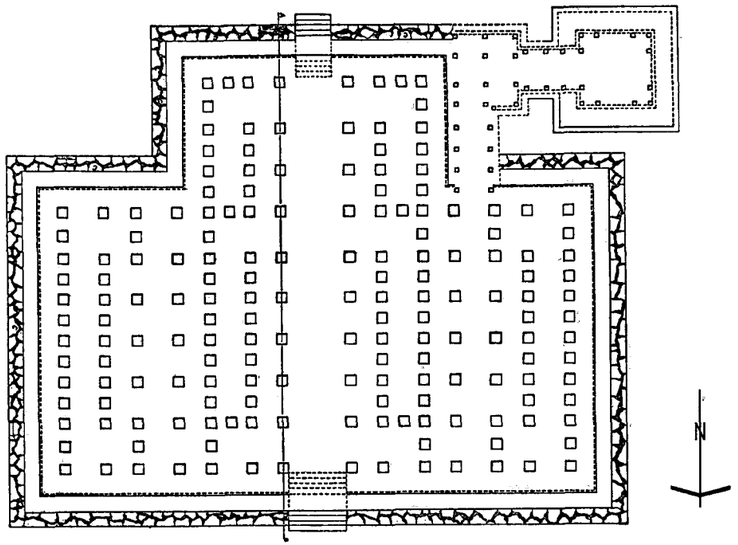
It is possible that this rebuilding took place in the 8th Century when Mahinda II (777-797) built 'the superb, many-storeyed Ratanapāsāda, like a second Vejayanta', a costly venture which he consecrated with a 'magnificent dedicatory festival'.[1] It is not without significance that this comparison with the Vaijayanta, the palace of Indra, is also made in the case of the Lohapāsāda, in which, as in the Ratanapāsāda, a golden image of the Buddha was installed.[2] This Ratanapāsāda was repaired by Mahinda III (801-804),[3] damaged in the Pāṇḍyan invasion,[4] like the Lohapāsāda, and probably restored once more by Sena II (853-887) in the course of his extensive reconstruction of the Anurādhapura monasteries.[5] Evidently, the building was sufficiently large and strong to provide a refuge, though not very successfully, for Udaya III (935-938) and his heirs in the course of a popular uprising.[6] The final restoration took place at the very end of the Anurādhapura Period and was carried out by Mahinda IV (956-972), whose work is described in such grand terms in the inscription quoted above.[7]

Almost identical to the Ratanapāsāda, though somewhat smaller, is the so-called Monastery A of the Jetavanavihāra (see figs. 10, 81), one of the first buildings to attract Bell's attention in the early days of the Archaeological Survey.[8] From Bell's description we can gather that the remains of this *uposathagbara* were in a much better state of preservation when it was first excavated in the 1890's than they are today. Now the building which—not without a certain irony—lies next door to the modern offices of the Anurādhapura Preservation Board, is completely neglected and obliterated save for the stumps of its massive stone columns. Thus, we have scarcely more than Bell's observations to go on.

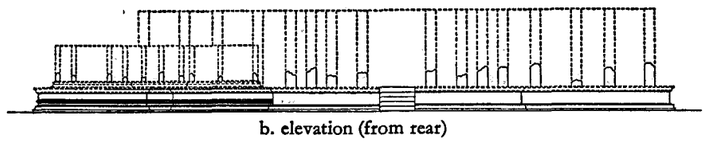
This *uposathagbara* stands in the large, enclosed precinct to the south of the central *stūpa* and to the east of the other important monument in this enclosure, the so-called 'Buddhist-Railing-Site'. The wide north front of the building faces the *stūpa* and directly opposite its central doorway is an entrance pavilion. This is the larger of the two entrance pavilions to the sacred precinct. Its size suggests that Monastery A is the major monastic institution within the precinct. The columniation of the *uposathagbara*, though now reduced to stumps, is much better preserved than that of the Ratanapāsāda. Although there was no indication of inner walling, Bell's conjectural plan of the possible internal divisions (see fig. 82) certainly makes sense. This plan shows three large, interconnected halls, separated by passages or wide corridors. An extended bay at the back forms a separate chamber. The floors were paved throughout with brick. The original *adhiṣṭhāna* was of moulded brick to which was subsequently added a rough outer facing of rubble and dressed stonework.

In the centre of the two long sides were steps leading into the *pāsāda*. The large bay at the back of the building can be compared with that of the Ratanapāsāda. Attached to this bay, and not to the main body of the building as before, is an extension or covered way which was interpreted in the Ratanapāsāda as a staircase leading to the upper storeys. Here, too, the

[1] *Mhv.* 48.135-139; *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. I, 1953, p. 123.
[2] *Mhv.* 51.69-70.
[3] *Mhv.* 49.41-42.
[4] *Mhv.* 50.34-35.
[5] See above, p. 220.
[6] *Mhv.* 53.14-19.
[7] See above, p. 225.
[8] *ASC Second Prog. Rep.*, p. 3 and plan; *ASCAR* 1890, p. 5; *ASCAR* 1892, pp. 2-3.

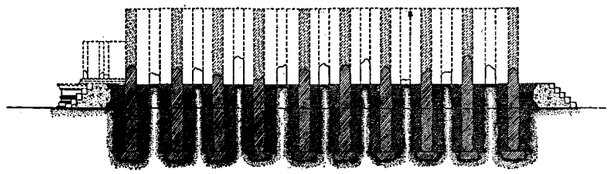


a. plan



b. elevation (from rear)

c. side elevation



d. section

Fig. 81. 'Monastery A', Jetavanavihāra

position of the extension fits into the schematic location of staircases, for the *uposathaghara* faces north and the staircase is in the south-west corner. Once more, it seems to be a later addition with unusual stone base-mouldings in contrast to the original brick base of the main structure. It is, however, altogether better finished and more symmetrically designed than the staircase of the Ratanapāsāda.

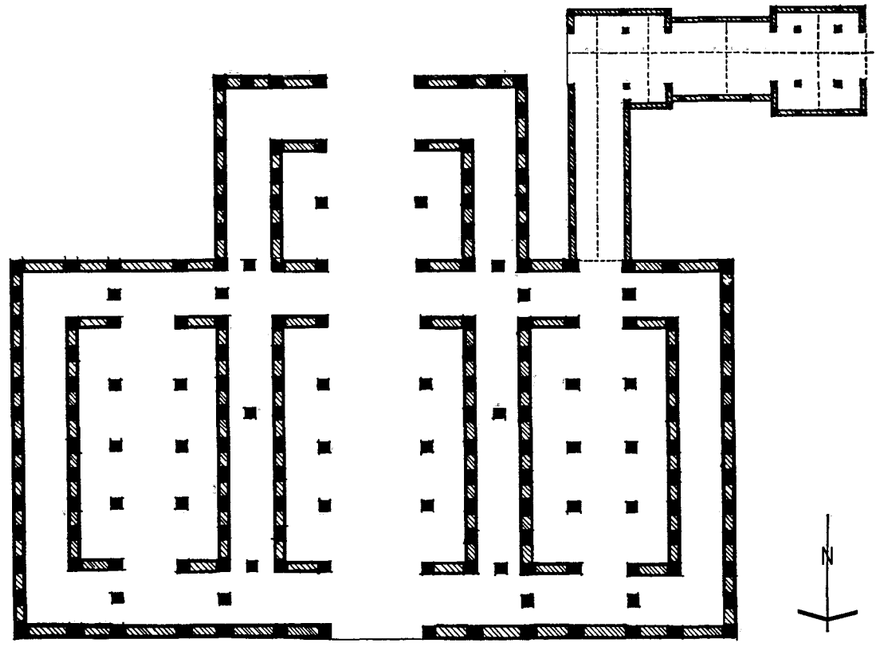


Fig. 82. 'Monastery A', Jetavanavihāra—conjectural reconstruction of internal divisions (after Bell)

The close similarity between the Ratanapāsāda and Monastery A leaves us in little doubt that the two buildings served one and the same purpose. There is even some evidence that they both had the same name. The 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' inscription of the 10th Century speaks of 'the Ratnamāpiriveṇa of the Jetavana', which as Paranavitana observes 'is but a variation of' Ratanapāsāda.[1] It would seem that there was a building of the same name in the Mahāvihāra: the Abhayagiri inscription, which describes the Ratanapāsāda at such length, also speaks of the 'Ruvanpahā', of the Mahāvihāra.[2] We may gather from this that each of the three major *vihāras* had an important building known alternatively as the 'Ratanapāsāda', 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa' and 'Ruvanpahā'. Whether this term actually refers to the monumental *uposathagharas* is uncertain and depends on the correct identification of the Ratanapāsāda and the association of Monastery A of the Jetavana with the 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa' mentioned in the inscription.

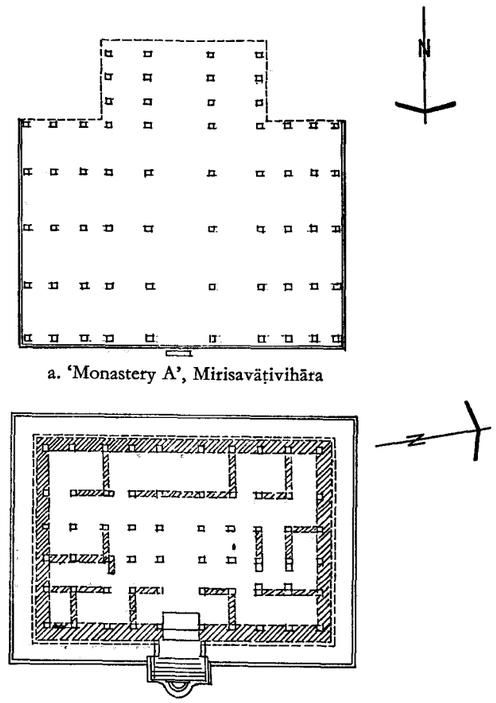
[1] *EZ* III, pp. 226 n.-227 n.
[2] *EZ* I, p. 228.

Paranavitana identifies the 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa' with the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' itself and suggests a possible correspondence between these terms and the 'Ratnagṛha' mentioned in an inscription at Sāñcī, referring to a temple which housed the Triple Gem.[1] Based as it is on a single linguistic association, this argument is scarcely acceptable as convincing evidence. Similarly, Paranavitana's application of the term 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa' to the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' is equally questionable. The inscription in which this term occurs is said to have been found at the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' and sets out a number of rules pertaining to a building known as the 'Water-Pavilion-at-the-Gate', which was presumably some kind of lodge at one of the main entrances to the sacred precinct. The reference to the 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa' is incidental to the main subject of the inscription and could refer to either one of the two major structures within this precinct. We have seen that the 'Buddhist-Railing-Site' is in fact a ritual building, probably a *bodhighara*.[2] On the other hand, the term '*piriveṇa*' or '*pāsāda*' would be best applied to a residential or ecclesiastical institution. Thus, we may argue that the term 'Ratnamāpiriveṇa' of the inscription in all probability refers to Monastery A, the *uposathaghara* of the Jetavana, just as the Ratanapāsāda was the *uposathaghara* of the Abhayagirivihāra and 'Ruvanpahā' possibly an alternative name for the Lohapāsāda. The implied reference to the Triple Gem *(Triratana)* contained in the term *ratana* or *ruwan* may well refer to the composite nature of the Sinhalese *uposathaghara* with its Buddhist images and its mixed ecclesiastical and residential functions.

The *uposathaghara* of the Mirisavāṭivihāra has been identified with the much ruined structure also labelled Monastery A (see fig. 83a, Pl. XXI).[3] Its brick-faced basement and its entrance or entrances have completely disappeared and only the bare outlines of the building and its fairly well-preserved columns still remain. Bell believed that the building was a nearly square structure with ten rows of pillars, eight to a row, but closer examination today shows that it is in fact a rectangular structure with a bay at the back, of the same pattern as the type under consideration here. This *uposathaghara*, though somewhat smaller, differs in no significant way from those of the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana. It lies more nearly west of the *stūpa* than that of the Abhayagiri, but faces north as in the Jetavana. In line with the centre of its northern face, where we might expect its main doorway to have been, is an entrance pavilion, today only a very high mound covered over with grass. On either side of the main building are several subsidiary structures, probably from a later period than that of the original construction. Each of the monolithic columns has a deep slot at the top as in the Ratanapāsāda. Apart from these columns, still impressive in their stark grandeur, very little remains of this great *pāsāda*. There is no sign today of the staircase extension noticed in the two larger *uposathagharas*.

A structure of exactly the same type and of similar dimensions to the Ratanapāsāda is the partially excavated hall at Debaravāva in Tissamahārāma, the ancient capital of the southern kingdom of Ruhuṇa.[4] This indicates, once again, as in the case of the image-house at Māligāvela, that the monastic architecture of Ruhuṇa was comparable to that of Anurādhapura. The Debaravāva hall has the same roughly finished and slotted pillars as in Monastery A of the Mirisavāṭi. An inscribed potsherd of the 7th Century places this hall in the Late Anurādhapura Period, though not necessarily in the 7th Century. As the excavations here are incomplete, it is not possible to say whether this *uposathaghara* had a rear bay, but there are indications of a projection at the back of the building.

[1] *EZ* III, p. 227 n.
[2] See above, pp. 185-189.
[3] *ASCAR* 1902, pp. 3-4.
[4] *ASCAR* 1951, p. 38. This structure measures about 130 ft. by 70 ft., while the main section of the Ratanapāsāda, the bay excluded, is about 138 ft. by 66 ft.



a. 'Monastery A', Mirisavāṭivihāra

b. 'Piriveṇa A', Thūpārāma

Fig. 83. Uposathagharas

The *uposathagharas* of the Thūpārāma and the Laṅkārāma, or to be more precise, those buildings which may well have served this purpose, are of a slightly different type from those in the three major monasteries discussed above. They are in fact no more than standard *pāsādās* of the largest type without that rear extension which is characteristic of the monumental *uposathaghara*. It is only by their position and pre-eminence amidst the other monastic buildings which surround the *cetiyagharas* of these two monasteries that we are in a position to suggest that they served a special function.

While we cannot be sure of the real purpose of Building No. 11 in the Laṅkārāma (see fig. 9),[1] there are certain special features in the Thūpārāma Piriveṇa A (see figs. 4, 83b, Pl. XXII),[2] which support its identification as an *uposathaghara*. Like the Ratanapāsāda, it lies to the southwest of the *stūpa* and faces east. It is considerably larger than any of the conventional *pāsādas* of the Mahāvihāra and its external dimensions compare favourably with those of the *uposatha-*

[1] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 8.
[2] *ASCAR* 1896, pp. 1-2.

gharas in the Jetavana and the Mirisavāṭi. When it was first cleared in 1873, the remains 'of a stone staircase leading to an upper storey' were discovered in a corner of the building and it was also noticed that the interior of the building was partitioned by brick walls, which, as Bell observed many years later, divided up the internal space into cells and an open area in the centre.[1] Equally important were the ranges of cells which lie outside the building to the south and east (see fig. 4). Everything seems to indicate that this edifice had many features in common with the other monumental *uposathagharas*.

Some confirmation of this is produced by the recently excavated structure in the *pabbata vihāra* at Māṇikdeṇa.[2] This proves to be a very large *pāsāda*, 90 ft. by 60 ft., surpassing the Mirisavāṭi and Thūpārāma examples. We have discussed earlier the possibility that the *pāsāda* in the central precinct of the *pabatta vihāra*, as well as that in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, were *uposathagharas* of these respective monastery types.[3] Together with this building, Piriveṇa A of the Thūpārāma provides an important link between the standard *pāsāda* in its role as an *uposathaghara* and the monumental *uposathagharas* of Anurādhapura. We know that the *pāsāda* was an archetypal Sinhalese form. The monumental *uposathaghara* of the *pāsāda* type is merely an enlarged version of the *pāsāda* with the addition of a large bay and an external staircase. Although we know little of the internal arrangements of these *uposathagharas*, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that they were similar in principle to those of the square-based or *saṇghārāma* type of *uposathaghara*, with its central hall, peripheral cells and its surrounding cloisters. Piriveṇa A, which displays these very same features, appears as a transitional form adapting the basic *pāsāda* plan to the requirements of the *uposathaghara*. With the monumental *uposathaghara* this process is complete and the *pāsāda*, now considerably enlarged and transformed, contains within itself the necessary requirements of the *uposathaghara* of a major monastery. If the square-based *uposathaghara*, represented by the Lohapāsāda and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda, was an imported concept—as it may well have been—the alternative *pāsāda* type is almost certainly an indigenous development.

This is not to suggest, however, that the *uposathaghara*, both as an institution and as an architectural type of Southern Buddhist monasticism, is not present in other Buddhist traditions in forms which have no bearing on the Ceylonese developments. We have already seen that the square type of *uposathaghara* seems to have been derived from the multi-storeyed, pyramidal Indian *saṅghārāma*. The *uposathaghara* does not exist as a distinct structure in Indian monastic architecture. Rather, the multi-cellular *saṅghārāma*, with its central courtyard, was temporarily designated the *uposathaghara*.[4] This has a kind of reverse parallel in the Sinhalese tradition, where the building which is designated the *uposathaghara* is, in effect, used as the principal monastic residence. Thus, the monumental *uposathagharas* of Anurādhapura are the Ceylonese equivalents of the Indian *saṅghārāma*. This also throws some light on the character of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*. Here, the principal architectural elements of the monumental *uposathaghara* are separated into the formal arrangement of the central hall or *pāsāda* and its four surrounding cells or *kuṭīs*. This quincunx is, then, not only a formalised version of the monumental *uposathaghara*, with its hall and cloisters, but a stylised simulation of the greater *vihāra*, itself, with its central *uposathaghara* and surrounding *pariveṇas*.

It is only in the *pabbata vihāra* and especially in the later, post-Polonnaruva Period monasteries that this development is carried to its logical conclusions. In the *pabbata vihāra*, the centralised location of the residential/ecclesiastical hall is dispensed with and the *pāsāda/uposathaghara* (see fig. 24) takes its place as one of the four principal edifices in the sacred precinct. (Of course, this has already been anticipated in the layout of the major, organic *vihāra*.) In the later period, the *uposathaghara* loses its residential function and usually occupies a position, both in its status and in its location, in between the sacred precinct and the residential area, on the same level, so to speak, as the *dharmasālāva*.[1] As far as its architectural form is concerned, it becomes a fairly simple, elongated structure, differing very little in character from normal domestic buildings. Often, the only distinguishing features it displays are *sīmā* stones and doorways in each side.

It is interesting to compare these developments with those in the monastic traditions of Thailand and Burma, which are undoubtedly related to the Sinhalese of the Polonnaruva and post-Polonnaruva Periods. In the Thai monastery, the *uposoth* or *bot* is usually placed directly behind the central *stūpa* and within the main precinct.[2] Although its original function and identity have not been obscured, the *bot* is in effect an image-house, virtually indistinguishable from the Thai *vihāra* or Buddha-hall.[3]

We know very little about the corresponding developments in Burma. The Burmese monasteries of the Pagān and the post-Pagān Periods, each in their own ways, retain much of the integrated plan of the Indian *saṅghārāmas* and the monumental *uposathagharas* of Ceylon, respectively.[4] The Burmese equivalent of the *uposathaghara* is the *sim* or *thein* which was an important constituent of the monastery, but identifiable remains of structures of this type from the Pagān Period are rare.[5] There is, however, a unique example of a *pāsāda*-like building, which corresponds very closely both in form and purpose to the Sinhalese *uposathaghara*—the Upālithein or Upālisīma, which is apparently of the post-Pagān Period and is usually identified as an ordination hall.[6] Constructed of brick masonry, it obviously reproduces the features of a wooden or mixed timber-and-masonry architecture.

The evolution and chronology of the Sinhalese *uposathagharas* of the classic period suffer from the same deficiencies as most other building types discussed in this study. However, as these are ancient monuments whose histories have been recorded in the Chronicles, it is possible to apply the literary evidence to the monumental remains with greater precision than elsewhere. Much of this has already been retailed above. We know that the present Lohapāsāda and the Baddhasīmāpāsāda, representing the square type, are from the Polonnaruva Period, but that they may preserve principles of plan and design which go back to the Early Anurādhapura Period. The history of the elongated type, on the other hand, has to be linked to that of the archetypal *pāsāda*. Specifically, however, the Ratanapāsāda in the Abhayagirivihāra presents us with a certain amount of chronological information. It seems probable that the original edifice was constructed in the 2nd Century, although it is no longer possible to say what shape it actually took. In its present form it may date from the late 8th Century, with several recorded restorations and reconstructions in the 9th and 10th Centuries. These two-and-a-half centuries, which constitute Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period, must cover the span of time to which

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[1] *ASCAR* 1896, p. 2.
[2] *ASCAR* 1965-66, p. 79 and plan 3.
[3] See above, pp. 75-76, 93-94; and also below, pp. 233, 267-271.
[4] Dutt, S., 1962, p. 60.

[1] E.g. see Bareau, A., 1957, plan III.
[2] Thailand: *Palaces and Old Monasteries*, etc., 1968; see the various plans.
[3] Bhirasri, S., 1961, pp. 12-16.
[4] Sinclair, W. B., 1960; Ko, T. S., 1920, pp. 62 ff.
[5] Luce, G. H., Vol. I, 1969, pp. 252-253.
[6] *ASIAR* 1935-36, pl. XXXII (c); see also Griswold, A. B., 1964, p. 20.

we can ascribe with certainty the monuments described above, which represent the classic Sinhalese *uposathaghara* in its fully developed forms.

UPAṬṬHĀNASĀLĀ

A type of building whose exact identity is as elusive as its general purpose is clear, is the *sālā* or assembly hall, several examples of which are found in a fair state of preservation in the major monasteries of Anurādhapura and at Mihintaḷē. The distinctive features of these halls are the alternatively square or rectangular ground plan, multiple entrances, a central dais and often, though not always, the absence of side walls suggesting an open, roofed structure or large *maṇḍapa*. These features leave us in little doubt as to the original purpose of these buildings which were clearly intended as halls of assembly. There have been attempts to identify some of these halls as a special type of image-house with a fourfold orientation—the so-called *caturmukha paṭimāghara*.[1] However, we have already questioned this hypothesis—in fact the very existence of this category of image-houses—in an earlier context,[2] so it is equally untenable here. These halls are more or less homogeneous and bear no resemblance to any known shrine or ritual building. On the contrary, they have many features in common with other ecclesiastical and residential buildings designed to accommodate large gatherings—e.g. the *uposathaghara* and the *bhojanasālā*—such as multiple entrances and central pavilions or platforms. The small, raised platform in the centre of the *upaṭṭhānasālā* has survived in at least three of the four examples, but more in the form of a dais or 'high seat' than a throne or pedestal for a ritual object such as an image. Moreover, the fact that at least some of these halls were in reality large, open structures makes it less likely that they were some special type of image-house or shrine.

The necessity for a convenient term of reference for these buildings has led us to adopt the term *upaṭṭhānasālā*, often used in Buddhist texts as a general description for a hall of clerical assembly.[3] The use of this term here, to refer collectively to this *sālā* type of structure, does not necessarily imply that they all served one and the same purpose. While there can be little doubt as to their use as congregational halls, it is possible that the significant differences which do exist between the two or three types into which we can separate the existing *sālās*, reflect different kinds of assembly.

Bell thought that the two *sālās* in the Jetavanavihāra were image-houses,[4] and at least two Ceylonese archaeologists have agreed with and improved on this suggestion in more recent times.[5] One cannot deny that the two *sālās* in the Jetavanavihāra with their elaborate central dais, have particular features which distinguish them from the other *upaṭṭhānasālās*. Again, the *sālā* at Mihintaḷē was popularly known as a pilgrim's rest (*gimansālāva*) or as a refectory, an identification which Bell has questioned.[6] He also noticed, as did Paranavitana subsequently, the resemblance between this hall at Mihintaḷē and the Ransimālaka in the Mahāvihāra. Paranavitana quite specifically identified the building at Mihintaḷē as a *sannipātasālā* or 'convocation

[1] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 88 ff.; Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 124.
[2] See above, pp. 166, 209.
[3] See above, p. 28.
[4] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 4; 1892, p. 3.
[5] Aryasinha, A., 1960, pp. 88 ff.; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 122-124.
[6] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 23.

hall' where 'members of the community of bhikkhus with laymen who were concerned in the affairs of the church met together to discuss matters of common interest'.[1] Both he and Godakumbura include the Ransimālaka in this category.[2]

We have already discussed the literary evidence which suggests that the arrangement of the major monastic buildings in the Mahāvihāra was such that the *sannipātasālā* was balanced by the Lohapāsāda.[3] Considering the present location of these two monuments, the identification of the Ransimālaka (see fig. 3) as the *sannipātasālā* seems acceptable. However, such literary descriptions and definitions as those provided by Paranavitana are insufficient basis for so precise an identification of the actual function of these monuments. Ultimately, it is the evidence from the existing structural remains which must determine our interpretation of the terminology pertaining to these building types. The remains of the structures in question are not of the kind which would enable us to identify with such precision the original purpose for which they were designed, other than in the most general functional terms.

Therefore, it is on the basis of this common functional design alone—that is to say, the clearly congregational nature of these halls—that we can study them together as a distinct type under the general term *upaṭṭhānasālā*. Congregational worship or devotion is unknown to the Theravādin traditions of Sinhalese Buddhism to this day, an inhibition which is most explicitly reflected in the architectural character of Sinhalese shrines and sanctuaries of all periods. It is especially in the ecclesiastical and residential rather than in the ritual aspects of Sinhalese monasticism that we encounter buildings which are designed to house substantial numbers of monks, or monks and laymen, assembled for a common purpose. Buildings such as the *uposathaghara*, *upaṭṭhānasālā*, *sannipātasālā*, *dhammamaṇḍapa* (*dhammasālā*) and *bhojanasālā* are the most obvious examples of such institutions.[4] The structural remains in Anurādhapura enable us to isolate at least two of these five types—viz. the *uposathaghara* and the *bhojanasālā*. It has been possible to do this because the *uposathaghara* and the refectory have certain obvious structural and incidental features that relate to their specific functions and by which their original purpose is revealed. On the other hand, in the *dhammasālā*, the *sannipātasālā* or the *upaṭṭhānasālā* we are faced, it can be reasonably assumed, with a much simpler type of building with no special features other than the dais or high seat of the official or officials who presided over the assembled gathering. The disposition of furniture and other internal fixtures would be of a very impermanent nature. Structural differentiation between these types of hall would be minimal or of a kind that would not be immediately apparent to us today.

Contemporary practice no longer requires either the *sannipātasālā* or the *upaṭṭhānasālā* and these terms carry no more meaning for us than the mere definition of their basic function. They throw little light on the architectural character or the actual design of the buildings concerned. The *dhammasālā*, or *dharmasālāva*, on the other hand, played as important a part in the religious life of Anurādhapura as it does today. Fa-hsien records the existence of preaching halls at all the principal crossroads of the city in the 5th Century.[5] The *dhammasālā*, or more correctly the *dhammamaṇḍapa* as it was called in the Anurādhapura Period, was a well-established feature from early times, although there seems to have been a certain flexibility in the adaptation of various buildings for this purpose. As Rahula observes:

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 18; see also *ASCAR* 1948, p. 17.
[2] *ASCAR* 1949, p. 12; 1959, p. 35.
[3] See above, p. 219-220.
[4] See above, pp. 27-28.
[5] Giles, H. A., 1923, pp. 69-70.

> Accommodation for preaching and hearing the dhamma was a feature indispensable to a vihāra or monastery. The ground floor of the Lohapāsāda at Anurādhapura was regularly used as a preaching hall. In other places there were halls or sheds generally called *dhamma-maṇḍapa* especially erected for the purpose of hearing the dhamma. In certain places the sermons were delivered in the *padhānagḥara*. The *dhamma-maṇḍapas* do not seem to have been spacious or comfortable. We get several reports of people bitten by snakes during sermons. These stories show that generally the preaching halls were not spacious enough for a big audience...[1]

The *dhammasālā* or *baṇagē* with its conventional three-tiered roof (see Pl. XLVIII) is an important and distinctive architectural feature in modern Sinhalese temples. It is invariably a square building with a central dais or enclosure and a high seat for the presiding monk. This structure also serves as a hall for the recitation of *paritta* and sometimes as the monastery school or '*piriveṇa*'. An elaborate central pavilion or *pirit maṇḍapaya* plays an essential part in the adaptation of the hall for the *pirit* ceremony (see Pl. XLVII).[2] The once-canopied stone structures in the two Jetavana *upaṭṭhānasālās* closely correspond in principle to the modern *pirit maṇḍapaya* which is of course built of impermanent materials. The *pirit* ceremony itself is not an ancient Buddhist practice but within the Buddhist context it goes back at least to the Late Anurādhapura Period, although as a purified form of popular magic rather than a monastic ritual it may well have existed even earlier. The first mention of *pirit* in the Chronicles dates from the reign of Aggabodhi IV in the late 7th Century.[3]

The variations in the design of the *upaṭṭhānasālās* and the presence of more than one *sālā* in a single monastery may indicate that this type of building served a number of different functions, as a *dhammamaṇḍapa* or a *sannipātasālā* or even, perhaps, as a *padhānagḥara*. At the same time, it is possible that they, like their modern counterparts, served multiple purposes. On the basis of the existing evidence we cannot say definitively what these functions were. At best, we can describe and discuss the similarities and differences that are apparent in the surviving monuments.

Two structures which can definitely be identified as *upaṭṭhānasālās* of a fairly simple design and ornamentation and which obviously resemble each other are the so-called 'Convocation Hall' at Mihintaḷē[4] and the Ransimālaka[5] in the Mahāvihāra (figs. 84, 85, Pl. XXIII). The most distinctive characteristic of these halls is the fact that they are open buildings without any walls, a feature otherwise unknown in structures of this size in the architecture of this period. The simple curve-moulding (*ovolo*) on the inside of the *adhiṣṭhāna* coping and the absence of any brick remains clearly indicate that there were no walls.

The *sālā* at Mihintaḷē, lying roughly to the north-west of the Mahāsāya (see fig. 11), is 62 ft. square while the rectangular Ransimālaka measures about 83 ft. by 64 ft. Both the building at Mihintaḷē and the Ransimālaka have the usual four entrances, one in the centre of each side. This convention has been strictly adhered to even at Mihintaḷē where the *sālā* is placed at the upper extremity of a small plateau with the slope of the hill continuing immediately behind the building to the east (see fig. 84, Pl. XXIII), making it rather difficult for the hall to be entered from that side. The non-ritual character of these halls is emphasised by their lack of ornament and the plainness of their *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings. The *upaṭṭhānasālā* at Mihintaḷē, for

[1] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 129-130.
[2] See also above, p. 217.
[3] *Mhv.* 46.5.
[4] *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 23-24; 1948, pp. 17, 22.
[5] *ASCAR* 1949, p. 12.

instance, has virtually no base-mouldings at all but a heavy stone revetment which rises directly out of the ground and is topped by a simple kerb with a large *ovolo* moulding on the inside.

The internal features of these halls are in no way different from that of a large *pāsāda*, except for the substantial central dais in the hall at Mihintaḷē. This dais is a square stone structure, rising well above the floor level of the hall, with relatively elaborate mouldings and steps leading up to it on the west. The corresponding feature in the Ransimālaka is missing. The columniation of these halls is in no way unusual, there being 48 pillars at Mihintaḷē and

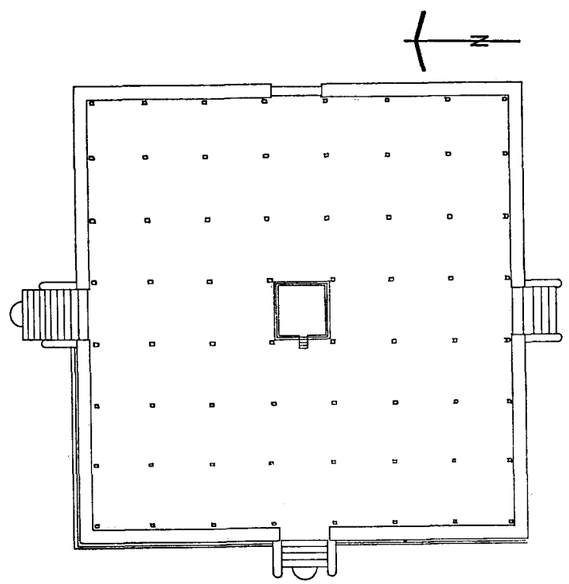


Fig. 84. 'Convocation hall', Mihintaḷē

about 80 pillars in the Ransimālaka. An inscription of the 5th-6th Century is carved on the moonstone at the western entrance to the hall at Mihintaḷē. The moonstone itself is quite plain and considerably worn. It is not a reliable indication of the date of the building as it may have been taken from an earlier structure, possibly the predecessor of the present *upaṭṭhānasālā*.

Very similar in dimensions and columniation to the Ransimālaka is the large rectangular hall which lies to the west in between Rocks B and C at Vessagiriya (see figs. 12, 86).[1] It measures about 86 ft. by 62 ft. and has 68 columns. Bell thought it was 'quite likely to be the *uposathagḥara*' of the monastery, but in fact it displays many of the features of an *upaṭṭhānasālā*. It has a low stone *adhiṣṭhāna* which, even when it was first excavated, was so badly worn that its mouldings, if it had any, could not be traced. The central feature of the building was a dais or, as Bell would have it 'a walled shrine', with a single entrance and miniature wingstones and guardstones flanking the steps of this entrance. It is no longer possible to test Bell's con-

[1] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 2.

tention that this was 'a walled shrine'. Whatever remains there were of brick walls have long since disappeared. Bell did not exercise sufficient care in his informed guesses, especially in connection with shrines and *stūpas*.[1] An examination of the present remains of this central structure seems to suggest that it was no more than an open dais perhaps with a moulded brick kerb running around its upper edge, a feature which could well have been mistaken for the base of a brick wall. An unusual aspect of this hall is that it has two rather than four entrances in its two long sides. The low-slung balustrades at these entrances suggest that this

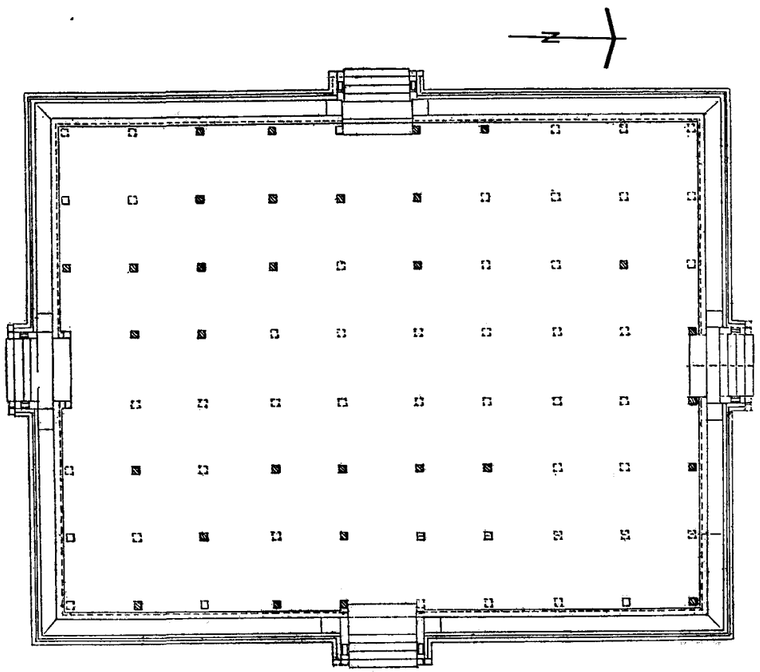


Fig. 85. Ransimālaka, Mahāvihāra

building, like many others at Vessagiriya, was of an earlier and simpler design than those we have been examining so far.

Much smaller than this building, though still of considerable size and of conventional *upaṭṭhānasālā* design, is Hall Y of the Mirisavāṭivihāra (see fig. 87b).[2] It measures 63 ft. 6 ins. by 51 ft. and has 48 columns. The hall is now utterly ruined, but its four wide entrances as well as the remains of its plain *adhiṣṭhāna* can still be distinguished. There are no vestiges of a central dais.

[1] E.g. in the case of the *bodhighara* Bell consistently visualised the base of a miniature *stūpa* in the central open space of the shrine.
[2] *ASCAR* 1906, p. 6.

Appropriately, the largest of these halls is the so-called 'pōyagē' to the south-south-east of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* (see fig. 6). It is a square structure measuring 144 ft., with a central entrance on each side.[1] The relatively low *adhiṣṭhāna*, 3 ft. 6 ins. high, has simple but bold mouldings. This *sālā* is only partially excavated and its interior has been dug out by road builders in the 19th Century, leaving no evidence of its identity other than its general design.

A square building of more doubtful identity is Hall X of the Mirisavāṭivihāra (fig. 87a).[2] It has brick walls surrounding a 43 ft. square space, with four entrances and 64 pillars. These

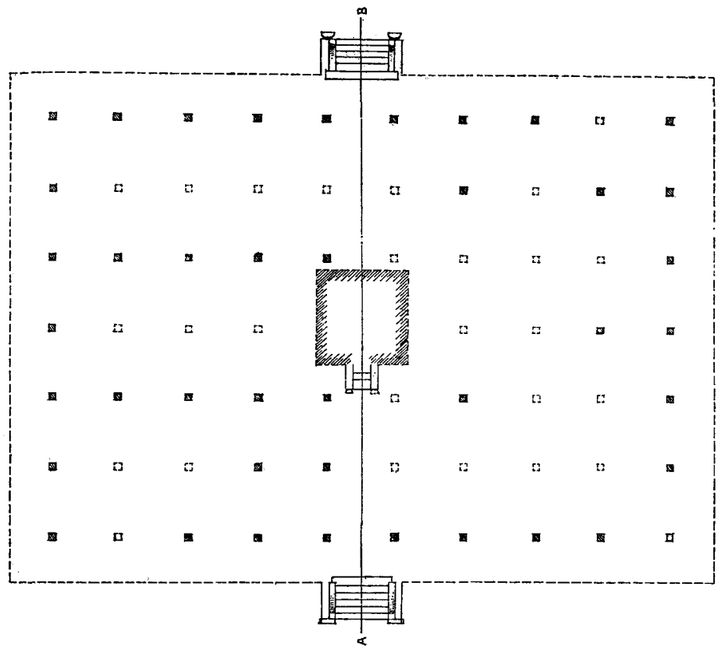


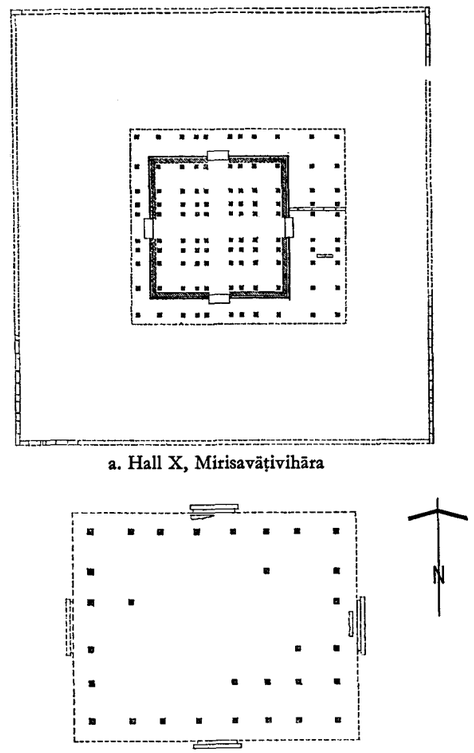
Fig. 86. Hall, Vessagiriya

columns are ranged along the inner periphery of the walls and grouped in four clusters of nine, leaving wide spaces between the outer row of pillars and the four clustered groups. Around this square structure is a colonnade with a double row of columns to the east and the bare traces of an outer wall or basement. Although there is little doubt that this building was some sort of congregational hall, its specific function and its relation to other types of assembly hall are uncertain.

However, Hall X does provide some sort of link between the *upaṭṭhānasālās* we have been considering so far and the two large halls to the north of the sacred precinct of the Jetavana-

[1] *ASCAR* 1911-12, pp. 38-39.
[2] *ASCAR* 1906, p. 6.

vihāra, the so-called 'Piḷimagē No. 1' and 'Piḷimagē No. 2' (see figs. 10, 88, 89).[1] Although designed on the same principles as the assembly halls elsewhere—i.e. with an alternatively square or rectangular ground plan, multiple entrances and a central dais and with dimensions which match those of the halls at Mihintaḷē, at Vessagiriya and in the Mahāvihāra—these Jetavana *sālās* display important differences such as substantial outer walls, an inner half-walled hall and an elaborately decorated stone base to the central dais. Both buildings face north towards the *stūpa* but have wide entrances in the centre of each side. The stairs, including



a. Hall X, Mirisavāṭivihāra

b. Hall Y, Mirisavāṭivihāra

Fig. 87. Upaṭṭhānasālās

the single flight of steps on the north of the dais, are equipped with the usual elements of the conventional Sinhalese entrance. As in all the other *upaṭṭhānasālās*, the height of the basal platform in both these halls is remarkably low for buildings of this size. The base-mouldings of the outer walls are extremely simple, the only difference from those of the other halls being the addition of a partly rounded plinth. Allowing for the variations in shape, the two halls have

[1] *ASCAR* 1891, p. 4; *ASC Seventh Prog. Rep.*, pp. 3-4; see also *ASC Fourth Prog. Rep.*, pp. 4-5; *ASC Sixth Prog. Rep.*, p. 4; *ASCAR* 1892, p. 3.

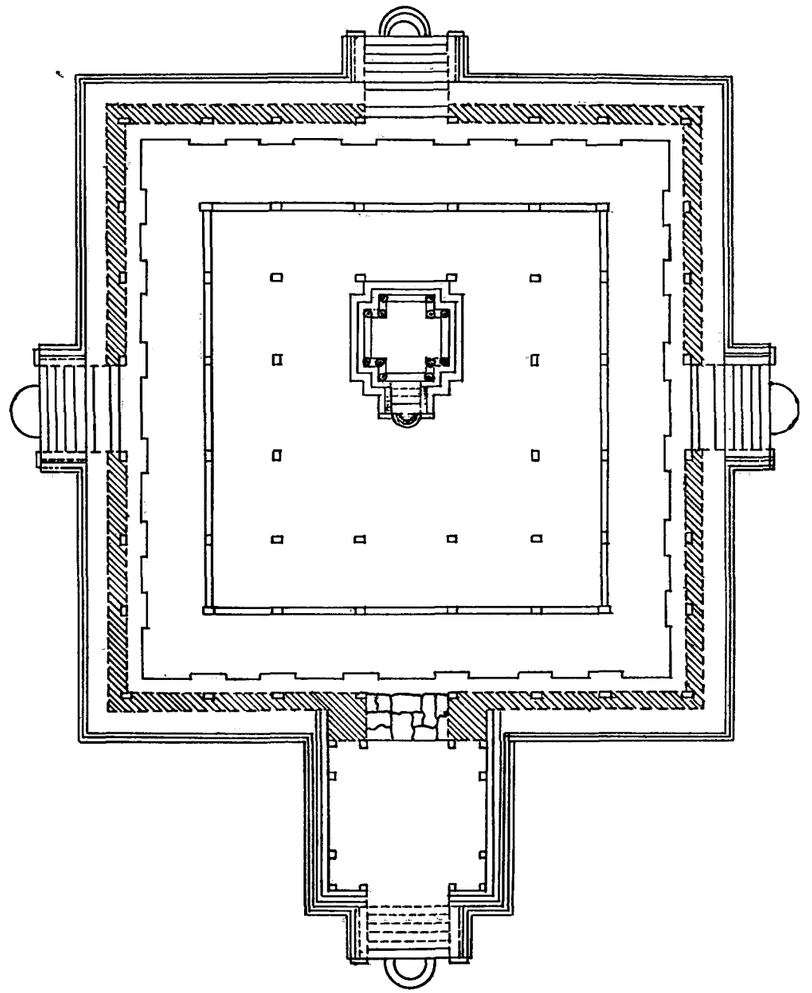


Fig. 88. 'Piḷimagē No. 1', Jetavanavihāra

very similar dimensions.[1] 'Piḷimagē No. 1' is 75 ft square and has a long, protruding bay at its north entrance, while 'Piḷimagē No. 2' is rectangular, 83 ft. by 66 ft., but has no protruding bay.

[1] This similarity may not be immediately apparent, but is revealed by careful examination. Moreover, these dimensions may throw some light on the Sinhalese architects' method of computing the relative size of buildings. The two halls, one square and the other rectangular, are obviously meant to correspond very closely in their general design. Although there is a difference of over 100 sq. ft. in their internal area, the one measuring 5625 sq. ft. and the other 5478 sq. ft., we see that their external perimeters, 300 ft. as against 298 ft., are almost identical. From this we may gather that the linear measurements of length and breadth were the data which mattered, a practice in keeping with Indian architectural conventions.

The columniation of the two halls also corresponds in its arrangement. Each building has six rows of columns from north to south. 'Piḷimagē No. 1' has sixty pillars in all and 'Piḷimagē No. 2' seventy-two. The pillars are placed in three concentric ranges. The outer rows are incorporated in the thick masonry walls A line of stone slabs linking the middle range of columns points to an inner wall or half-wall creating a large inner compartment. The innermost range was free-standing, leaving a large open space around the dais. The stone pillars themselves are relatively light but are embedded in heavy brick masonry in order to bear the thrust of a roof that must have covered a large area. Considering the general architectural

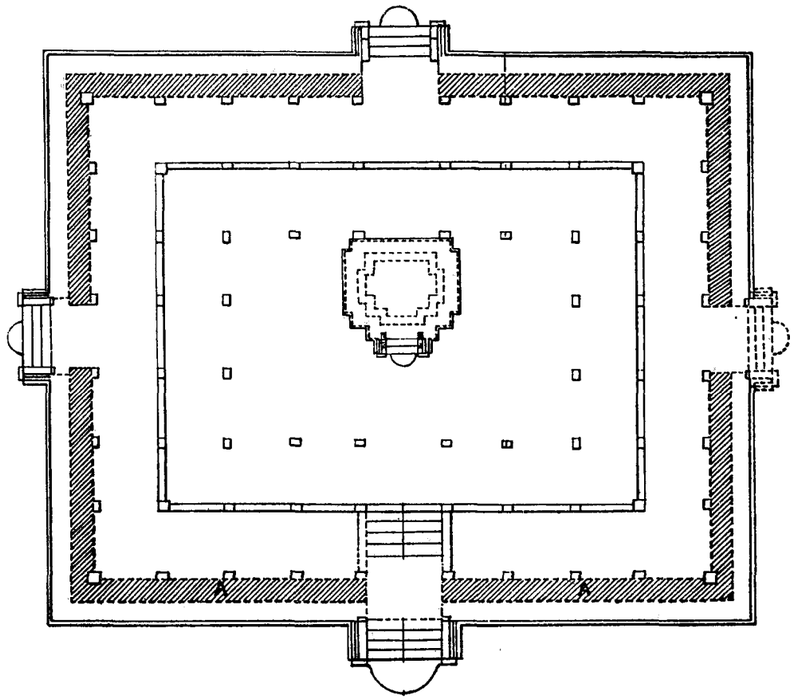


Fig. 89. 'Piḷimagē No. 2', Jetavanavihāra

character of these halls and in the absence of any indications of staircases, it is unlikely that they had upper storeys.

The dais or raised central enclosure is the most interesting feature of these halls. Any attempt to discover the original purpose of the buildings depends on an understanding of these elaborate pavilions (cf. Pl. XXIII). These are now badly damaged in comparison to what we have in Bell's original descriptions and drawings.[1] The dais of 'Piḷimagē No. 1' would have been a square of about 11 ft. 5 ins., had not its four corners been recessed. The base of

[1] *ASC Seventh Prog. Rep.*, Pls. III, IV, IVA.

this dais, standing about 3 ft. 4 ins. above floor level, is of heavily moulded stone. The mouldings are of the usual Sinhalese pattern with the addition of a lotus petal or *padma* ornamentation over the lower mouldings. Above this *adhiṣṭhāna* and set back by about 1 ft. was a stone kerb with miniature mouldings, decorated with the same *padma* ornamentation. The recessed corners of the kerb had three lotus bosses in each corner with sockets for wooden posts, which undoubtedly supported a wooden canopy over the dais. The entrance to the dais was by a flight of four steps, with *makara* wingstones, diminutive guardstones and a moonstone decorated with plain concentric arcs. The top of the dais enclosed by the kerb, measures about 8 ft. each way. The steps leading up to it and the extent of this enclosed area do not in any way suggest that this was a sanctum—it is not quite large enough to be a real shrine-chamber and too large to have been the *āsana* for an image. It would be far more logical to interpret it as a dais or covered platform—with steps for access—which accommodated the monk or monks presiding over the assembly gathered in the hall. The dais in 'Piḷimagē No. 2' was similar but slightly elongated rather than square, in keeping with the rectangular shape of the building. It is easy enough, then, to include these halls in the wide generic category of *upaṭṭhānasālās* with the singular difference that they were enclosed rather than open halls.

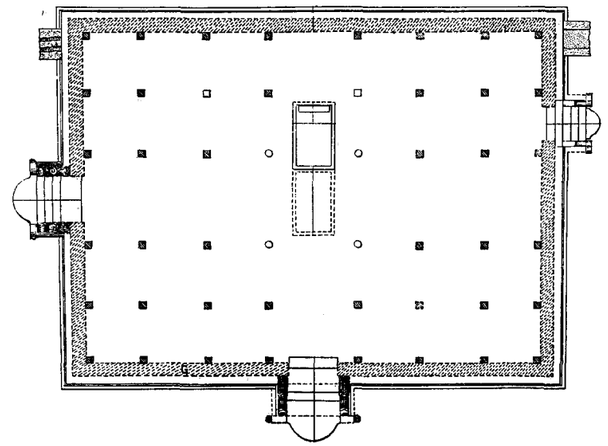


Fig. 90. Ruin No. 1, Group A, Mahāvihāra (east)

This brings us to the last, the smallest and, together with Hall X of the Mirisaväṭivihāra, the most ambiguous example of a *sālā* with many entrances which can reasonably be included in this class—'Ruin No. 1 of Group A' of the remains to the east of the Ruvanvälisāya (see figs. 4, 90).[1] Measuring 55 ft. by 41 ft., with 36 pillars, and enclosed by a substantial brick wall, the building faces east. With a central entrance in its wide eastern front, it differs from a standard *pāsāda* in that it has two subsidiary entrances, one in the centre of its southern side and the other asymmetrically set in the western half of its northern face. The western wall of the building abuts on to the main boundary wall of the sacred road which runs north from the Bodhi-Tree. This could be one explanation for the lack of an entrance on the west. At the same time,

[1] *ASCAR* 1901, p. 3.

it does appear that we are dealing with a type of hall entirely different from those which we have been discussing so far. The central dais of the *upaṭṭhānasālā* is replaced here by a peculiar structure in two parts. In the centre of the hall, aligned with the main entrance, is a long brick platform, with mouldings, about 2 ft. high and measuring 7 ft. 8 ins. by 3 ft. 10 ins. Immediately behind this is an elongated stone *āsana*, 6 ft. 4 ins. by 3 ft. 8 ins. at the top and standing 2 ft. 3 ins. above floor level. This *āsana* has the usual mouldings and a large slot or depression suggests that it had some sort of fixture at its far end. The purpose of these two 'altars', one brick and the other stone, is difficult to understand. Projecting lengthwise across the breadth of the hall they could scarcely be image-pedestals and at the same time they seem too narrow to have been a dais of the sort we encounter in other *upaṭṭhānasālās*. The presence of four cylindrical pillars around these 'altars' indicates some sort of protective canopy.

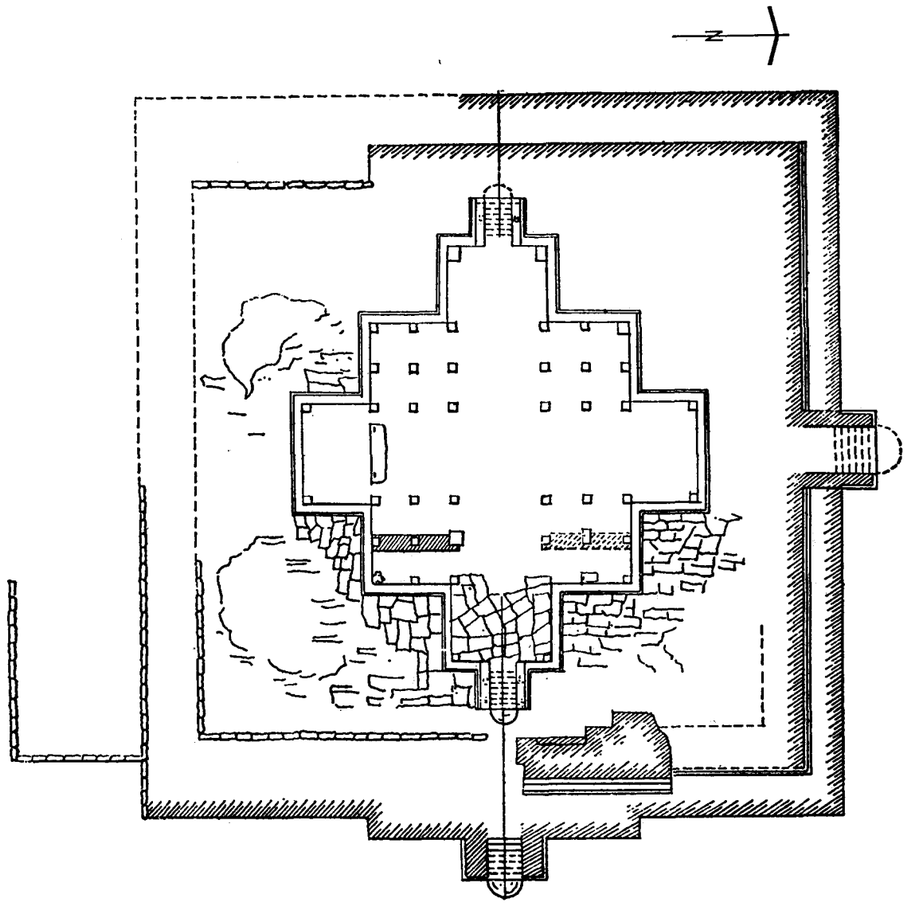


Fig. 91. Niśśaṁkadānavinōdamaṇḍapaya, Polonnaruva

The hall itself is partially surrounded by two regular rows of cells to the north and the east and is hemmed in by boundary walls to the south and the west. This, together with the multiple entrances, seems to rule out the possibility that it was an unusual kind of shrine but rather suggests that it was an ecclesiastical structure of uncertain significance.

This uncertainty applies, in a greater or lesser degree, to all the *sālās* under consideration. At the same time, the persistent similarities and clear connection between function and design justifies the inclusion of these various buildings in a single and distinct category. As we said at the outset, while there can be little doubt that these *upaṭṭhānasālās* were halls of assembly, the differences that do exist between them may well indicate different kinds of assembly. Only further excavations and more evidence than is available at present will enable us to study this type more closely.

The one example of a structure of a similar type with inscriptional evidence which testifies to its original purpose (or, at least, to one of its original functions) is the Niśśaṁkadānavinōdamaṇḍapaya in Polonnaruva, literally 'the pavilion in which Niśśaṁkamalla enjoyed the pleasures of alms-giving' (see fig. 91).[1] Standing as it does within the extension of the citadel at Polonnaruva, not far from the palace precincts, it might be thought to correspond to the famous Mahāpālī alms-hall, the ancient refectory in the citadel at Anurādhapura. However, it displays none of the characteristic features of a refectory such as a sunken courtyard, a stone food-trough or a drainage system. In fact, an inscription nearby suggests that the term 'alms-giving' in this connection refers to *dhammadāna*, the gift of doctrine, rather than of food.[2] Thus, it would appear that this hall was in fact a *dhammamaṇḍapa* or *dhammasālā* rather than a refectory. In its basic plan and design it closely resembles the type of building we have been considering above. In its present ruined state this consists of an outer terrace, about 105 ft. square, a paved inner terrace, 81 ft. square and a central pillared hall or *maṇḍapa*, 44 ft. 6 ins. square, with large projecting bays in the centre of each side.

The entire monument is surrounded by a boundary wall. The outer terrace was originally entered from east and west and a further entrance on the north was added later. These entrances seem to have had the usual ornamental features but only the elaborate moonstone of the eastern entrance still remains. The steps to the inner terrace have disappeared but the stairs in the eastern and western bay of the central *maṇḍapa* have retained some of their characteristic features such as moonstones, guardstones and wingstones. It is not clear whether the central building was open or walled, but its *adhiṣṭhāna* was 2 ft. 6 ins. high and faced with highly decorative stone mouldings and reliefs. The interior has 44 columns of a mixed character, some of which seem to have been later replacements. The original pillars, however, were apparently of a highly ornamental type similar to those of Niśśaṁkamalla's Council Chamber —with a square shaft, a large section of which was 'chamfered intermediately into octagonal facets'.[3] Apart from a large gap in the columniation, there is no indication of a dais or any other central feature.

The whole monument seems to have been altered in later times to serve as a residence or an ancillary structure to a number of Brahmanical shrines nearby, but its original features were not entirely obscured. The central hall was 'a magnificent building' as Bell observes, and much more in keeping with the architectural character of a royal *dhammamaṇḍapa* than of a refectory. It is unique in that it is the only example of an *upaṭṭhānasālā* whose original purpose

[1] *ASCAR* 1902, pp. 10-11; see also *PPAR* 1902, pls. IX-X.
[2] *ASCAR* 1902, p. 11.
[3] *ASCAR* 1900, p. 9.

is clear. However, while it confirms some of our observations in connection with several of the halls discussed above, it does not solve the general problems of identification or explain the differentiation between the various halls.

The evidence provided by corresponding structures in related traditions elsewhere is even more obscure than in Ceylon. As Dutt observes, the need for a common meeting hall of substantial proportions was felt at an early stage in the development of Buddhist monasticism in India.[1] In general, however, even in the earliest *vihāras*, such as the Jīvakāmravana at Rājagṛha,[2] and in the later *saṅghārāmas*, these halls seem to have been a feature fully integrated within the cellular residential complex rather than free-standing edifices in their own right. This was usually the case even in the pillared monastic halls of Āndhradeśa, where we find the closest parallels to the Sinhalese *uposathagharas* (of the square type) and *upaṭṭhānasālās*.[3] The obvious resemblance some of these Āndhra monuments—such as the so-called *maṇḍapa* at Site No. 6 in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa[4]—bear to the Sinhalese buildings, not only in their general structural principles but also in such architectural details as the base-mouldings, and the *makara* balustrade and the moonstone at the entrance, is quite remarkable. And yet there is nothing here to indicate the specific functions of these halls, other than their most general congregational purpose.

As far as the dates and the development of the Sinhalese halls are concerned, we have even less to go on than in the matter of identity. We can only assign them in general to the same period as most other buildings in Anurādhapura, i.e. from the 7th or 8th to the 10th Century. In fact, if we remove what little sculptural ornament there is in a few of these monuments—which may in fact be unrelated to the date of the main structure itself—we are left with large, but simple architectural conceptions representing the basic square or rectangular plan of the perennial Sinhalese tradition, with little to distinguish it conceptually from earlier or later buildings. Appropriately, the most complex and the most ornamented example is the Niśśaṁkadānavinōdamaṇḍapaya at Polonnaruva which, together with the other royal monuments in the vicinity, can be dated in the reign of Niśśaṁkamalla (1187-1196).

The concept of the assembly hall with a large, covered interior, four cardinally oriented entrances and a central dais or enclosure, is preserved in the preaching hall or *dharmasālāva* of the modern Sinhalese temple.

[1] Dutt, S., 1962, pp. 60 ff.
[2] *IAR* 1954-55, pp. 16-17.
[3] See Longhurst, A. H., 1938, pp. 10-11; Ramachandran, T. N., 1953, p. 6.
[4] Ramachandran, T. N., 1953, pp. 17-19, pl. XXV.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

In its very earliest traditions Buddhism emphasised the role of the 'monk' or *bhikkhu*, the individual who dedicated himself to the total observance of the precepts and spiritual ideals of its philosophical system. Almost simultaneously there arose the idea of the monastic community, in itself a kind of alternative or ideal society in which these individuals organised themselves collectively to maintain and preserve their monastic commitment in an institutionalised form. The monk organisation itself became one of the three component parts of the religion, the *Saṅgha*, with its own body of detailed rules and regulations, the *Vinaya*. The architectural expression of this was the monastery, the *saṅghārāma*—or, in our particular use of the term, the *vihāra*—with its shrines, ecclesiastical buildings and its monastic residences. Dutt has described this process—the formation of a monk-brotherhood from bands of wandering *bhikkhus*, religious mendicants and ascetics, and the rise of the monasteries—in great detail.[1] He traces its sources in the common Indian tradition, Brahmanical as well as Buddhist and Jain. In particular, he shows the important role played by these Buddhist monks in the spread of popular Buddhism and emphasises the special qualities of organised monasticism in the Buddhist tradition. Most relevant to us here is his explanation of the original growth of the *saṅgha* and of the monasteries from the practice of wandering *bhikkhus* spending the three months of the rainy season living together—the so-called *vassāvāsa*.

To judge from the existing cave-monasteries and the proto-Sinhalese inscriptions from the 3rd Century B.C. onwards, the idea of the monastic community seems to have been introduced and accepted in at least a germinal form from the very beginnings of the Buddhist tradition in Ceylon, although the development of a formal monastic architecture—as opposed to the organic monk-settlement—must have been the product of at least some centuries of social, religious and architectural evolution. In so far as we can speculate, on the basis of the scanty evidence available, the formation of this residential architecture must have paralleled similar developments that were taking place—sometimes a little earlier in time, sometimes a little later—in various regions of the South Asian mainland.

Parallels of a different nature can also be drawn between religious development, the growth of the *saṅgha* and the evolution of the architectural tradition, on the one hand, and the emerging socio-economic formation, on the other. Ceylonese historians have drawn attention to the social functions of the monastic community. Rahula notes that:

> The monasteries formed the centres of national culture, and bhikkhus were the teachers of the whole nation—from prince to peasant. They helped the king to rule the country in peace. It was the duty of the bhikkhus according to the Vinaya to side with the kings. They used influence over the masses to support the kings who, in return, looked after their interests.[2]

Gunawardana has described the monastic landlordism which was one of the specific characteristics of Ceylonese feudalism:

[1] Dutt, S., 1962, pp. 19-97.
[2] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 75-76.

> The strongest type of non-governmental property was represented by monastic estates with their tendency for expansion unhampered by fragmentation... In Ceylon, grants of land and irrigation works to monasteries can be traced from as early as the second century B.C. And from this time onwards numerous references to grants of land and irrigation works made over to monasteries by royal personages as well as private individuals occur in the inscriptions and chronicles... By about the ninth century, monasteries had come to own, apart from movable possessions, a vast extent of property... A multi-centred society with power devolving on the gentry and the monastic institutions in particular seems to be... the social structure of Ceylon...[1]

What is of immediate relevance to us here is the relationship between these wider historical processes and the evolution of monastic architecture, especially of residences. The scope of our study, however, does not permit the necessarily speculative and many-sided investigation which this requires. Moreover, only a theoretical analysis—at best—could be offered prior to a fuller understanding of the developments in monastic architecture throughout the entire Anurādhapura epoch. We have to confine ourselves to a few general observations, mostly from our knowledge of the Later Anurādhapura Period.

Undoubtedly, the architectural magnificence of the monastic residences is both a *reflection*, in terms of form, style and ritual status, and a *result*, in terms of the actual wealth, labour and materials expended on these structures, of the immense wealth and power of the *saṅgha*. At the same time, that same tension and conflict which can be seen in the political sphere, between the king, or god-king, and the feudal lords and officials,[2] seems to have religious and monastic parallels. Thus, changes and developments in the monastic plan seem to be determined fundamentally by a resolution of the conflict or the maintenance of an equilibrium between the two opposed tendencies of the domination of the ritual centre and the increasing self-assertion of the monastic units. Applying this analysis to the Early Anurādhapura Period would permit us to interpret the change from an 'organic' to a 'centric' plan[3] as a parallel process to the increasing centralisation of political authority. This early formalisation of the monastic plan consists, in essence, of a much more controlled relationship between the central ritual monuments, such as the colossal central *stūpa*, and the monastic dwellings. This is, so far, the most important development in the evolution of the monastic plan that we can observe in the information available from the Early Anurādhapura Period. Of course, the actual patterns of architectural change and progress throughout Phases I and II must have been as complex and varied as they were in subsequent epochs.

Such complexity emerges from the much richer data available from the Late Anurādhapura Period, particularly from Phase IV. The most noticeable process here is the very opposite of that seen in the earlier epoch and can be described as the elaboration and ritual formalisation of the residential elements. If the former pattern, as we described it, was the increasing dominance of the ritual centre and the subjection or submergence of the monastic units, the latter consisted of the assertive elaboration of the residential elements of the monastic plan as well as of the actual buildings themselves. This manifests itself most specifically in the development of such highly schematised monastery types as the *pabbata vihāra*, the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, and the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, as well as in the growing standardisation and elaboration of monastic dwellings such as the *pāsāda* and *kuṭī*.

The principal feature in the layout of the *pabbata vihāra* and the two *pariveṇa* types which distinguishes them from the organic monastery and the 'centric' plan is the location and character of the monastic dwellings. In the 'centric' arrangement of the organic monastery we find something like a hierarchical division of ritual, ecclesiastical and residential structures, with the *stūpa* occupying the central area of the complex (see fig. 13). With the development of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, the subordinate architectural status of the monastic dwellings is compensated for by the elaborate concept of the residential quincunx (see fig. 27). While this does not eliminate the basically hierarchical plan of the *vihāra* as a whole, it does much to mitigate the hierarchical division while still ensuring that the *saṅgha* keeps to its predetermined place in the *Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha* triad. This architectural equilibrium is well expressed in the *pabbata vihāra*, in which the immanent planning concepts of the organic monastery are formalised (see fig. 23). On the other hand, if we consider the *pañcāyatana* and *padhānaghara pariveṇas* (see fig. 44) by themselves we find the residential aspect dominant. The occasional ritual structure that occurs in these autonomous or semi-autonomous monastic units is, schematically speaking, subordinate to the residences. The equilibrium is reversed or, we might say, the conflict between the 'monastic' and the 'ritual' tendencies has been resolved internally by the formalization of the idea of the monastic community, by means of the *pañcāyatana* or *padhānaghara* scheme. Thus, the residential buildings are as important as ritual and ecclesiastical structures in the monastic architecture of Ceylon in the Late Anurādhapura Period and, in fact, constitute the bulk of the architectural remains at Anurādhapura and elsewhere. This development of a formal residential architecture reaches its peak in the last two centuries of the period. That Phase IV was generally marked by prolonged struggle between the central state and the centrifugal tendencies of various factional interests has already been noticed.[1] In the subsequent Polonnaruva Period in contrast, there is—at least under some rulers such as Parākramabāhu I—a reassertion of central authority and a reorganization of the *saṅgha* under royal supervision. Significantly, the elaborate *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*, the monastic residence *par excellence* of the Late Anurādhapura Period, as well as the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*, is no longer to be found in the architecture of Polonnaruva.

The various building types of the Anurādhapura Period that come within the category of residential structures have been briefly described earlier.[2] Undoubtedly, the most important of these were the actual monastic dwellings, the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī*, which will be analysed in detail in this chapter. The *pāsāda*—which is the principal form—and the *kuṭī* were originally derived from secular architecture, serving, as they did, the same function as their domestic counterparts. However, as they were monuments no less sacred in essence than the ritual or ecclesiastical structures, they were subject to the same process of development that we find in religious architecture in general. They were the only residential buildings, with the exception of royal palaces, that had the right to use the sacred materials, brick and stone. Thus, they evolved forms more complex and more ornate than those of normal domestic buildings. As this contemporary secular architecture has entirely disappeared, the only comparisons we can make are with the more recent manifestations of the perennial tradition which persists to this day.

While the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī* were the principal monastic dwellings,[3] there were also a

[1] Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1971, pp. 18-19, 26.
[2] See above, pp. 24-25.
[3] See above, pp. 49 ff.

[1] See above, p. 25. Gunawardana has shown the particular character of these developments in the monastic sphere: "The gradual but continued growth of monastic wealth was accompanied in the earlier part [i.e. 9th and 10th Centuries] of the period under study by the relinquishment by the king of his fiscal rights and of his administrative and judicial authority over the property of the *saṅgha*" (Gunawardana, R. A. L. H., 1965, p. 14; see also 1966; and 1971, esp. pp. 18-23).
[2] See above, pp. 28-29.
[3] See below, pp. [379-380].

number of service buildings, both large and small, which served the daily needs of the monks in the *vihāras* and *pariveṇas* of Anurādhapura. The two major structures in this category are the *bhojanasālā* or refectory and the so-called *jantāghara* or bath-house. These constitute distinct building types and like the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī* are based on rectangular or square ground-plans, with the exception of a few elliptical structures, which also seem to have been a type of refectory. The *bhojanasālā* and the *jantāghara* are often closely associated with each other in the *pabbata vihāras* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*. They are dealt with in the second part of this chapter.

One other major building type, of which there are at least three examples, has been isolated in the monastic architecture of the Anurādhapura Period—the *ārogyasālā* (*gilānasālā*) or hospital (see fig. 11).[1] Strictly speaking, this is not so much a building as a complete monastery or sub-monastery, closely resembling the classic Indian *saṅghārāma* in its layout. Its plan consists of four ranges of interconnected cells surrounding an open courtyard, square or rectangular in shape. In two of the three existing structures of this type there is also a small image-house, placed in the centre of the courtyard.[2] The identity of the 'Hospital monastery' at Mihintaḷē is clearly established by an inscription and by a 'medicinal bath', a stone block hollowed out in the shape of the human body.[3] Five of these medicinal baths have been discovered, four in the Anurādhapura area[4] and one at Mādirigiriya, which is known to have been the site of an ancient hospital monastery.[5] None of these medicinal baths, however, with the exception of that at Mihintaḷē, is associated with a building of the cellular *saṅghārāma* type.[6] This throws some doubt on the identification of these cellular structures as *ārogyasālās*. On the other hand, Paranavitana's suggestion that the complex of buildings near the Basavakkuḷam may have been the palace of the heir-apparent, or *māpāmāligāva*, has scarcely any basis. The layout of the principal monument here closely resembles that of the 'Hospital monastery' at Mihintaḷē, while the structure in the centre of the courtyard is clearly a *gandhakuṭī* image-house. Bell's description of the *valavva* in the Abhayagiri area also suggests a similar cell-and-courtyard plan.

There is no doubt that these three cellular *saṅghārāmas* were a rare but distinct type of monastic structure. At the same time, it is scarcely possible to suggest, merely on the evidence from Mihintaḷē, that they were all hospital monasteries. On the other hand, they testify to the existence of the classic Indian *saṅghārāma* in a fully developed form in Ceylonese monastic architecture, although its rarity seems to indicate that it was a purely imitative or derivative type. The concept of cells or chambers surrounding a central hall or courtyard is not unknown to the indigenous Sinhalese tradition and exists both in domestic housing and in monastic buildings such as the refectory, the *uposathaghara*, the cloistered *pāsāda* (i.e. a *pāsāda* partially surrounded by ranges of cells) as well as in the multi-chambered *pāsādas* of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*. The cellular *saṅghārāma*, however, cannot be considered either an important or characteristic building type of the Sinhalese tradition nor can it be definitively associated with

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 20; Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 86-87.

[2] The two excavated complexes are the hospital at Mihintaḷē (*ASCAR* 1910-11) and the so-called 'palace' below the bund of the Basavakkuḷam (*ASCAR* 1951, pp. 29-31; see also *ASCAR* 1953, p. 13; 1954, p. 21). In his report on the latter monument, Paranavitana also draws attention to the so-called *valavva*, or manor, briefly referred to by Bell and lying in the vicinity of the Abhayagirivihāra (*ASCAR* 1891, p. 1).

[3] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 20; for a different interpretation of these 'baths', which are thought to be some kind of sarcophagus—i.e. necrolatric rather than medical—see Deraniyagala, P. E. P., 1960.

[4] *ASCAR* 1896, p. 2; 1901, p. 4; 1911-12, p. 26.

[5] *ASCAR* 1948, p. 20; see also *ASCAR* 1940-45, pp. 31 ff.

[6] The two medicinal baths in the Mahāvihāra are, in fact, found in association with large *pāsādas* which are partially surrounded by ranges of cells.

the *ārogyasālā*. Thus, the principal residential structures discussed in this chapter are only the *pāsāda*, the *kuṭī*, the *bhojanasālā* and the so-called *jantāghara*.

PĀSĀDA

The monastic remains most frequently encountered in Anurādhapura and other sites of the Anurādhapura Period are the *adhiṣṭhānas* or basal platforms of a type of structure to which we have applied the generic term *pāsāda*. In the context of Sinhalese architecture this applies to a particular rendering of a basic structural design common to most types of congregational and habitational buildings in Ceylon—a rectangular, walled edifice constructed on an elevated platform, with a regular series of columns ranged throughout the entire structure. The large chamber or hall thus created provided the main interior space. This was usually interrupted by that part of the columniation which was not embedded in the outer walls. When space was adequate, this chamber or hall was sometimes subdivided into compartments by the addition of curtain walls. The superstructure of the roof and of the upper storeys, if any, was evidently of lighter and more perishable materials than the brick masonry and stone facings of the substructure, which is all that remains today.

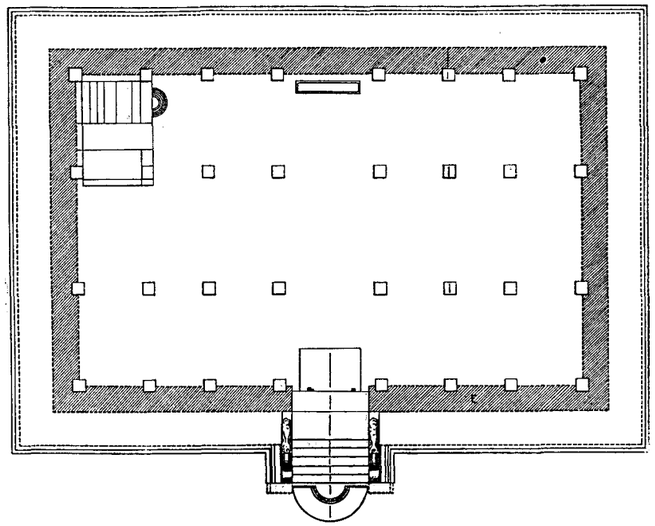
The basic design of the *pāsāda* was adapted to a number of different buildings, with necessary modifications of plan and construction. We have seen that the great chapter-houses or *uposathagharas* of the major monasteries were often no more than monumental versions of the *pāsāda*. So also were some of the assembly halls or *upaṭṭhānasālās*. Similarly, the relatively modest *uposathagharas* of the *pabbata vihāras* are no longer distinguishable in their present state from the central *pāsādas* of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*. The larger refectories may be easily identified by their open courtyards and their nearly square ground plans, but those structures which have been characterised as their counterparts in the smaller *vihāras* and *pariveṇas*, together with their opposite numbers, the *jantāgharas* or bath-houses, are but variations on the *pāsāda* plan.[1] The double-platformed buildings, which form the main feature of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, consist of a *pāsāda* and a similar, but slightly larger and open, *maṇḍapa* in front. Moreover, the *pāsāda* type of building was not restricted to these ecclesiastical and residential structures but was sometimes also adapted to ritual buildings such as the elongated image-houses for recumbent images in the Polonnaruva Period, and sometimes applied to the conventional *paṭimāghara*, in post-Polonnaruva times. Where these variations or adaptations adhere very closely to the basic *pāsāda* plan, it is often difficult for us to deduce from the existing remains how these monuments differed from each other in their original form and purpose. Where shape and internal architectural features fail to make this clear, our interpretation has usually to be based on the location of the *pāsāda* within the monastic complex or its orientation in relation to other identifiable monuments.

In its most characteristic form, however, the *pāsāda* (or *dīgha pāsāda* as it is sometimes called in the Polonnaruva Period) is a rectangular building with a single entrance placed in the centre of one of its longer sides (see figs. 92-96, Pls. XXIV-XXVI). Varying in size, but usually adhering to certain conventional specifications, the *pāsāda* is most commonly seen as the central edifice of a *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*. It displays, with such consistency, a number of regular features in its dimensions, the number and disposition of its columns, the design of its en-

[1] See below, pp. 288 ff.

trance, the decoration of its *adhiṣṭhāna*, etc., that it can easily be studied as a distinct architectural type.

The central *pāsāda* of the *pañcāyatana* group, or the *pañcāyatana pāsāda* as it is referred to here



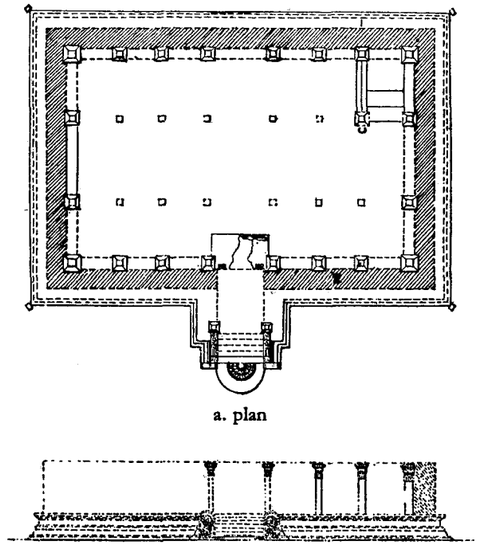
a. plan

b. elevation

c. section

Fig. 92. Pāsāda, Monastery B, Jetavanavihāra

for the sake of convenience, is the most regular type and the most readily available for study. Several *pāsādas* which stand in an irregular grouping or whose position in a monastic complex is uncertain have been designated *isolated pāsādas*. Included in a separate category are the solitary *pāsādas* or *uposathagharas* which constitute one of the four principal monuments in the sacred precinct of a *pabbata vihāra*, while *padhānaghara pāsāda* is the term applied to the central edifice of the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*. The most unusual type is the *cloistered pāsāda*, found exclusively in the Mahāvihāra (see fig. 4).[1] It consists of a rectangular building surrounded on



a. plan

b. front elevation

c. side elevation

d. section

Fig. 93. Mayuraparivena, Mahāvihāra

one or two sides by incomplete ranges of cells. Finally, we have the *accessory pāsāda* which refers to the structure often found in a *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and which has been identified as a refectory.

[1] The *cloistered pāsādas* in the Mahāvihāra consist of Thūpārāma 'Piriveṇa A' and 'Piriveṇa B', in the northern sector, and the monuments of Groups A, B and C, in the eastern sector.

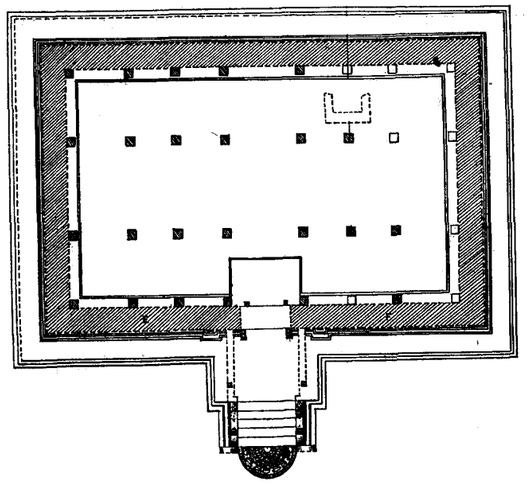


Fig. 94. Pāsāda, Monastery B, Thūpārāma

The pillars of the *pañcāyatana pāsādas* are usually arranged in four rows, spaced out lengthwise across the building, irrespective of the size of the *pāsāda* or the number of pillars. The two outer rows are placed against the inner wall-surface or partly buried in the wall, as are the end pillars of the two inner rows. The arrangement maintains strictly parallel lines across the length and breadth of the building. The space between the central rows in both directions is wider than the interspacing elsewhere and sometimes a similar, but narrower 'corridor' is left between the outer rows (e.g. see fig. 93). These dispositions are to be found in other *pāsāda*

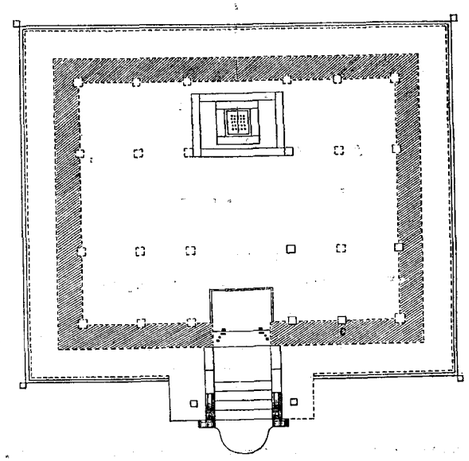


Fig. 95. Pāsāda, Monastery F, Jetavanavihāra

types, but are not as strictly adhered to elsewhere, and especially not in the *isolated pāsādas* of the Laṅkārāma, Pankuliya and Monastery G in the Mahāvihāra (see figs. 4, 9, 15).[1]

The pillars themselves are stone monoliths, square in section and often smoothly dressed. They were, no doubt, plastered over and probably painted, forming decorative pilasters against the inner walls and two orderly groups of free-standing columns in the middle of the hall, recalling the rock-cut *saṅghārāmas* of Western India or the pillared courts of the free-standing *vihāras* of Āndhradeśa. Where these columns have carved stone capitals (see figs. 146b, c, 147a, b) these are fixed to the top of the shaft by a simple tenon-and-mortise, and only occasionally are they carved out of the same monolith as the shaft itself. No doubt, both pillars and capitals are Late Anurādhapura Period features mostly from Phase IV, replacing wooden originals.

The internal arrangements of most *pāsādas* have been almost totally obscured. Their apparent simplicity and lack of ornament inside gives us a false impression of their original state,

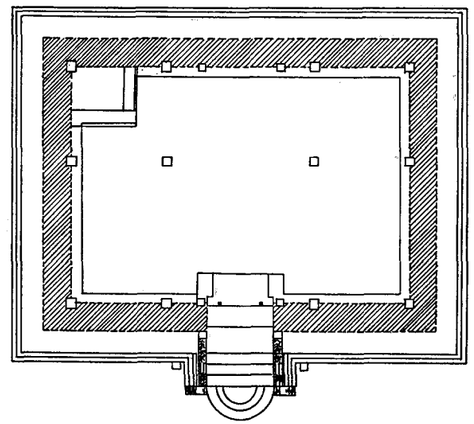


Fig. 96. Pāsāda/uposathaghara, Pankuliya

which must have been as decorative—and colourful—as the elaborate carved stone detailing of the entrances, pillar capitals and door jambs that have survived. The poetic description of the Lohapāsāda, quoted at length above, deals almost entirely with the ornamentation and furnishing of the interior. There are many other references in contemporary literature to the luxurious appointment of shrines and monastic residences, in terms which are scarcely reflected in the bare brick and stone that confronts us in the ruined monuments which we see today. For instance, the detailed regulations in the *Vinaya* regarding the furnishing and equipment of these dwellings, though far removed in time from the buildings under discussion, must have contributed to the continuing tradition and been a constant source-book of inspiration and instruction. As far as Buddhist residential architecture goes, perhaps the only surviving testi-

[1] See below, pp. 266-267.

mony to these luxurious interiors are the Burmese *kyaungs* of Mandalay and Amarapura.[1]

The existing remains of the Sinhalese *pāsādas* retain only a few basic features of their original internal arrangements. This includes the columns mentioned above, a stone-paved corner and, in a few examples, a small central sanctum, usually marked by a *yantragala* and placed against the rear wall, directly opposite the entrance.

The paved space located between the four corner pillars at the back of the shrine is a regular feature of all *pāsādas* and *kuṭīs*. Bell thought that 'if [they were] not image-chambers, they may have served as the landing for wooden stairs to upper storeys'.[2] From the location of these paved spaces, it would seem most unlikely that they were image-chambers. Paṛaṇavitana accepts Bell's alternative suggestion that they were landings for wooden staircases.[3] Prematilleke and Silva have suggested that 'masonry cupboards [were] built over the stone-paved square' for the storage of books.[4] Stone door sills, with mortise holes in front or at the side of these paved corners indicate that they were often enclosed and equipped with doors. In a few instances, the space is raised considerably above the level of the *pāsāda* floor and entered by steps leading up to it. In a few rare examples a moonstone (see fig. 92a) or a miniature entrance with steps, wingstones and guardstones cut from a single stone block, is placed in front of this landing.

The position of the space is strictly regulated by the direction in which the *pāsāda* or *kuṭī* is facing. Buildings facing west have the paved area in the south-eastern corner, those facing north or east in the south-western corner, and those facing south in the north-western corner. This is well illustrated in groups where there are *pāsādas* and *kuṭīs* facing in all four cardinal directions, such as Monastery A of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector I or the *pabbata vihāra* (see figs. 7, 16)[5] at Puliyankuḷam.

It seems to me that there is no better way to explain these paved spaces than to revert to Bell's original suggestion that they were landings to protect and support a wooden staircase leading to the attic or upper storey. Though no traces of such stairs have survived in a *pañcāyatana pāsāda*, Dickson refers to 'the last few steps of a stone staircase' in a corner of the large *cloistered pāsāda*, 'Piriveṇa A' of the Thūpārāma,[6] while Ayrton has suggested that the projecting 'L'-shaped bays at the back of the Ratanapāsāda and of the large *uposathaghara*, 'Monastery A', of the Jetavanavihāra were staircases leading to upper storeys (see figs. 80, 81a)[7].

Buildings with functional upper storeys were not unknown in the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods. The so-called Geḍigē in the Citadel at Anurādhapura, being an entirely masonry structure, has preserved some sections of its upper storey and a stone staircase leading up to it (see fig. 75). Its sister shrine, 'Building A', has a similar staircase (see fig. 76). What is interesting about these staircases is that they are placed in positions which correspond to the location of the paved corner in the *pāsādas*. Admittedly, these two shrines are built on a square plan with wide bays and have little resemblance to the rectangular *pāsāda*. Moreover, their staircases are located roughly near the middle of their side walls. However, if we examine the ground plans of these two temples we see that in the Geḍigē, which faces south, and in Building A, which faces north, the staircases *begin* near the north-western and south-western corners respectively, a pattern which corresponds to the orientation of the paved spaces in the *pāsādas*. There are, likewise, several storeyed image-houses in Polonnaruva; of these, the Thūpārāma, Laṅkātilaka and Tivaṅka face east and have their staircases commencing in the south-western corner of their vestibules, while the Aṭadāgē and the Hāṭadāgē face south and have their staircases in the north-west, once more in keeping with the established convention. The stairs in the Aṭadāgē are prefixed by a small, plain moonstone, recalling similar features attached to the paved corners of some *pāsādas*. Another storeyed building whose principal orientation is to the east and whose staircase is in the south-west is the Baddhasīmāpāsāda.[1] This convention can also be seen in a number of entrance pavilions such as the main gatehouse at Puliyankuḷam and the eastern entrance to the Quadrangle or *Daḷadāmaḷuwa* at Polonnaruva.

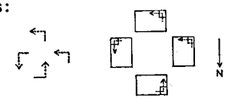
The pattern is well established[2] and provides us with convincing evidence in support of Bell's suggestion. It does not, however, establish it beyond doubt. The presence of such corner spaces in at least two rock-cut *pāsādas*, where staircases could not have existed, still needs to be explained.[3] It is, of course, possible to maintain that the staircase was an essential formal element of a *pāsāda* and that, even where it served no real purpose, a simulated version of it was constructed in the rock-cut chambers.

The existence of upper storeys in the *pāsāda* is equally a matter for conjecture, but the thickness of the brick walls, sometimes over 3 ft. wide, which seem to have ended rather abruptly at the upper level of the ground floor, the massive stone columns and their frequency, the depth to which they are buried (see figs. 92b, c, 93c, d; see also, figs. 65b-d, 81b-d) and their thick masonry supports, all point to a substantial superstructure. Even taking into account the cautiousness and constructional extravagance of the Sinhalese builders these features are inadequately explained merely by the need to support a roof—however elaborate this may have been. If our identification of the paved corner proves to be correct, this again would point to the necessity of providing access to an upper storey. We have seen that certain types of image-houses and the monumental *uposathagharas* were storeyed buildings. 'Piriveṇa A' of the Thūpārāma, in which Dickson saw the remains of a stone staircase, is an edifice corresponding in its external form and dimensions to the largest type of *pañcāyatana pāsāda* and in its internal features to the monumental *uposathagharas*. Famous multi-storeyed *pāsādas* are described in great detail in the Chronicles, but these usually refer to the monumental *uposathagharas*. There are, however, several other references to *pāsādas* with two or three storeys or more, which do not necessarily apply to the *uposathaghara* type exclusively.[4] These references are in the later part of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and, not unusually, the most detailed information is from the reign of Parākramabāhu I, at the height of the Polonnaruva Period. Some of these references leave us in no doubt that the type of structure referred to was a fairly frequent feature in residential monastic architecture:

> For the seventy-five pariveṇas (he built) as many long pāsādas... two storeys high; (further) one hundred and seventy-eight small pāsādas...[5]

[1] Ko, T. S., 1920, pp. 56 ff.
[2] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 3 n; see also, 1900, p. 2.
[3] *ASCAR* 1946, p. 11.
[4] Prematilleke, L., and Silva, R., 1968, p. 67, see also p. 79.
[5] See also, *PPAR* 1900, Plan of Monastery at Puliyankulama.
[6] Ievers, R. W., 1899, p. 220; see also *ASCAR* 1896, pp. 1-2.
[7] *ASCM* I, p. 6.

[1] Although the Baddhasīmāpāsāda is a square monument with entrances in all four sides, we can assume that its principal orientation, like that of the nearby Laṅkātilaka Temple, is to the east.
[2] Where there are four buildings facing each other, we may see some form of *svastika* in the arrangement of these stairs, thus:



[3] See *ASC Third Prog. Rep.*, p. 3; *SPAR* 1910-11, pl. III.
[4] *Mhv.* 50.65; 78.33 ff., 49 ff., 71-73, 81, 89, 93-94; 90.90, 96, etc.
[5] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 105.

> Here in the pariveṇas, which were twenty-two in number (there were) just as many two-storeyed long pāsādas and... forty-one two-storeyed small pāsādas as well as thirty-five privies and two cloisters...[1]

These descriptions themselves do not necessarily prove that these storeys were accessible upper floors nor are we certain that the *pāsādas* referred to are the buildings under discussion, but taken in the context of the material evidence, they give some support to the contention that the *pāsāda* was a multi-storeyed structure with at least one upper floor.

A significant feature in the *pāsāda* is the central *cella* or 'chapel' marked either by a *yantragala* or a paved space placed against or near the back wall of the building, directly opposite the entrance. There are not as many examples of this as Paranavitana suggests when he says that 'in many of the principal edifices of such [pañcāyatana] groups ... there was a Buddha image on the *garbhas* with compartments yet found *in situ*'.[2] There are in fact only about four *pāsādas* where the remains of these sanctums have been preserved: Mahasen's Pavilion (see fig. 28), 'Vihāra No. 1' in the Abhayagirivihāra Sector III (see fig. 8), Monastery F of the Jetavanavihāra and the *pāsāda/uposathaghara* in the central precinct of the Vijayārāma. In addition to these there are two or three others where there may have been similar features: Monastery B of the Thūpārāma-Mahāvihāra complex (see fig. 94), Monastery B of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector II (see fig. 29) and Monastery B of the Jetavanavihāra (see fig. 92a). With the exception of a lotus pedestal in Mahasen's Pavilion, no other pedestals or images have been found in a *pāsāda*. There is, however, no reason to reject the view that such images were placed in some if not in all *pāsādas*. Even the *pāsādas* of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* had central chambers, some of which have retained traces of brick *āsanas* (e.g. see fig. 32—main double-platform building). The centre of the rear wall in a *pāsāda* is a natural focus of interest and it is to be expected that any area of ritual concentration would be located there. The existence of these *cellas* could be a factor in determining the actual identity and purpose of these buildings.[3]

Apart from the stone-paved corner and the rare examples of a central sanctum, the floor of the *pāsāda* is unpaved and consists today of hard-packed earth, with a few exceptions such as the Jetavana Monastery K which has a 'hard lime concrete floor'[4] and 'Vihāra No. 3' of the Vijayārāma[5] which is paved in brick. The original floors were probably of clay and cow-dung, the traditional floor covering of secular dwellings. In contrast to the generally unpaved floor of the *pāsāda*, shrines such as image-houses and *bodhigharas* invariably have floors paved with brick or stone.

There are no traces now of any internal divisions in the *pañcāyatana pāsādas*. Bell does refer to one of the *kuṭīs* of the semi-*pañcāyatana* Monastery D, Abhayagirivihāra Sector I, 'showing, as not infrequently, signs of subdivision by additional pillars and brick inner walling',[6] but this can no longer be checked in that or any other example. The mention of 'additional pillars' might indicate later construction. However, in the *padhānaghara pāsādas*—e.g. in Monasteries A, B, D, M and N of the Western Monasteries (see figs. 31, 32, 34, 42, 43)—regularised internal divisions have occasionally survived. These partitions or screen-walls today take the form of trough-shaped slabs of stone (almost certainly the foundations of wooden or wattle-and-daub

[1] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 111.
[2] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 12.
[3] See below, pp. 267 ff.
[4] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 2.
[5] *ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, p. 10.
[6] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 25.

walls), or of actual brick masonry. Threshold stones in the appropriate positions mark the doorways to separate cells. The disposition of the pillars is exactly as in the *pañcāyatana pāsādas*, with four latitudinal rows of six. The free-standing pillars in the centre of the building are in fact incorporated in the screen-walls. The cells thus created form a regular pattern in all the surviving examples and consist of seven rectangular cells, placed along the rear and the two side walls, surrounding a central hall or lobby from which the cells are entered. The existence of these cells provides a useful clue to the residential nature of the *pāsāda* in these monasteries, and also helps us to understand the possible subdivisions of other *pāsāda* types as well as the relationship of these subdivisions to the disposition of their columns.

The arrangement of the cells around a central lobby is a diminutive version of the plan of the classic Buddhist *saṅghārāma* with its central courtyard and surrounding cloisters. Versions of this archetypal plan are seen elsewhere in the Sinhalese tradition, in the so-called 'hospital' monasteries (see fig. 11),[1] in the monumental *uposathagharas* (see fig. 78) and in 'Piriveṇa A' of the Thūpārāma (see fig. 83b), which has been identified as the *uposathaghara* of this monastery. In fact, this plan exists in traditional domestic dwellings to this day.[2]

An alternative arrangement, probably a simpler version of the classic pattern, can be seen in a few 'cave'-monasteries, such as the 'Galgē' in the Abhayagiri Sector I and Cave No. 11 at Sīgiriya (see fig. 102). These consist of brick or stone walls built against a large cavity in the rock-face. The main doorway leads to a large central cell or hall which is flanked by two smaller chambers. The shallowness of the cavity or natural cave evidently prevented the builders of these cave-dwellings applying the more complex multi-cellular plan to these examples. Completely excavated monasteries of the type familiar in India are unknown in Ceylon.

The same concept of a central chamber flanked by one or two cells can be seen in the internal arrangements of the outer cloister at the Baddhasīmāpāsāda at Polonnaruva (see fig. 78) and continues in the simplest of modern secular dwellings.

These two basic methods of internal subdivision—i.e. a central hall or lobby surrounded by cells or a single chamber flanked by subsidiary cells—are relatively well documented and may possibly have formed the regular pattern of partitions inside the *pāsāda*. We have seen, however, that the *pāsāda* is based on a simple but versatile architectural design which can be shaped and fashioned into a variety of forms as the purpose requires. This applies equally well to the disposition of its interior. There are several examples of *isolated* or *cloistered pāsādas* at Pankuliya, Puliyankuḷam, in the Mahāvihāra and in the Potgulvehera at Polonnaruva, as well as palaces, image-houses and other types of buildings, with internal divisions which do not conform to these regular patterns (see fig. 103). The most formal pattern of division in these 'irregular' examples is to be found in the *pāsādas* and *kuṭīs* around the Potgulvehera (see figs. 103i, j). The internal divisions here are very similar to those in the *pāsāda*-type of image-house, with a latitudinal screen-wall separating a large rear chamber from a narrow, enclosed 'verandah' in front. This inner wall follows the first line of columns. A centrally placed entrance divides the verandah into two juxtaposed cells. This plan is anticipated in a few rare examples in Anurādhapura, such as Building No. 16 at Pankuliya (see fig. 103c).

The massive brick walls of the *pāsādas* have not survived in any degree of preservation nor to a sufficient height for us to determine whether they were provided with windows for light and ventilation. Although Bell's plans indicate remains of solid brick walls standing to the full

[1] See above, p. 250.
[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1956 (1), pp. 31, 114-115; Boyd, A., 1947, pp. 29-31.

height of the ground floor,[1] they show no apertures and no mention of them is made in the *Reports*. However, the cave-monasteries at the Kaḷudiya Pokuṇa, Mihintaḷē, Araṅkālē and elsewhere are provided with windows in their facades (see Pls. XXVIII, XXIX), while windows have also been found in the brick-built shrines in the Citadel (see Pls. XVIII, XIX) and in the Jetavanavihāra. It is likely, therefore, that similar windows existed in the *pāsādas*.

The thickness of the brick walls of the *pāsāda*, often between 2 and 3 feet wide, can scarcely be accounted for by purely structural requirements. The stone columns which were spread throughout the building were almost certainly strong enough to bear the weight of a substantial superstructure and were no doubt designed for that specific purpose. Thus, we may see in these thick walls the continuation of mud and wattle-and-daub building techniques in which the stability of the walls themselves is governed by their thickness. In addition, the thickness of the walls must have contributed to the insulation of the building from heat and strong sunlight, for the high levels of humidity and solar radiation in tropical climates like that of Ceylon require a peculiar combination of ventilation and insulation. The external ornamentation of the walls, like the windows, has now been destroyed. These walls were plastered over and were probably decorated with pilasters and stucco detailing, although large areas of wall-surface must have been left plain and undecorated, while colours and painted designs may have been applied to both the sculptured detailing and to some of the plain surfaces.[2]

An important element in the overall design of the *pāsāda* was the centrally placed vestibule or entrance bay, which sometimes projected to a considerable distance beyond the main rectangular hall. The formal emphasis given to this entrance in the plan must have been reflected in the superstructure itself, providing a dramatic focus of interest in the centre of an otherwise elongated facade. The simpler type of entrance (see figs. 92a, 96) is merely a break in the basement of the main rectangular structure, to which are added the characteristic elements of the Sinhalese entrance, a moonstone, wingstones and guardstones. The more elaborate version, found in most *pāsādas* irrespective of size, has a wide bay or vestibule from which the entrance projects (see figs. 93, 94). A rare intermediate type (see fig. 95) has its steps and wingstones within the bay, while the inner edges of the moonstone and guardstones are in line with the outer edge of the bay.

A large landing slab, often monolithic, is found at the top of the flight of steps, followed by a sill and a larger ante-sill. This sill, or more usually, the ante-sill is mortised to receive the door jambs and the pivots on which the doors operated. The door jambs and lintel, either in stone or, where there are no traces of them, in wood, were set in the ends of the brick walls. The doors, themselves, consisting of two wings, were recessed behind these jambs. An occasional feature is a shallow rectangular depression in the sill. It was probably filled with water for the washing of feet, serving both a hygienic and a ritual purpose. The incisions, or rather a series of concentric lines scraped in the ante-sills, caused by the turning of the door wings, can be seen in several *pāsādas*.

The base-mouldings of the *adhiṣṭhāna* continue uninterrupted along the front and sides of the entrance bay (see figs. 92a, 93, 94). Similarly, the columns of the vestibule are complementary to those of the main building. The vestibule often has two pillars placed just behind the wingstones and in line with the columns in the main section of the building (see figs. 93, 94). In *pāsādas* with the simpler type of entrance, these two pillars were placed outside the entrance,

[1] E.g. *ASC Third Prog. Rep.*, pls. VI-VII; see also our figs. 92b, c, 93b, c.
[2] See below, pp. 341 ff.

on either side of the wingstones (see figs. 95, 96). In both instances, these pillars must have carried an extension of the roof over the vestibule and the steps, in the form of a projecting porch.

To the casual observer today, the most arresting features of the *pāsādas*—as of other buildings in Anurādhapura—are the entrances, with their sculptured components, and the moulded facings of the *adhiṣṭhāna*. The richness of the carving and the complex symmetry of the general design with its combination of curves, straight lines and intricate surface decoration, are the only surviving testimony to the detailing that must once have enlivened these buildings.

The characteristic entrance is a regular feature of the *pāsāda* and can vary from the simplest rectilinear wingstones—accompanied by plain guardstones and moonstones—as in the Mirisavāṭivihāra and the Western Monasteries, to the most ornate examples in the Abhayagirivihāra and the Mahāvihāra. Some of the moonstones and other appendages of the *pañcāyatana pāsādas*, such as the Queen's Pavilion, Mahasen's Pavilion and Monastery B of the Mahāvihāra, are justly celebrated as masterpieces of Sinhalese sculpture. The components of these entrances are rendered in stone in almost every *pāsāda* in Anurādhapura.

The high basal platform on which the building is erected consists of a heavy, brick retaining wall built around an earthen terrace. Its vertical face, usually in moulded brick and plaster, is decorated with the characteristic Sinhalese mouldings. This masonry revetment is continued along the vestibule. In the more elaborate buildings, the base-mouldings of the vestibule are often faced with stone (see Pls. XXIV, XXVI), the carved components being applied over the brick masonry. In a few examples, this stone facing is extended to the mouldings of the entire *adhiṣṭhāna* (e.g. in the *kuṭī* illustrated in Pl. XXVII).

The upper, horizontal surface of the *adhiṣṭhāna* forms a wide gangway around the outer walls of the building. It rises to a considerable height—e.g. about 4 ft. in a *pāsāda* of average size and nearly 8 ft. in the Queen's Pavilion—varying in proportion to the size and importance of the building. *Pāsādas* such as 'Piriveṇa A' and Monastery B of the Mahāvihāra-Thūpārāma complex and Mahasen's Pavilion in the Abhayagirivihāra (see fig. 121r), have two-staged *adhiṣṭhānas*, each with its own sequence of mouldings. The Queen's Pavilion has in addition a third course of mouldings, considerably smaller than the two lower ones (see fig. 121s). In each case, the upper set of mouldings runs along the base of the main walls.

At the angles of the basal platform, outside the building, are four short pillars sometimes placed obliquely to the lines of the basement (see figs. 93, 95). Bell thought that these were fender-stones or additional pillars 'which helped to carry the hanging roofs'.[1] It is, however, far more likely that these were *sīmās* or sacred boundary stones demarcating the ritual orbit, so to speak, of the building. These *sīmās* do not necessarily establish the identity of the *pāsāda* as an *uposathaghara* as similar stones are found around the *kuṭīs* of the *pañcāyatana* as well. As we have said before, the residences of the *saṅgha* were intrinsically no less sacred than buildings with purely ritual or ecclesiastical functions.

The various features of the *pāsāda* that have been discussed in the preceding pages are found, by and large, in all *pañcāyatana*, *padhānaghara* and in many *isolated pāsādas*. The most obvious variations in buildings of this type, irrespective of their particular function or location, are those of size and columniation. The different types of *pāsādas* may be classified into several major and minor categories according to the external dimensions of their rectangular basal platforms and the number of their pillars. This differentiation can be clearly seen in the table

[1] *ASC Third Prog. Rep.*, p. 4.

below (all measurements are given in ft. and ins.; the figures in brackets are approximations or conjectural)[1]:

Location	*Type*	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
	Category A		
Mahāvihāra Thūpārāma 'Piriveṇa A'	Clois.	87.6 × 57.6	60
Abhayagiri Sect. III, 'Vihāra No. 1'	Pañc.	90 × 69	48
Jetavana Mon. C	Pañc.	82.6 × 58	48
Māṇikdeṇa	Upos.	90 × 60	48
	Category B		
Mahāvihāra			
Mon. B	Pañc.	66 × 45.6	(32)
Mon. H.	Pañc.	66.6 × 43.4	32
Mon. C	Pañc.	(similar)	—
Mon. I	Pañc.		
Abhayagiri			
Mahasen's Pavilion	Pañc.	62 × 42	—
Sect. II, Mon. B (Mon. north of *stūpa*)	Pañc.	67 × 46	32
Jetavana			
Mon. K	Pañc.	66.9 × 49.3	32
Mon. B	Pañc.	66 × 46	32
	Category C		
Mahāvihāra			
Group A Bdg. 1	Clois.	55 × 41	36
Abhayagiri			
Sect. I, Mon. B	Pañc.	57 × 40.6	24
Queen's Pavilion	Pañc.	54 × 38.9	24
Sect. III, 'Vihāra No. 2'	Pañc.	54 × 32	32
Jetavana			
Mon. L	Access.	57 × 45	(40)
Mon. L	Pañc.	56 × 40	(24)
Bdg. 36	Isol.	56.6 × 38	36
Mon. O	Semi-p. or Pañc.	51 × 43	30
Pabbata vihāras			
Toluvila	Upos.	55.6 × 41	24
Vessagiriya	Upos.	53 × 37.6	24

[1] *Abbreviations*: Clois. = *cloistered pāsāda*; Pañc. = *pañcāyatana pāsāda*; Upos. = *pāsāda/uposathaghara*; Access. = *accessory pāsāda*; Isol. = *isolated pāsāda*; Semi-p. = *semi-pañcāyatana pāsāda*; Padhāna. = *padhāna-ghara pāsāda*.

Location	*Type*	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
	Category D[I]		
Mahāvihāra			
Group B 'Piriveṇa'	Clois.	49 × 47.6	36
Mon. K	Pañc.	48.6 × 36	(24)
Mon. E, Bdg. (e)	Isol.	48 × 39	30
Mon. E, Bdg. (g)	Isol.	similar	(30)
Thūpārāma, 'Piriveṇa B'	Clois.	47 × 41.6	30
	Category D		
Abhayagiri			
Sect. I, Mon. D	Semi-p.	45 × 37	24
Sect. I, Mon. A Bdg. 9	Isol.	45 × 37	24
Sect. I, Mon. A Bdg. 10	Isol.	—	24
Sect. I, Mon. A Bdg. 4	Access.	44 × 36	24
Laṅkārāma Bdg. 7	Isol.	43 × 36	24
Jetavana			
Mon. B	Access.	45.6 × 38.4	24
Mon. F	Pañc.	45 × 36.10	24
Mon. N	Pañc.	similar	(24)
Pabbata vihāras			
Pācīnatissapabbata	Upos.	46.6 × 38.9	—
Puliyankuḷam	Upos.	45.4 × 37	24
Vijayārāma	Upos.	44 × 36	24
Pankuliya Bdg. 8	Isol.	43.6 × 36.6	32
Western Monasteries			
Mon. M	Padhāna.	46 × 36	24
Mon. N	Padhāna.	46 × 36	24
	Category D[II]		
Mahāvihāra			
Group C, Bdg. (i)	Isol.	41 × 32	30
Abhayagiri			
Kapārārāma	Pañc.	42 × 30	—
Jetavana			
Mon. D	Semi-p.	44.8 × 33	24
Mon. I	Pañc.	43 × 31	24
Pabbata vihāras			
Pankuliya Bdg. 12	Isol.	43.3 × 27.6	24
Pankuliya Bdg. 10	Isol.	40 × 21.6	18
Western Monasteries			
Mon. C	Padhāna.	42 × 34	24
Mon. H	Padhāna.	42 × 34	24
Mon. J	Padhāna.	42 × 34	24
Mon. F	Padhāna.	40 × 32	(24)
	Category E[I]		
Mahāvihāra			
Mon. G (ii) Bdg. e	Isol.	39.6 × 31	—

Location	*Type*	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
Mon. G (i) Bdg. c	Isol.	39 × 31	36
Mon. G (ii) Bdg. g	Isol.	37.6 × 30	24
Mon. G (ii) Bdg. i	Isol.	36.6 × 30	—
Western Monasteries			
Mon. B	Padhāna.	38 × 30	24
Mon. D	Padhāna.	38 × 30	24
Mon. I	Padhāna.	38 × 30	24
Mon. A	Padhāna.	36 × 30	(24)
Mon. G	Padhāna.	36 × 28	(24)
	Category E		
Mahāvihāra			
(Mon. A)	(Pañc.)	33.6 × 20.6	—
Mon. F, Bdg. (d)	Isol.	33 × 25	—
Group C Bdg. 2	Clois.	36.8 × 26.6	(16)
Abhayagiri			
Sect. I, Mon. A	Pañc.	35 × 26	24
Jetavana			
Mon. G	Semi-p.	32 × 25	12
Mon. H	Semi-p.	similar	—
Mon. J	Semi-p.	32 × 25	12
Mon. L, Bdg. 7	Semi-p.	similar	(12)
Mon. L, Bdg. 10	Semi-p.	similar	(12)
Mirisavāṭiya			
Mon. B	Semi-p.	35 × 25	12
Mon. C	Semi-p.	35 × 25	16
Mon. F	Semi-p.	35 × 25	12
Mon. G	Semi-p.	35 × 25	12
Mon. H	Semi-p.	35 × 25	12
Mon. I	Semi-p.	35 × 25	12
Mon. N	Semi-p.	34 × 26.9	12
Mon. L	Semi-p.	34 × 25.3	12
Mon. M	Semi-p.	34 × 24.9	12
Mon. J	Semi-p.	33.9 × 25.6	12
Mon. K	(Semi-p.)	similar	12
Pabbata vihāras			
Pankuliya, Bdg. 3	Upos.	35 × 27	16
Pankuliya, Bdg. 17	Isol.	33.3 × 29	30
Pankuliya, Bdg. 25	Isol.	32.3 × 26.6	18
Pankuliya, Bdg. 7	Isol.	30 × 26	24
	Category F		
Mahāvihāra			
Mon. G (i), Bdg. d	Isol.	23.6 × 19.6	12
Abhayagiri			
Laṅkārāma, Bdg. 3	Isol.	27.4 × 20	12
Laṅkārāma, Bdg. 9	Isol.	27 × 18.9	(12)
Laṅkārāma, Bdg. 12	Isol.	similar	(12)
Laṅkārāma, Bdg. 1	Isol.	26.6 × 18	(12)

Location	*Type*	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
	Category G		
Mahāvihāra			
Mon. F, Bdg. c	Isol.	18 × 12	(16)

The disposition of the various categories in each *vihāra* does not seem to follow any particular rule or pattern, except in the Mirisavāṭivihāra where all the semi-*pañcāyatana pāsādas* are of Category E. It is scarcely possible now to ascertain why one size of *pāsāda* was preferred to another, but no doubt considerations of economy and status played some part in determining the size and ornamentation of the structures in the respective *pariveṇas* and *vihāras*.

The largest type of *pāsāda*, of which we have only a few examples, does not necessarily show any greater wealth of ornamentation. The base-mouldings, for instance, are often in moulded brick rather than stone and are no more complex—in fact, are often relatively simpler—than those of smaller buildings.[1] The size of these great *pāsādas* is comparable to that of the smaller, monumental *uposathagharas* and therefore tends to support our view that they may have served a similar function in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*.[2] In fact, we have already suggested that the cloistered 'Piriveṇa A' in the Thūpārāma (see fig. 83b, Pl. XXII) and the structure at Māṇikdeṇa were probably the *uposathagharas* of these monasteries.[3]

Although the *pāsādas* of Category B, with their thirty-two pillars, are smaller, they are certainly some of the best known and most elaborately finished buildings of their kind. Included in this category are the famous Mahasen's Pavilion (see fig. 28, Pl. I), the well-preserved Monastery B of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector II (see fig. 29), Monastery B of the Thūpārāma (see fig. 94, Pl. II)—with its unique wingstones decorated with forest scenes—and a series of *pañcāyatanas* in the western sector of the Mahāvihāra (see fig. 4, Pl. XXV), whose central *pāsādas* are characterised by their decorated pillar capitals.

Closely related to the buildings in Category B are the examples from Category C, mostly in the Abhayagiri and Jetavana monasteries and from the *pabbata vihāras* at Toluvila and Vessagiriya. These include the Queen's Pavilion of the Abhayagiri, an elaborate structure with a stone *adhiṣṭhāna* in three stages and a famous moonstone. Its few remaining pillar capitals are of the decorated type met with in Category B. The *pāsāda* of Monastery B in Sector I of the Abhayagiri has a double *adhiṣṭhāna* and a unique pair of massive, monolithic slabs placed on either side of the doorway. Similarly, the other buildings of this class resemble those of the previous category in the richness and elaboration of their detail and construction. They are about 10 ft. shorter in length than the larger type, but show considerable variations in length. At their widest, they closely approach the dimensions of the *pāsādas* of Category C. In their columniation, on the other hand, the *pañcāyatana pāsādas* of Category B display the same number of pillars as the smaller buildings of Category D, with a single exception in the Abhayagirivihāra, which has thirty-two columns rather than twenty-four. The two structures, with thirty-six pillars are not typical and consist of a *cloistered pāsāda* and an *isolated pāsāda*, in the Mahāvihāra and the Jetavanavihāra respectively.

The *pāsādas* most frequently met with in the monasteries of Anurādhapura are those of Categories D and E and the intermediate types D^{I}, D^{II} and E^{I}. There are over seventy-five examples of *pāsādas* in these categories and we can safely conclude that, collectively, they re-

[1] We may, perhaps, interpret this as some confirmation of our earlier observation that the larger structures are not necessarily the latest (see above, p. 201 n. 1.). However, as far as these *pāsādas* are concerned only a much closer and more detailed study could possibly establish a chronological sequence.

[2] See above, pp. 94, 231-233; see also below, 267-271.

[3] See above, p. 231-232.

present the most typical dimensions and disposition of this architectural form. They probably bear a closer relation to their predecessors than the larger and usually more elaborate structures listed above. The wide variations in size and in the number of columns, especially noticeable in the sub-types, are more or less restricted to the *cloistered pāsādas* of the Mahāvihāra and the *isolated pāsādas* of the Laṅkārāma and Pankuliya complexes, as well as Monasteries E and G of the Mahāvihāra. In contrast, the *pañcāyatana pāsādas* of the main Categories D and E display a clear regularization of dimensions and columniation, a hardening of form, so to speak. In Category D, the size of the *pāsādas* rarely varies more than a foot or two from the mean dimension 44 × 36 ft. The number of pillars remains fairly consistently at twenty-four. In Category E the variations are somewhat wider, the mean dimensions being 35 × 25 ft. and the usual complement of pillars twelve. There is good reason to believe that this standardization signifies a progression in time, the buildings with the more regular dimensions representing the fully evolved form, while the earlier buildings—and occasionally later examples—show the greatest deviations from the norm. An instance of this latter process might well be seen in the smallest *pañcāyatana pāsāda* of Category D, the so-called Kapārārāma (see fig. 30). On the other hand, the unusual orientation of the majority of 'irregular' *pāsādas*, often more simply finished than the regular types, seems to indicate that they usually represent an earlier form. Similarly, the smallest buildings, Category F, do not occur in any *pañcāyatana* or semi-*pañcāyatana* context but in those monastic groups whose *pāsādas*, as a whole, display the widest deviations from the standard types.

The comparative study of the *pāsādas* in each category shows the considerable degree of standardization achieved by the Sinhalese builders in the adjustment of length to breadth and in the distribution of columns. This is particularly so in the *pañcāyatanas*, where we can be certain that we are dealing with structures designed for one and the same purpose. This degree of standardisation could not have been achieved without some form of square or linear modular unit being employed in the design of these buildings. With more exact measurements and fresh excavations it may be possible in the future to determine the nature of this system of architectural design. The extant Ceylonese *śilpaśāstras* such as the *Māyāmata* and the *Vaijayanta* are late versions from the post-Polonnaruva Period, but they prove the existence of such handbooks in the Sinhalese tradition.

The *pāsāda* may well provide a unique opportunity to discover the actual mathematics of this system. Nowhere else in Ceylon, or for that matter in India, is there an architectural form which occurs so frequently and with such regular dimensions, limited to a relatively narrow period of time and yet basically so simple and straightforward in its plan and design. Admittedly, there are wide variations in size and columniation and the differentiation between the types is sometimes blurred, but these can be explained in several ways and, as the tables above show, certain distinct patterns do emerge. The effects of repair and reconstruction in the Late Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods, the damage caused by centuries of neglect and decay, the depredations of modern builders and road engineers and the carelessness and crudeness of the early excavations must all have contributed to the differences in size and shape. In addition, the accuracy of the measurements themselves is not beyond question.

This is not to suggest, however, that actual irregularities and differences between the buildings do not exist. In fact, the irregular examples form distinct groups and are largely confined to three particular sites, Laṅkārāma, Pankuliya and the *cloistered pāsādas*, and Monasteries E, F and G of the Mahāvihāra (see figs. 9, 15, 4). Certain correspondences do exist between these irregular types, as we can see in Categories E[1] and F, but what is most significant is the disposition of the buildings at Laṅkārāma, Pankuliya and in Monastery G of the Mahāvihāra. At the first two sites the *pāsādas* are grouped around the outer periphery of the monastery, facing the central shrine or sacred precinct. The arrangement in Monastery G is similar, except that there is no evidence here of any central feature. This layout recalls, in miniature, the monastic plan of the great *vihāras* of Anurādhapura and of the *pabbata vihāras* with their central precincts encircled by residential units. As we have said before, this is a familiar concept of Buddhist monastic planning which goes back to such ancient sites as Taxila and Sāñcī and which is formalized in the classic multi-cellular *saṅghārāma*. This plan continues in the Sinhalese tradition in the revivalist architecture of Polonnaruva where the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* are replaced by *isolated pāsādas* grouped around the central shrines. Clear examples of this can be seen in the Āḷāhana Pariveṇa, on a much smaller scale at the Potgulvehera, and, less distinctly, in the Quadrangle or Daḷadāmaḷuva.

Although there is no certain identification of the date of the irregular *pāsādas* of Anurādhapura, their architectural character, the variations in size and columniation and their somewhat haphazard orientation, lacking the careful symmetry of the *pañcāyatana*, point to an earlier date or at least to the preservation of an earlier plan. The implications of this are doubly significant. It suggests that the early *pāsādas* were single, free-standing buildings, loosely grouped together around a shrine or within a precinct and not in the regularised *pañcāyatana* or *padhānaghara* scheme. Moreover, it clearly indicates that the original purpose of the *pāsāda* was residential as it is inconceivable that *all* the buildings of this type in the Laṅkārāma, Pankuliya and Monastery G complexes were shrines or ecclesiastical buildings.

This brings us to the crucial question of the identity of the *pāsāda*, especially in its most familiar form as the central edifice of a *pañcāyatana* group. The *pañcāyatana pāsāda* has been generally accepted by Ceylonese archaeologists as a sacred shrine or ritual building. We have already examined the implications of this in Chapter 3 above. In an article on Sinhalese moonstones, Paranavitana has listed six examples of *pañcāyatana pāsādas* (Mahasen's Pavilion, Queen's Pavilion, 'Vihāra No. 1' of the Abhayagiri Sector III and Monasteries B, (C?) H and I of the Mahāvihāra) which he equates with the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharas*.[1] He argues that Mahasen's Pavilion, by virtue of its highly ornate moonstone, central *cella* and lotus pedestal, corresponds to the image-house at Pankuliya and to the so-called Trident Temple in the Thūpārāma (see figs. 66a, 72, Pl. XVI). There is no doubt that the Pankuliya shrine and the Trident Temple were *paṭimāgharas*. The former still retains its central Buddha image and the existence of a lotus pedestal for a standing figure is recorded in the original report on the Trident Temple. Both edifices have decorated moonstones similar to that found in Mahasen's Pavilion. In turn, the argument continues, 'Vihāra No. 1' of the Abhayagiri Sector III has a lotus-decorated moonstone and a *yantragala*, marking the original position of a statue and a *cella*, while the Queen's Pavilion has a decorated moonstone similar to the first three examples above. Again, the group of Mahāvihāra monasteries to the south of the Thūpārāma have ground plans which correspond to those of the Mahasen's Pavilion and Queen's Pavilion complexes. Thus, Paranavitana concludes, by a chain of successive correspondences, that the central *pāsādas* of these quincunx groups can be equated with the classic *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharas*.

In support of Paranavitana's findings, we might add that the central edifices of Monasteries B, H and I of the Mahāvihāra have elaborate moonstones like that of the Trident Temple, while Monastery K of the Mahāvihāra and Monasteries B and C of the Jetavana have moon-

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (2), pp. 200-202.

stones with a central-half-lotus as in 'Vihāra No. 1' above. In fact, the existence of a plain moonstone at the entrance to the central *pāsāda* of a *pañcāyatana* complex is rare, one example being the central edifice of the Jetavana Monastery L. As a general rule, then, we might say that *pañcāyatana pāsādas* were equipped with decorated moonstones either of the *highly ornate* or the *simply ornamented* type.[1] We may go even further and follow Paranavitana in suggesting that the presence of these moonstones may indicate the existence of images and central *cellas* in these *pāsādas*. It is difficult, however, to agree with Paranavitana that this necessarily implies that these *pāsādas* were image-houses of a different type but with the same significance as the *gandhakuṭī paṭimāgharas*. There are, in fact, good reasons, which we shall discuss below, to believe that the *pañcāyatana pāsāda* was not an image-house.

The *pāsāda*, as we have seen, appears in many guises. Paranavitana himself has suggested that one of the *pāsādas* which he excavated at Mihintaḷē was an 'elaborately located residence of an eminent thera'.[2] Prematilleke and Silva, on the other hand, have identified the *pāsādas* in the sacred precincts of the *pabbata vihāras* as the *uposathagharas* of those establishments.[3] We, ourselves, are inclined to take the view that the *pāsāda* was essentially a monastic dwelling. However, the only difficulty that presents itself is the fact that it is found in the *pabbata vihāras* in the context of three major shrines and is clearly separated, except at Pankuliya, from the residential structures of these *vihāras*. The question that then arises is how can this apparent ambiguity be resolved.

There is no reason to believe that those *pāsādas* in which there is some evidence of images or image-chapels are in any way exceptional. We may reasonably infer from these—and perhaps from the decorated moonstones—that centrally placed icons were to be found in all *pañcāyatana pāsādas* as well as in the *pāsādas* of the *pabbata vihāras*. At the same time there are several cogent reasons which point to the fact that these buildings were not image-houses in the accepted sense, that is to say, they were not specifically intended to house images. Although over a hundred *pāsādas* of all types have been uncovered in Anurādhapura, no images or fragments of images have been discovered in even one of these buildings. This may well indicate the impermanent nature of the images installed in them. The remains of stone Buddhas of all types and sizes have been found in *cetiyagharas*, *bodhigharas* and *paṭimāgharas*, establishing beyond doubt the ritual character of these shrines. The absence of such figures in the *pāsādas* does not necessarily mean that they did not once exist in these buildings but rather that the images installed in them were of a different type, perhaps smaller, more portable and, thus, more easily removed or destroyed. We might see in this a significant difference between the sacred shrines and the *pāsādas*.

The *cetiyaghara*, the *bodhighara* and the *paṭimāghara* consistently display a certain economy of design, adhering very closely to the form and purpose of their respective cult objects. The *pāsāda*, in contrast, does not show the reasonable disposition of internal space in relation to its central sanctum, that we find in these other shrines or even in the *pāsāda* itself, when it is specifically adapted to house a recumbent image stretching to nearly three-quarters the length of the building. Again, Sinhalese shrines, by the very nature of their ritual pre-eminence, are not found in any one monastic complex with the repetitive frequency of the *pañcāyatanas*. If, as an exception, the *pañcāyatanas* were designed as a series of contiguous shrines encircling a major shrine or shrine complex, as for instance in the Javanese temple complexes of Sevu,

[1] See below, p. 325.
[2] *ASCAR* 1946, pp. 10-11.
[3] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 64-65, 67-68.

Lara Jonggrang and Plaosan,[1] we could then expect, with the degree of sophistication achieved by the Sinhalese builders, a more logical disposition of these 'shrines 'in the overall plan. We know from the individual *pañcāyatanas* and from the *pabbata vihāras* that the Sinhalese were not unfamiliar with the concept of a geometrical layout. We have already considered these and other reasons for identifying *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* as monastic residences.[2] The role of the central *pāsāda* of this quincunx group must be resolved within the context of this identification.

If this *pāsāda* was a residence—probably of the chief monk or abbot of the *pariveṇa*—there is no reason why it should not have been equipped with a chapel containing a small image of the Buddha. The multi-cellular Indian *saṅghārāmas* from the Gupta Period onwards invariably display an image-chapel fashioned out of the central *cella* opposite the main entrance. The position of this *cella* corresponds exactly to that of the sanctum in the Sinhalese *pāsāda*.

The Gupta *saṅghārāma* plan and variations of it are preserved in the early Burmese monasteries at Pagān.[3] As in some Indian rock-cut *vihāras*, these free-standing Burmese structures were storeyed buildings with central image-chapels on the ground floor. These monasteries and the layout of the temple complexes in Burma provide us with very interesting correspondences with Sinhalese monastic architecture. A 13th Century Burmese inscription lists the major institutions of a monastic establishment: they include a hollow 'pagoda', 'a pleasant hall of the Law', 'a large and pleasant monastery' for the chief monk, all placed within the inner wall, together with monastic residences for the other incumbents placed around the central enclosure.[4] The actual remains of the monastery mentioned in this inscription show an inner precinct with four edifices, consisting of a 'pagoda' (with an attached library), a preaching hall, an ordination hall and the chief monk's residence. The layout recalls that of the *pabbata vihāra*, except for the preponderance of ecclesiastical buildings.

An even closer parallel to the *cloistered pāsādas* and *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* of Anurādhapura is the 15th Century Burmese monastery at Yathemyo, where a central building surrounded on three sides by monastic cells stands within a rectangular precinct. Duroiselle's report on this monument describes the central structure as "a wooden monastery wherein dwelt the chief abbot and containing, as in the case of all monasteries of the present day, a sanctuary with images of the Buddha."[5] Some of these Burmese conventions continue into the 19th Century: King Thibaw's monastery in Mandalay and the Medaw and Thamidaw *kyaungs* in Amarapura are all buildings which combine ritual and residential elements.[6] Thibaw's monastery has a *pyatthat saung*, a chapel with a seven-roofed spire, and three other compartments, the *sanu zaung*, the residential apartment of the chief monk, the *saungmagyi* or 'main compartment',

[1] Krom, N. J., 1923, Vol. III, pls. 15, 35, 41.
[2] See above, pp. 86-94.
[3] Sinclair, W. B., 1960, pp. 505 ff., pls. 1-7; see also, Luce, G. H., 1969, p. 250.
[4] Thun, T., 1964, pp. 130-133; see also, pp. 107-111.
[5] Burma: *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, 3, Burma*, 1914, pp. 10-11, pl. 1.
[6] Ko, T. S., 1904, pp. 97-98; Ko, T. S., 1920, pp. 58-64. It is tempting to interpret the overall plan of the Thamidaw *saṅghārāma* in Amarapura (see Ko, T. S., 1920, pl. XXXVII) as some form of *pañcāyatana* or semi-*pañcāyatana* arrangement. It has an inner precinct with a large rectangular "monastery" in the middle and with two rectangular *kyaungs* standing some distance away from the corners of the central edifice. In the area between the inner precinct, which is rectangular in plan, and the outer precinct, which is a square, are ranged other *pāsādas* or "monasteries", partially surrounding the inner enclosure. Outside the walls of the monastery stand the *sīmā* or ordination hall and the bathing pool, facing each other in very much the same way as the structures identified as the refectory and bath-house of the Sinhalese monasteries. Luce confirms that the *pañcāyatana* or *pañcaprāsāda* concept was applied to both monastic and royal residences in Burma in the Pagān Period (Luce, G. H., Vol. I, 1969, pp. 65, 252).

which was a congregational hall with some residential apartments, and the *bawgazaung*, a dormitory for junior monks. In the Amarapura monasteries, the image-chapel is replaced by a 'promenade hall' or *cañkram* and there are only two major compartments, the *saung-magyi*, which is partitioned into a chapel and a residential apartment, and the smaller, purely residential *bawgazaung*. It is interesting to see that the ground plans of each of these sections or compartments resemble that of the *pāsāda*.

Thus, there are good precedents and parallels in Buddhist traditions elsewhere to support the interpretation of the Sinhalese *pāsāda* as a residential building. We have already seen it in this role in the *isolated pāsādas* of the Laṅkārāma, the Mahāvihāra and at Pankuliya, as well as in the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*. The existence of an image-chapel or central sanctum inside the *pañcāyatana pāsāda* and the *padhānaghara pāsāda* is in no way unusual in an important monastic residence.

The presence of the ornamented moonstone at the entrance to the *pañcāyatana pāsādas*—which Paranavitana takes as proof of its identity as a temple—is a feature more difficult to explain. It is possible to present a more acceptable interpretation of Paranavitana's hypothesis and suggest that these moonstones were related to the existence of image-chapels within these monastic residences. Such an interpretation, however, is subject to two important qualifications: i. the ornamental carving on these moonstones does not necessarily distinguish them in kind from the plain, uncarved moonstones which may well have had similar designs and motifs painted on them in their original state; ii. the carved moonstone does not seem to have been an essential feature of the *gandhakuṭī* image-house as there are several examples of this type of building which have plain, uncarved moonstones.

There is no doubt that the fully ornamented moonstones, which Paranavitana refers to, have been developed from much simpler versions, usually with a central lotus or without any carved ornamentation at all. Thus, the complex symbolism which Paranavitana ascribes to the moonstones of the Late Anurādhapura Period,[1] must represent a progressive accumulation of motifs and symbols which were not featured in the original concept—quite irrespective of the fact that the uncarved examples may have had painted designs. There is an inherent danger of over-interpretation in identifying the ritual significance of buildings from the symbolic motifs of a single ornamental feature, such as a moonstone, which is in a continual process of evolution. It would be far more prudent, in the circumstances, to say that the moonstone—whatever motifs it may have gathered from time to time—was merely an extra-architectural feature that was one of the components of the characteristic entrance to important monastic buildings.

Thus, the significance of the elaborate moonstones of the *pañcāyatana pāsāda* has more bearing on its architectural status than on its identity. The wealth and influence of the individual *pariveṇa*, as well as of the *vihāra* itself, seems to have had some connection with the ornamentation of its principal monuments. Thus, the semi-*pañcāyatana pariveṇas* of the Mirisavāṭivihāra, by far the poorest of the major monasteries of Anurādhapura, have no highly ornate moonstones and only the simplest decoration in their other architectural details. The Abhayagiri-vihāra, on the other hand, which was the wealthiest of the monasteries, has the richest display of ornament.

There is no contradiction, then, in the identification of the *pāsāda* as an essentially habitational building. However, we have to explain its presence as one of the four structures in the sacred precinct of the *pabbata vihāra*. These monuments do not differ in any significant respect from

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (2), pp. 197 ff.

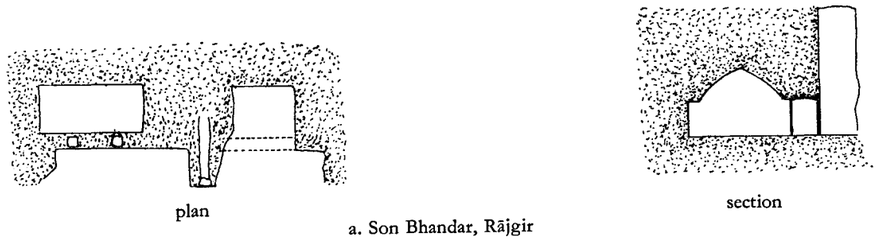
the central edifice of the *pañcāyatana* and there is nothing in their present appearance to suggest that they served any other purpose. In the context of modern Sinhalese monasticism, however, the idea of a monastic residence occupying the same architectural status as ritual shrines is unacceptable. On the other hand, we have seen that in the ancient monasteries exactly such a position was enjoyed by the *uposathaghara*, which was in effect the principal residential building of a major *vihāra*. Similarly, the *pāsāda* of the *pabbata vihāra* clearly corresponds to these *uposathagharas*. It is possible, even likely, that the central *pāsāda* of the *pañcāyatana* complex served a similar function, as in the Burmese monasteries mentioned earlier.

A parallel, much nearer home and more appropriate, is provided, once more, by the monumental *uposathagharas* of the major monasteries. These, from their very inception, were multi-storeyed structures used for both congregational and residential purposes. In time they also came to house images. Moreover, the term *pāsāda* is consistently applied to these buildings. According to legend, the Lohapāsāda, the *uposathaghara* of the Mahāvihāra, was a copy of the Vaijayanta, Indra's heavenly palace. The central *uposathagharas* of the Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Mirisavāṭi monasteries are monumental versions of the *pāsāda* while that of the Thūpārāma seems to have been no more than a *pāsāda* of the standard type. The Ratanapāsāda, in the Abhayagirivihāra, is compared to Mount Meru, 'surrounded by the noble parivēṇas',[1] a description which could well be adapted to the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*.

In the light of these correspondences, it would not be merely a matter of speculation to suggest that the *pañcāyatana pāsāda* was an appropriately diminutive version of an *uposathaghara*. As a self-contained monastic unit, with its own priestly residences, its refectory, bath-house, lavatories and, occasionally, even its own shrines, it would not be unusual for the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* to have its own *uposathagharas* as well. As a monastic rather than a ritual complex, it would not be inappropriate that its central feature was that institution on which the ecclesiastical life of the monastic community was centred. Taking all these factors into consideration, it is not possible to interpret the remains of these *pāsādas* more definitively than to say that they seem to have been residential structures adapted, at their most elaborate, to serve a mixed residential and ecclesiastical purpose, while at the same time incorporating certain ritual features such as an image-chapel.

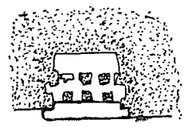
The prevalence of the *pāsāda*, in its various forms, as one of the major building types of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods, is a reflection of its importance as an archetypal form in the Sinhalese tradition. There can be little doubt that the *pāsāda* is a formalized version of the Sinhalese living-house. The long, rectangular house or hall—the alternative form is square and corresponds to the *kuṭī*—built of the simplest, organic materials, such as timber, thatch or mud, on a raised terrace or platform, with external walls, internal subdivisions and ridged, pent roof, is a basic structural form common to many architectural traditions. It is a type well-established in the wetter regions of tropical and temperate Asia and survives to this day in Ceylon, in the simplest rural dwellings of timber, thatch, wattle-and-daub, as well as in both traditional and modern buildings in more permanent materials (see Pls. XLIX, L).[2] Its design is maintained in shrines and monastic residences in the post-Polonnaruva and Kandyan Periods (see figs. 25, 26, Pls. XLIV, LI) and is implicit in many monastic and secular buildings of the 18th, 19th and 20th Centuries.[3] In short, it is part of the perennial Sinhalese tradition. The monastic *pāsāda* of the Late Anurādhapura Period is no less than the purest and

[1] *EZ* I, p. 226.
[2] Boyd, A., 1947, pp. 26-36; Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1956 (1), pp. 31, 114-119.
[3] Bareau, A., 1957, figs. I-XVIII; Boyd, A., 1947, pp. 26-36.

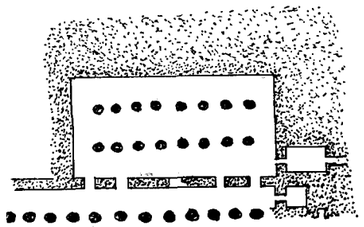


a. Son Bhandar, Rājgir

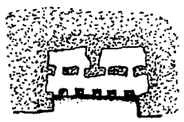
b. Sītāmarhi, Rājgir



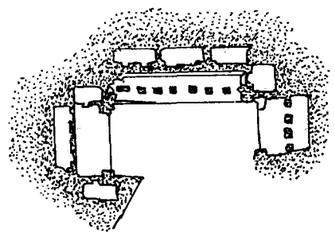
c. Anantagumphā, Khaṇḍagiri



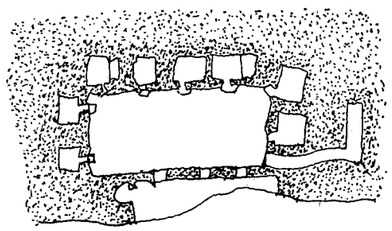
e. Cave No. 5, Bāgh



d. Gaṇeśagumphā, Udayagiri



f. Rāṇīgumphā, Udayagiri



g. Cave No. 7, Ajaṇṭā

Fig. 97. Rock-cut sanctuaries and monasteries based on rectangular ground plans, India

most formalized expression of this building type whose history extends from the very beginnings of architecture in Ceylon to the most recent times.

Our knowledge of the formal aspects of the *pāsāda* in Anurādhapura is restricted to the vestigial remains of the buildings that we have tried to understand and interpret in the preceding pages. The form and design of these *pāsādas* were, no doubt, the product of the momentum of development generated by the evolving Buddhist tradition in Ceylon. The course of this development must have been affected to some degree by the architecture of the mainland and in turn must have influenced or been influenced by similar architectural traditions in South-East Asia.

We know that Ceylon had longstanding cultural and religious contacts with countries such as Burma and Thailand, as well as Java[1] and Malaysia.[2] Even if there was no specific architectural relationship between Ceylon and South-East Asia in general—we know, in fact, that there were such connections between Ceylon, Burma and Thailand—these countries together share similar environmental conditions and collateral religious and architectural traditions. Certain aspects of South-East Asian and, perhaps, even of Far Eastern architecture, have some bearing on the Sinhalese tradition, in particular on the form of the *pāsāda* and similar structures. Although an exhaustive analysis of these correspondences on a genuinely comparative basis is beyond the scope of this study, some reference to similar buildings elsewhere helps us to understand the original form and design of the Sinhalese *pāsāda*.

The type of oblong structure represented by the *pāsāda* may not be immediately recognisable as a form familiar to the ancient Indian tradition. The characteristic residence associated with Indian monasticism is the *saṅghārāma* with a central courtyard surrounded by rows of contiguous cells, a form which had evolved in principle as early as the 1st and 2nd Century B.C. and continued throughout the first millenium of the present era. These *saṅghārāmas* are best preserved in the rock-cut monastic complexes of Western India and the Orissan *gumphās*. Their structural equivalents and other related forms are to be found in many different parts of the subcontinent. If we look closely at some of these rock-cut monasteries and at an even earlier group of sanctuaries of the Mauryan Period in the region of Gayā and Rājgir (Rājagṛha), we can see that the rectangular ground plan of the *pāsāda* is not an uncommon feature in this architecture (see fig. 97). The contemporary structural versions of these early rock-cut monuments have long since disappeared, but representations of elongated, multi-storeyed buildings closely approaching the essential form of the *pāsāda* (see fig. 98) have been preserved in the early Buddhist reliefs such as those from Bhārhut. There is good reason to believe, from the evidence of Buddhist literature and the representations of cities and monasteries in the Buddhist reliefs, that the earliest monastic residences in India were, as in Ceylon, an adaptation of secular building types. The oblong or rectangular shape is of the greatest antiquity in Indian architecture and goes back to the Harappan Period of the Indus Valley and to such ancient, primitive forms as those preserved to this day in simple rural dwellings.[3]

With the development of an architecture in permanent materials, from about the beginning of the present era onwards, certain definitive forms begin to appear in Indian architecture. These are usually based on circular, apsidal and square ground plans, the latter finally predominating. The ancient rectangular plan, too, continues to be used, as in the chapels and

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[1] de Casparis, J. G., 1961.
[2] Paranavitana, S., 1960, pp. 1-42, etc.
[3] Sarkar, H., 1966, p. 49; Mitra, A., 1968, figs. 2-8, 12.

monastic residences around the Dharmarājikā *stūpa* at Taxila.[1] One of the latest examples of a major building of this type in Indian Buddhist architecture is the Nirvāṇa Temple at Kuśinagara, a *pāsāda paṭimāghara* of the 5th Century erected over a recumbent image of the Buddha.[2] A similar building, Shrine H at Taxila, and a number of other rectangular ritual and residential structures, at this same site, date from about the 1st Century B.C. to the 1st or 2nd Century A.D.[3]

These rectangular shrines continue as a distinct type in Brahmanical architecture, referred to in the *śilpaśāstras* as *āyatāśra*.[1] The best known examples are the Bhīma and Gaṇeśa Rathas at Māmallapuram, with their characteristic barrel- or wagon-roofs (*śālā śikharas*). It is not without significance that the *rathas* at Māmallapuram are, in general, thought to be shrine models derived from the Buddhist *saṅghārāma*. If we compare the rock-cut versions of these Pallava shrines with their Buddhist predecessors, the relationship is very clear. Predating the *rathas* at Māmallapuram by about a century are three little known structural temples at Aihoḷe, the Kont Guḍi group.[5] Basically of a flat-roofed type, they clearly display the *āyatāśra* plan. In developed Brahmanical architecture, on the other hand, though actual structural *āyatāśra* temples are not unknown—e.g. the Varāha temple at Kadvār,[6] the Telī-kā-Mandir at Gwalior,[7] the Vaital Deul at Bhuvaneśvar,[8] and in Ceylon, itself, the Nālanda Geḍigē—this *śālā*

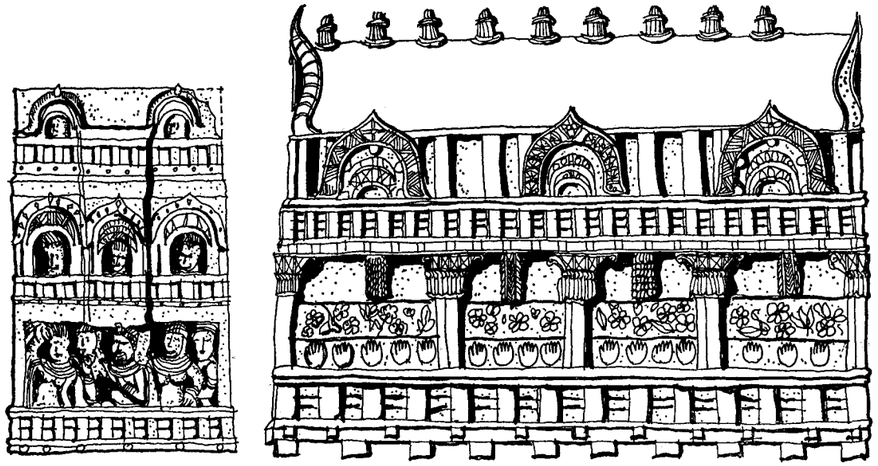


Fig. 98. Pāsādas from Bhārhut reliefs

[1] See Marshall, J., 1951, Vol. III, pl. 45.
[2] *ASIAR* 1904-05, pp. 45-49.
[3] Marshall, J., 1951, Vol. I, pp. 246-251.
[4] Kramrisch, S., 1946, p. 150 n.
[5] Gupte, R. S., 1967, pp. 12-18.
[6] Cousens, H., 1931, pp. 38-39, pl. XXXIII.
[7] Goetz, H., 1955 (2).
[8] Ganguly, M. M., 1912, pp. 133-135, 384-389; see also Kramrisch, S., 1946, p. 150 n. Related examples of this type in South-East Asia can be seen in Indonesia, Cambodia and Vietnam. The best known of these is Caṇḍi Sari but a much simpler form is preserved in Caṇḍi Sēmar, one of the eight monuments of the so-called Arjuna group (Krom, N. J., 1923, Vol. III, p. 192, pl. 3; Kempers, A. J. Bernet, 1959, pp. 32, 35).

or *pāsāda* concept is usually relegated to a subsidiary position, in the superstructure of the *gopuras* or towered gateways and as an architectural motif or model in the *hāra*, the sequence of miniature shrines or pavilions which is placed along the periphery of each successive storey in the superstructure of South Indian temples.

The purest expressions of the *pāsāda* concept, in this particular line of architectural development, are the Indonesian temples of Caṇḍi Sari and Caṇḍi Plaosan Lor, profusely ornamented and entirely stone structures, which still preserve the dwelling-house form quite distinctly. This is clearly apparent in Caṇḍi Sari which has three storeys, numerous windows in each storey and two gable-ended, barrel-shaped *śālā śikharas* at either end of its roof. Internally, its triple sanctuary is made up of three interconnected cells or chambers.

The antiquity of the *śālā*—the term itself is significant, suggesting as it does a congregational building rather than a shrine or sanctuary—or rectangular, *pāsāda* design is unquestionable. It retains its importance in the building traditions of the south-western coastal region of India and in the countries of South-East (and East) Asia. These versions are usually the product of indigenous architectural development in each of these respective areas, but they retain, at least in those South-East Asian monuments which are of wholly masonry construction, some shadow or memory of the Indian *śālās*. The commonest type is a variant or alternative form in which the building is oblong-oriented, that is to say, with its principal entrance in one of its narrower sides rather than in one of its broader faces. These *pāsāda* forms are well known in the Buddhist architecture of the South-East Asian peninsula as well as in Eastern Asia, but the examples closest to the Ceylonese tradition, both geographically and architecturally, are the *gopurams* of Brahmanical temples in Kerala and the Jain *bastīs* (or *basadīs*) of Mūḍābidri, which date from about the 12th to the 16th Century,[1] and similar buildings, both religious and secular, in the distinctive architecture of this whole region (see Pl. LII).

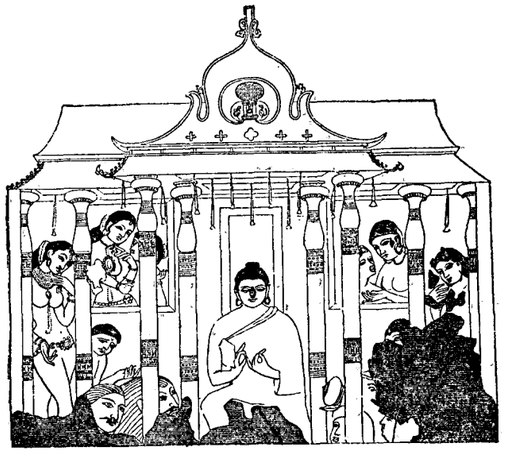
It is, however, in the Burmese *kyaungs* of the later period and, especially, in the classic Sinhalese *pāsāda* that the regular *śālā* or long house becomes a major building type in the monastic architecture of Southern Buddhism. We may in fact go so far as to say that it is pre-eminently an Sinhalese contribution to the classic architecture of South Asia. The reasons for the development of the *pāsāda* in Ceylon must lie in the fact that this structural form lies at the very root of Sinhalese building, both religious and secular. Whatever antecedents the *pāsāda* or *śālā* may have had in the architecture of the Indian mainland, and however these may have inspired the Sinhalese architects, such influences must have merely struck a chord within the native experience; at best, helped to articulate and to develop ideas that were immanent within the Sinhalese tradition.

This is not to say, however, that the comparisons between similar buildings elsewhere and the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva structures serve no useful purpose. The other Asian parallels help us, above all, to visualise the original form of the Sinhalese *pāsāda*, no longer preserved in its antique shape, though often recalled, in principle, in many traditional and modern

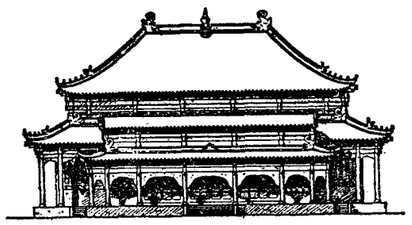
In Cambodia and Vietnam there are several oblong-oriented—i.e. with the principal entrance or entrances in the narrower sides—versions such as the 'libraries' of Banteai Srei and similar structures in the Cam temple-complexes (Parmentier, H., Goloubew, V. and Finot, L., 1926, pp. 19-21, pls. 61, 65; Parmentier, H., 1909, pls. LXVIII, LXXVIII, XCIX).

Two Burmese monastic buildings, the Ōkkyaung at Ava and the Upālithein or Upālisīma, show some resemblance to these Cambodian and Vietnamese monuments, but are of a pent-roofed rather than a barrel-roofed type (*ASIAR* 1906-07, pl. XLa; 1935-36, pl. XXXIIc). Both these are constructed entirely of masonry, but they preserve the forms of the indigenous brick-and-timber architecture.

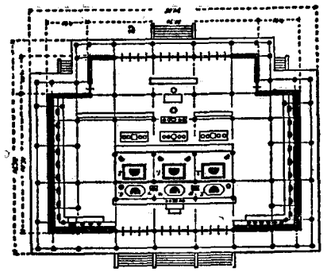
[1] See below, pp. 372 ff., esp. p. 374-375.



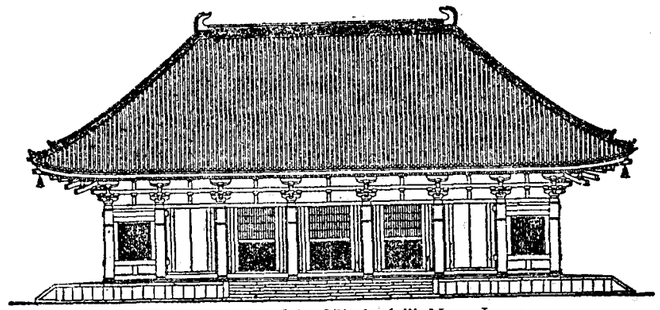
a. Buddha preaching in a hall
(from a mural, Vihāra 16, Ajaṇṭā,
India—after Fergusson)



b. Main hall, Hsien-t'ung-sse, China
—elevation
Ming Period (?)
(after Seckel)



c. Main hall, Hsien-t'ung-sse, China
—plan
Ming Period (?)
(after Seckel)



d. Golden hall (kondō) of Tōshōdaiji, Nara, Japan
second half of 8th Century
(after Seckel)

Fig. 99. 'Pāsāda' type structures

Ceylonese structures. There is no doubt that the germinal designs of many building forms of Southern Buddhism had their clearest expression—though not necessarily their 'origin'—in the largely lost architecture of the Gupta Period. We have had occasion before to remark that this phase constitutes an important transitional stage in the development of both Indian and Sinhalese architecture.[1] It is perhaps no coincidence that the best impression that we can have of the Sinhalese *pāsāda* in its original conception comes from a painting in Vihāra 16 at Ajaṇṭā (see fig. 99a). This shows an elongated hall or house, with a two-staged, pent roof, an elaborate, projecting portico and a pillared verandah, resembling, at one and the same time, both the common dwelling-house and the grand architectural conceptions such as the Burmese *kyaungs*.[2] The building depicted in the painting represents a palace or *vihāra*, from the porch of which the Buddha preaches to an assembled gathering. This testifies to the importance of this type of structure in the architecture of the period. Moreover, the resemblance between this and such apparently indigenous edifices as the Buddha halls of China and Japan (see figs. 99b, c, d), when taken together with the parallel forms discussed above, serves to remind us that the buildings of Monsoon Asia belong to one large and homogeneous architectural tradition, that can only be compartmentalised into different schools or traditions for purposes of analytical convenience. The relations between the indigenous form and the imported idea, the familiar distinction between the 'Indian' and the 'Chinese' spheres of influence, etc., have to be seen, ultimately, as polarisations within a single, though multi-dimensional ecological and socio-cultural entity. The wide-ranging history of the broad-faced, rectangular structure which we call the *pāsāda* makes this point more clearly, perhaps, than any other single building type. It extends from the Harappan civilisation to the classic form of the Gupta Period in India, and finds its most articulated expression in Ceylon, in Burma and the Buddhist traditions of Eastern Asia. It is often echoed in the solid masonry architecture of Southern India and South-East Asia. Yet almost everywhere it is certainly a purely indigenous, even prehistoric archetype.

The history and chronology of the Sinhalese *pāsāda*, like most other Anurādhapura buildings, cannot as yet be established in any specific terms. While it is the most characteristic and natural form in the local building tradition, originating perhaps in prehistoric times, we are still in no position to say when it took its formal shape in the monastic architecture of the Anurādhapura Period. We do know, however, that the earliest monastic dwellings in Anurādhapura, in the time of Mahinda, were adapted from existing secular halls and residences.[3] We have seen that the least standardized and probably the earliest of the *pāsādas* in the surface remains at Anurādhapura were the *isolated* structures in the Mahāvihāra, Laṅkārāma and at Pankuliya. The earliest period to which we can assign these is the 7th-8th Century, that is to say, from the beginnings of Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period.

A genuinely primitive type, certainly predating these Anurādhapura examples by about a century or two, if not more, obtains in the crude structures at Veherabäṅdigala, which at a rough guess we have assigned to around the 5th Century.[4] Various tentative and incomplete excavations in Anurādhapura have revealed a mass of brick building, as well as stone foundations, in successive phases, going down to a depth of about ten or fifteen feet.[5] No scientific

[1] See above, p. 210.
[2] For further examples of this type of structure, see also Parmentier, H., 1907, esp. pl. III, figs. 53-55, 58, etc., pl. IV, figs. 68, 74, 75-76, 91, 92, etc.
[3] See above, p. 47.
[4] *ASCM* II, pp. 22 ff. and plans; see also above, pp. 128-130, 157-158.
[5] *ASCAR* 1957, pp. 26-31; 1960, pp. 63-66; 1962-63, pp. 52-55; 1963-64, pp. 57-58.

data of any value is available from these attempts, but it does seem that buildings of a roughly rectangular type were predominant. Similarly, at Sīgiriya, where we can ascribe at least the bulk of the buildings on the rock to the end of the 5th Century, we find the rectangular ground plan as the principal element in the intricate palace complex of Kassapa I (477-495).[1]

At the end of the Anurādhapura Period, on the other hand, in the 9th and 10th Centuries, we have what is obviously a fully developed form in the large, standardized *pāsādas* of Categories B, C and D. Inscriptional evidence of building activities, in the 9th and 10th Centuries, in the *pabbata vihāras* of Toluvila, Vessagiriya (*pāsādas* of Category C), Puliyankuḷam and Vijayārāma (Category D), confirms this.

The *pāsāda* continues virtually unchanged in the Polonnaruva Period. Rectangular buildings are to be seen in the remains at Daṁbadeṇiya (see fig. 26) and Yāpahuva,[2] the royal capitals immediately succeeding Polonnaruva, but the classic form seems to disappear around this time, at least from the archaeological record. It remains, however, the central concept behind the form and design of Ceylonese buildings, both religious and secular, right down to modern times.

KUṬĪ

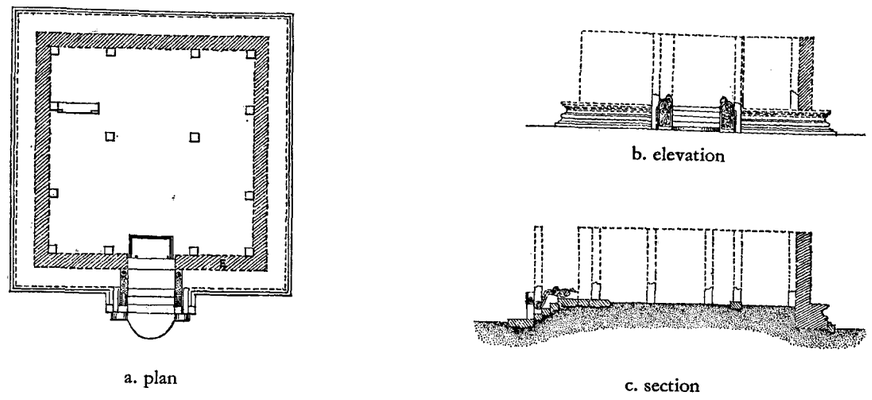
If the *pāsāda* was the archetypal form of Sinhalese architecture and the most characteristic monastic dwelling of the ancient period, the most frequently encountered residential structure in the monasteries of the Late Anurādhapura Period is a smaller, square version of it, the *kuṭi* (see figs. 100, 101, Pl. XXVII). The term *kuṭī*, itself (or *kūṭāgāra*, *kūṭāghara*), is traditionally applied to the small hut, cottage or cell occupied by a monk or hermit, and later to various shrines, pavilions and architectural features derived from these original dwellings. In the Buddhist tradition it retains its residential connotations right down to modern times. It finds its historical sanction in the four residences of the Buddha in the Jetavana—the Gandhakuṭī, the Kosambakuṭī, Karerikuṭī and Salaḷagharakuṭī. In the context of classic Sinhalese architecture, the application of this term to the relatively large, square houses or monastic dwellings of Anurādhapura is somewhat arbitrary.

The precise Ceylonese name for this structural type—at least in the Polonnaruva Period—seems to have been *culla pāsāda*, distinguishing it from the *dīgha pāsāda* or long house. If this ascription is correct—it remains purely conjectural—its implications are doubly significant. It demonstrates the fact that the *kuṭī* is a smaller version of the classic *pāsāda*, as the material remains of this type of structure confirm. It also reveals that to the Sinhalese architectural mind, a free-standing monastic residence was always a *pāsāda* or 'palace' and that there was no essential distinction between the larger, rectangular form and the smaller, square version, except in terms of size and importance. It may also indicate that the *kuṭī*, at least as a formal architectural type in the Late Anurādhapura Period, had no separate history from that of the archetypal *pāsāda* but was possibly a later or subsidiary development. We retain the term *kuṭī*, in referring to these distinctive square structures, to distinguish them in kind from the elongated rectangular *pāsāda*.

Unlike the *pāsāda*, with its numerous variations and derivatives, the *kuṭī* is a type restricted to a single role—a monastic dwelling—in the three preplanned monastery types of the

[1] *PPAR* 1897, Plan of Excavations on Summit, Bird's-eye view, and various pls.; see also *PPAR* 1899, plan of Sigiri Nuwara.

[2] *ASCAR* 1910-11, Plan of Caves and Ruins at Yāpahuwa.



a. plan

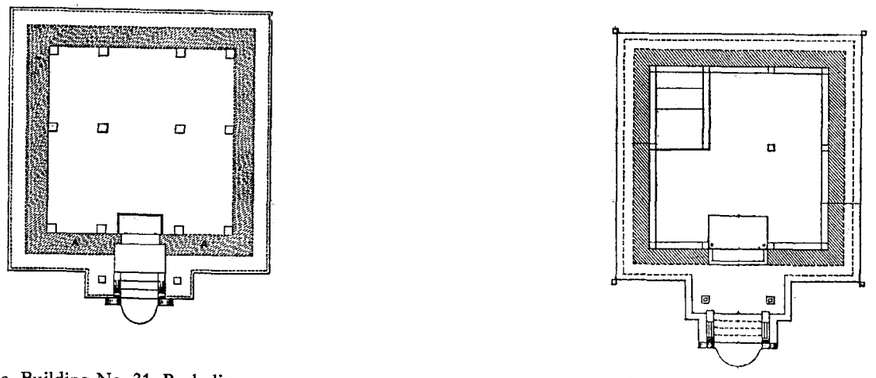
b. elevation

c. section

Fig. 100. Kuṭī, Monastery B, Abhayagirivihāra Sector II

Anurādhapura Period, the *pabbata vihāra*, the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and in the earlier *padhānaghara pariveṇa*. Invariably, it has a very precise form, function and location within the monastic complex. We rarely see it serving any other purpose than a habitational one—although, of course, the square plan, in general, is widely applied as an alternative to the rectangular. It rarely exists as an *isolated* building, being usually incorporated in a formalized plan such as that of the *pañcāyatana*.

Thus, in the *pabbata vihāras* of Anurādhapura the *kuṭīs*, which form the sole habitational structures of these monasteries, are arranged systematically around the central precinct (see figs. 14, 16, 17, 20, 23). At the Vijayārāma and the Pācīnatissapabbata there is only a single range of *kuṭīs* on each of the four sides of the residential area, between the moat and the central



a. Building No. 31, Pankuliya

b. Building No. 2, Toluvila

Fig. 101. Kuṭīs

precinct. At Puliyankulam there are two ranges of *kuṭīs* on each side. In all three of these examples the *kuṭīs* face in the general direction of the central quadrangle. Their orientation and positions are strictly geometrical, forming an exact square around the precinct.

The arrangements at Toluvila (see fig. 18) are not so clear, but it seems as if the *kuṭīs* were placed in parallel rows or ranges between the sacred quadrangle and the shrine complex to the south. They may have extended around the northern quadrangle too, but, with the exception of the *kuṭīs* which form a *pañcāyatana* around the central shrine of the southern complex, all examples at this site face either east or west, in contrast to the general north-south orientation of the monastery and its principal shrines. Another unusual feature here is that each *kuṭī* had a small, rectangular structure at right angles to it, as well as a lavatory or urinal.[1]

At Pankuliya (see fig. 15), on the other hand, as we might expect, there is no systematic arrangement of residences around the central precinct. We have already discussed the implications of this in connection with the evolution of the *pabbata vihāra* and the development of the *pāsāda*.[2] Of the four or five square, or nearly square, structures that are placed amongst the numerous *pāsādas* of this monastery, only two *kuṭīs* appear to be of the standard size and design.

The provincial sites have not been properly excavated. It is only at the Magulmahāvihāra (see fig. 20) that we have some evidence of the residential buildings. These do not seem to be quite as strictly schematized as in the fully developed Anurādhapura examples, and there is some suggestion in the published plan that the *pāsāda* rather than the *kuṭī* was preferred here, as at Pankuliya.

In the major *vihāras*, too, the *kuṭī* is never seen outside the schematized *pañcāyatana* and semi-*pañcāyatana* groups, except in two or three examples in Monastery G of the Mahāvihāra.[3] Only one of these—Monastery G (ii), Bdg. a—is of the standard type, measuring 24 ft. square and with 12 columns.

Unlike the *pāsāda*, which even in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* alone shows such great variations in size, the *kuṭī* displays a high degree of standardization and a very narrow range of dimensional differentiation. Some selected examples from the best known monasteries clearly illustrate this point (measurements are given in ft. and ins.; the tabulated dimensions apply to *all kuṭīs* in the respective *pañcāyatanas* and *pabbata vihāras*):

Location	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
Mahāvihāra		
Mon. B	30.6 sq.	16
Mon. H	30 sq.	16
Mon. I	31 sq.	16
Mon. K	26 sq.	12
Abhayagiri		
Sect. II,		
Mon. B	30 sq.	16

[1] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 5.
[2] See above, pp. 78, 81, 265-267.
[3] *ASCAR* 1899, p. 2.

Location	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
Jetavana		
Mon. B.	32.6 sq.	16
Mon. C	25 sq.	12
Mirisavāṭi		
Mons. B, C, F, G, H, I	25 sq.	12
Mon. L	25.3 sq.	12
Mon. M	25.6 sq.	12
Pabbata Vihāras		
Puliyankulam (32 examples)	26 sq.	12
Vijayārāma (12 examples)	24 sq.	12
Toluvila	25 sq.	12

Thus, in well over a hundred examples represented in this tabulation, the maximum variation is 8 ft. 6 ins. There are two basic types: the commonest, of which we have more than eighty examples, measures 25 ft. square and has twelve pillars, while the larger type varies between 30 ft. and 32 ft. 6 ins., and has sixteen pillars. In the *pañcāyatana* groups, differences in the size of the *pāsāda* seem to have little bearing on that of the accompanying *kuṭīs*. For instance, Monastery C of the Jetavanavihāra has one of the largest *pāsādas* (Category A), measuring 82.6 ft. by 58 ft., while the *pāsādas* of the Mirisavāṭivihāra are in Category E, with an average size of 35 ft. by 25 ft., but the *kuṭīs* in both the former and the latter are all 25 ft. square and have twelve pillars.

It is only in the *kuṭīs* which form the rear platform of the double-platformed buildings in the earlier type of *padhānaghara pariveṇa* (see fig. 44) that we find greater variations in size and a somewhat different pattern of dimensions and columniation (the measurements, given in ft. and ins., refer only to the rear platform and are rough approximations):

Location	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
Veherabändigala		
Bdg. A	31.6 sq.	—
Bdg. B	18.6 sq.	—
Bdgs. C, E, J	18 sq.	—
Bdg. M	15 × 14.6	—
Riṭigala		
Bdg. 40B	28.6 sq.	16
Bdg. 31B	18.6 sq.	—
Mullēgala, A'pura		
Central dbl.-platf.	18 sq.	—
Western Mons., A'pura		
Mon. A, Bdg. 4	18 sq.	—
Mon. B, Bdg. 13	20 sq.	—
Mon. E, centr. dbl.-platf.	30 × 28	16
Mon. H6	28.6 sq.	(16)
Mon. H8	28.6 sq.	16
Mon. H7	22.6 sq.	—

Location	*Dimensions*	*Columniation*
Mon. K alpha (2 examples)	22.6 sq.	(16)
Mon. K beta	22.6 × 20	(16)
Mon. K (subsid.)	18 sq.	(16)
Mon. N, Bdg. 6	22.6 sq.	16

These *padhānaghara kuṭīs* represent the earliest examples of this building type.

The actual structural form and design of the *kuṭī*, in general, differs in no significant respect from that of the *pāsāda*, except for its square ground plan, and for that reason it requires no special or detailed description. It is always a square structure, with a single, frontal entrance. This entrance has the usual complement of guardstones, wingstones and moonstone, often rather smaller and simpler than those of the *pāsādas* or other larger and more important structures. Again, its *adhiṣṭhāna* shows similar mouldings, appropriately reduced in size and sometimes less elaborate. As in the *pāsādas*, this *adhiṣṭhāna* and the walls, to the height of the ground floor, are in brick, while the superstructure must have been of perishable materials and the roof tiled. In some of the more elaborately appointed *pañcāyatanas* the base-mouldings are lined in stone (see Pl. XXVII).

The paved space in the corner, which we have suggested was the landing for a staircase, is a regular feature of the *kuṭī* in the *pabbata vihāras* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*. The conventional location of these paved spaces is strictly adhered to.[1] This is best seen at Puliyankulam, where the thirty-two *kuṭīs* ranged around the central precinct are all fairly well preserved with their paved corners intact.[2] The existence of these landings suggests that the *kuṭī*, like the *pāsāda*, was a storeyed structure. It is only in the *padhānaghara kuṭīs*, as in the *padhānaghara pāsādas*, that this feature is missing.

In its other internal features, too—or rather in the *lack* of them—the *kuṭī* in the *pañcāyatana* resembles the *pāsāda* above. There is no evidence of any internal subdivisions. However, in the consistently sixteen-pillared structures of the *padhānagharas* there may have been the same cellular division into seven small chambers, with a central space and entrance, as in the *padhānaghara pāsāda*.[3] If we take a typical example such as Building No. 40B at Ritigala, we see that the twelve pillars embedded in the walls and the four free-standing pillars in the centre of the room form convenient lines of division into four, square corner cells and three rectangular ones in the middle of each side.[4] The square cells would measure about 6 ft. and the others 9 ft. by 6 ft. This compares with the cells of Western Monastery M which are about 10 ft. by 5 ft. and 8 ft. by 5 ft., respectively.[5]

As these cells were merely for sleeping in, apparently providing accomodation for a single *bhikkhu*, no great space was required. Comparison with other monastic and secular sleeping quarters makes this point clear. The corner cells in the Baddhasīmāpāsāda at Polonnaruva are 8 ft. square, while those in the royal palace are 9 ft. square. The elaborately decorated structure at Pankuliya, Building No. 21, has seven cells, each measuring about 11 ft. by 9 ft.[6] In comparison, a typical free-standing *kuṭī* measuring 30 ft. square has an internal space 25.6 ft. square, while one measuring 25 ft. square is 17 ft. square internally. Although this could

[1] See above, pp. 256-257.
[2] *PPAR* 1900, Plan of monastery at Puliyankulama; see also our fig. 16.
[3] See above, pp. 258-259.
[4] *PPAR* 1893 (*Twelfth Report*), pl. M.
[5] *ASCM* I, pl. facing p. 40; see also our fig. 42.
[6] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 5; *PPAR* 1892 (*Tenth Report*), pl. XXII.

indicate that there may have been internal cells in *kuṭīs* of all types, it does not necessarily mean that such features actually existed. In fact, it is likely that they did not. Similarly, the central sanctum—indicated by the presence of a *yantragala* or *padmāsana*—which is featured in a few of the more important *pāsādas*, is a very rare feature in the *kuṭī*. There seem to be only two examples of this, viz. the north-east *kuṭī* of Mahasen's Pavilion (see fig. 28)[1] and the north-west *kuṭī* of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector III, 'Viharā No. 1'. Thus, the *kuṭī* of the Anurādhapura Period is a smaller version, a poor relation, as it were, of the classic monastic residence, the *pāsāda*.

As a generic type, the *kuṭī* has a long history in secular and monastic architecture in India and, no doubt, in Ceylon. The basic concept of a simple square structure with a single entrance is as old as architecture itself and is still commonly seen everywhere, together with the alternative, rectangular long house.[2] It is the essential form from which the cellular chapel and the sanctum or *garbhagṛha* of the Indian temple is derived, and remains the basic design principle of all Brahmanical shrines and temples. As Kramrisch observes, 'The square is the fundamental ... the essential and perfect form of Indian architecture'.[3] One of the rare shrines which preserves this original concept very clearly is the Draupadī Ratha at Māmallapuram. We have already seen that the square—in fact, the *kuṭī*—is the basis of all Sinhalese image-houses of the Anurādhapura Period.

As a monastic residence, the square cell is the basis of the Indian *saṅghārāma* in its developed form and, despite the primacy of the rectangular shape in the Sinhalese tradition, square cells are not infrequently seen in cloistered and chambered buildings of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods. As a freestanding residential structure, however, it is only in the Ceylonese monastic tradition that this ancient form is developed to the point where it constitutes a major architectural type. The freestanding monastic cell is rare in Indian Buddhist building and in Buddhist traditions elsewhere, at least when compared with the highly formalised and substantial shape that we find in Ceylon. In Brahmanical architecture it becomes, just like the *sālā*, a miniature pavilion or model known as the *kūṭā*, one of the important elements of the *hāra* or sequence of diminutive shrines which constitutes the dominant architectural motif of the South Indian temple superstructure. This classic form is best represented in the miniature relief pavilions of early South Indian and Sinhalese architecture, which have their structural equivalents in the small, domed temples or chapels of both the Buddhist and the Brahmanical traditions.[4]

The relation between the square cell or sanctum of the image-house and the residential cell or *kuṭī* is manifest in early Buddhist architecture. We may recall here Foucher's discussion of the term *vihāra*:

> Le *vihâra* était tour à tour et à la fois, soit la maison d'un religieux, soit un temple, si par temple on entend... la maison de l'idole. De même, chez nous, dans "cellule" il y a *cella*. La simultanéité des deux sens est d'autant plus naturelle, que la ressemblance n'existe pas seulement dans les mots: comme l'a si bien remarqué M. Senart à propos des plus vieux sanctuaires de l'Inde, 'on donne au dieu la même habitation, embellie et agrandie, qui sert à ses adorateurs'.[5]

These observations may well be applicable to Sinhalese monastic architecture. The sanctum

[1] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 31.
[2] The circular form, typical of African and other traditions, is less prevalent in Indian domestic architecture and extremely rare in Ceylon.
[3] Kramrisch, S., 1946, p. 22.
[4] See above, pp. 210-211 and below, pp. 354 ff.
[5] Foucher, A., 1905, pp. 99-100.

or main shrine-chamber of the Sinhalese image-house is an essentially square structure like the *kuṭī*. However, the more complex *gandhakuṭī* plan of the *paṭimāgharа*, with its attached vestibule, obscures the immediate correspondence between the image-house and the *kuṭī* and clearly distinguishes the one from the other. Thus, while they both go back to the same archetypal square form, the Sinhalese *kuṭī* seems to have its own, separate history of development.

One of the problems which confront us in an attempt to reconstruct this history of development is to determine the exact nature of the relationship between the freestanding *kuṭī* and multi-cellular structures such as the so-called 'hospital' monasteries, the monumental *uposathagharas* and other *pāsādas* which are internally subdivided into cells, and, in particular, the (incomplete) cloisters and ranges of cells which we find in the northern and eastern sectors of the Mahāvihāra, Pankuliya, etc. The hospital monasteries reproduce the basic plan and design of the Indian *saṅghārāma* and its history cannot be separated from that of the subcontinental form. The buildings with internal subdivisions are the natural product of the partitioning of large areas into suitable chambers, determined by various functional requirements. The ranges of cells, on the other hand, could be interpreted as the formation of a single, composite structure out of the attachment of a varying number of free-standing cells or chambers.[1] The opposite process, that is to say, the dispersion of such a composite structure into separate cells or *kuṭīs*, is an unlikely and unacceptable explanation, for the simple reason that the free-standing hut or cell is an ancient and perennial concept that lies at the roots of both the Indian and the Sinhalese traditions. Thus, the *kuṭī* cannot be understood except as a distinct, archetypal form with its own particular momentum of development.

The history of the *kuṭī* in the Early Anurādhapura Period is quite obsure, like that of most other Sinhalese monastic buildings. We can be sure that it occupied a subsidiary position in relation to the *pāsāda*, if it existed at all. In those monastic groups which display an early or 'primitive' layout, such as Monastery G of the Mahāvihāra, the Laṅkārāma and Pankuliya, the *kuṭī* is not met with so frequently as the *pāsāda* (see figs. 4, 9, 15). For instance, amongst the various residential structures placed around the central *cetiyagharа* in the Laṅkārāma, there is only one building that is a *kuṭī*, 24 ft. square (Building No. 10), as against five distinct *pāsādas* and several other rectangular edifices.[2] Similarly, at Pankuliya—which we have mentioned previously in this connection—there are four or five square or nearly square monuments, of which only two are standard *kuṭīs*, while there are thirteen or more major rectangular edifices, of which at least seven or eight are clearly *pāsādas*.

This provides us with some evidence, though admittedly slender, that the *kuṭī* may not have been a type of building widely prevalent in the major, urban monasteries of the earlier period, or at least that it did not take any formal shape nor play a role that in any way approached the important architectural position occupied by the *pāsāda*. That development seems to have taken place much later, probably in Phase IV of the Anurādhapura Period, with the appearance of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa* and the formalized layout of the *pabbata vihāra*. We may, of course, conjecture that even in the earliest monastic settlements, simple huts and cottages, with a basically square ground plan, were erected to accommodate those younger monks, novices and other monastic dwellers who could not be housed in the principal residential *pāsādas*. With the development of the monastic organisation and the evolution of distinct

[1] The best example of this is Building No. 21 at Pankuliya, which is 110 ft. long and 32 ft. wide. It has a broad verandah in front and seven exactly similar cells placed side by side in one long row [*ASCAR* 1892, p. 5; *PPAR* 1892 *(Tenth Report)*, pls. XXII-XXIV, XXVIII-XXXVIII].

[2] *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 7-9.

architectural types, these huts would have taken a more regular and formal shape in the *kuṭīs* of the schematized *pañcāyatanas*.

However, the fact that the *isolated kuṭī* is so rare in the organic monasteries[1]—that is to say, there does not seem to be any transitional form between the (conjectural) monastic hut and the *pañcāyatana kuṭī*—may suggest that this development took place elsewhere, possibly in the essentially provincial monastery types, the *pabbata vihāra* and the *padhānagharа pariveṇa*.

It is in the *padhānagharа pariveṇa* that we find the most substantial and significant evidence for these developments. Not only are these *pariveṇas* the only monastic form for which we have something like a continuous sequence, but they also represent a type in which the *kuṭī* rather than the *pāsāda* was originally the basic component (see fig. 44). We have seen that the *kuṭī* form is usually preferred in the rear platform of the provincial *padhānagharas* or double-platform buildings of Types I, II and III.[2] It is only with the final development of Types II and III in the Western Monasteries of Anurādhapura that the *pāsāda* replaces the *kuṭī* as the rear structure. In the equally important provincial monasteries at Riṭigala and Mānäkanda even in the most developed examples of Type III, the *kuṭī* is retained in preference to the *pāsāda*. This not only demonstrates the fact that the *kuṭī* and the *pāsāda* were interchangeable, but also that the *kuṭī* was the original and essential form of the residential section (i.e. rear platform) of the double-platformed structures.

In the earliest *padhānagharas*, at Veherabäṅdigala, where the platforms are still very crudely built and not as yet standardized, the square or nearly square *kuṭī* shape is the most typical design of the rear platform, although rectangular, *pāsāda*-like ground plans are not entirely unknown.[3] Today, they consist of only the rubble retaining walls of the basal platforms. All other features seem to have been of perishable materials such as thatch, timber and mud. No doubt this represents the structural character of monastic residences, at least in the provincial monasteries of about the 5th Century, to which period we have roughly assigned the structures at Veherabäṅdigala.[4]

The buildings of the period roughly between about the 5th and 7th Century, constitute, in our opinion, Phase A of the development of the *padhānagharа pariveṇa*.[5] These evolve into a more finished and regularised type of *kuṭī* with dressed ashlar *adiṣṭhānas*. Early examples of this can be seen in Building M at Veherabäṅdigala and at Anurādhapura in the Mullēgala complex and in Western Monasteries A, B, E, H and K. As we have suggested earlier, this process began possibly about the late 7th or 8th Century and then continued, at Riṭigala, Mānäkanda and Araṅkälē, into the 9th and 10th Centuries.[6] This constitutes Phase B of the development of the *padhānagharas*, in which the *kuṭī* is still retained as the rear platform. It is only in Phase C, which is restricted to Anurādhapura, that the *kuṭī* is consistently replaced by the *pāsāda*.

A similar, but more speculative chronology seems to apply to the evolution of the *kuṭī* in the *pabbata vihāra* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*. Both these monastery types, and especially the

[1] The comparatively few isolated *kuṭīs* in the Mahāvihāra Monastery G and the Laṅkārāma, as well as at Pankuliya, could well be later acquisitions, added to these complexes after the *kuṭī* form had been developed elsewhere.

[2] See above, pp. 124-128.

[3] *ASCM* II, pp. 22-30.

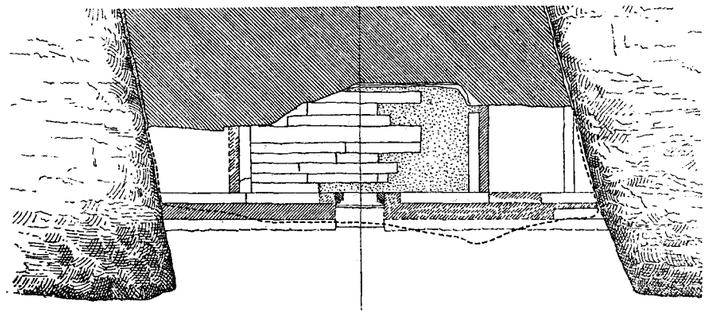
[4] See above, pp. 128-130, 157-158.

[5] See above, pp. 128-130.

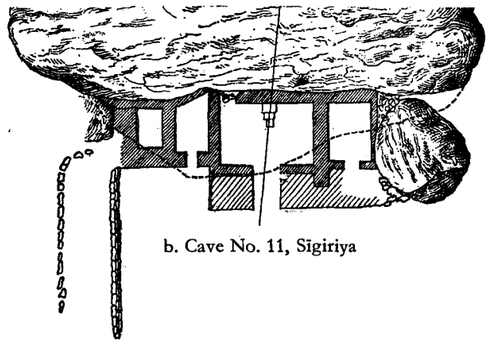
[6] See above, pp. 128-130.

latter, appear in a fully developed form between the 9th and 10th Century and probably have a history of previous development between the 6th and 8th Century.[1]

The *kuṭī* achieves its most standardized form in the developed *pabbata vihāras* and in *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* of the 9th-10th Century. Thus, its earlier development takes place between the 5th and the 8th Century, in Phase A of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* and possibly in the formative stages of one or both the other monastery types. The *kuṭī*, therefore, presents us with a not entirely undocumented chronological sequence which tallies with the conjectural dates which we have applied to the other building types of the Late Anurādhapura Period.



a. 'Galgē', Abhayagirivihāra Sector I

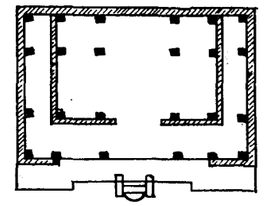


b. Cave No. 11, Sīgiriya

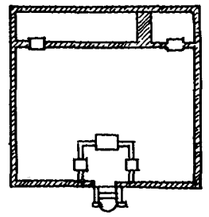
Fig. 102. 'Cave'-monasteries

On the other hand, its later history during the Polonnaruva Period is more obscure, but to a great extent this is due to the fact that no proper excavations of the actual monastic dwellings of that period have been carried out. Although the *kuṭī* can still be seen in the architecture of that period, revivalist tendencies may have resulted in the predominance of the classic *pāsāda* in preference to the *kuṭī*. This seems to be the case, as things appear today, in such partially excavated monastic complexes as the Āḷāhana Pariveṇa and the Potgulvehera monastery. However, further investigations and excavations are necessary before this matter can be decided.

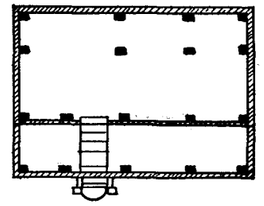
[1] See above, p. 81 n. 3, 99.



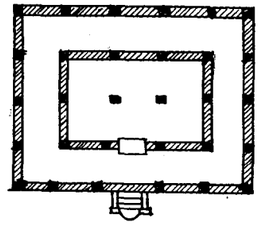
a. Building NN, Puliyankuḷam



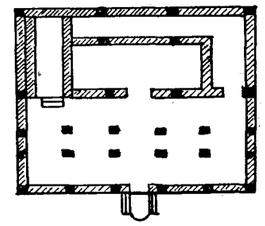
b. Piriveṇa B, Puliyankuḷam



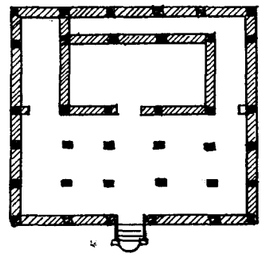
c. Building No. 16, Pankuliya



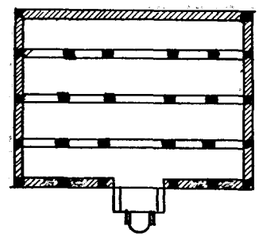
d. Building No. 8, Pankuliya



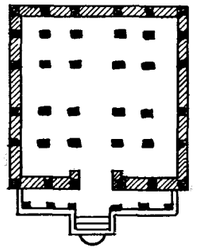
e. Piriveṇa B, Thūpārāma



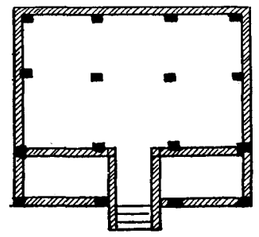
f. Piriveṇa, Ruvanvāli Ruins (East)



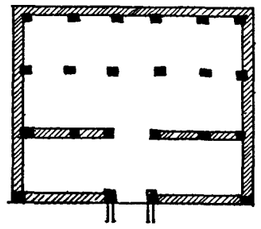
g. Building No. 28, Jetavanavihāra



h. 'Vihāra', Citadel



i. Pāsāda, Potgulvehera



j. Pāsāda, Potgulvehera

Fig. 103. Pāsādas with internal divisions

The recessive nature and subordinate position of the *kuṭī* and of its more organic form, the small, square cell or cottage, is clearly displayed in the architecture—both monastic and secular—of the post-Polonnaruva epochs. With the disappearance of formal building types in monastic residential architecture, the *kuṭī* in its classic form disappears completely from the Sinhalese tradition.

BHOJANASĀLĀ AND JANTĀGHARA

The formal design and elaborate construction of such residential structures as the *pāsāda* and the *kuṭī* testify to the increasing wealth and growing monastic population of the *vihāras* of the Late Anurādhapura Period. In the 5th Century, Fa-hsien estimated that the monastic population of Anurādhapura was about 10,000. Even if the actual figure was half that number, it had surely doubled or trebled by the end of the Anurādhapura Period. With such large numbers of monks, to which we should add the lay monastic officials, servants and slaves, the monasteries of Anurādhapura were a type of urban settlement or community with a very high density for that period. The architectural—and administrative—organisation called for by these large communities required a high degree of skilful planning. The remains in Anurādhapura are a substantial witness to the sophisticated solutions that were produced by the Sinhalese architects and planners in the face of the various problems confronting them.

One of the major problems to which they addressed themselves was the supply and distribution of food to a totally non-productive monastic community numbering in the thousands. The giving of alms, usually in the form of food, to holy men, hermits and mendicants, as an act of piety, is an ancient custom, existing to this day in the societies of Southern Asia.[1] With the development of monastic organisations and the royal patronage that was extended to the Buddhist order from the very beginnings of Ceylonese history, this custom had been institutionalised in the *bhojanasālās* or *bhattasālās* (and also, today, *dānasālā*), the large, centralised alms-halls or refectories of the major monasteries. One of the historic institutions of Sinhalese Buddhism was the Mahāpāḷī, the royal alms-hall, which was originally the refectory of the Mahāvihāra, established by Devānaṁpiyatissa and maintained as an adjunct of the royal palace right through the Anurādhapura Period. Its history has been recorded through the ages and of particular interest are the successive enlargements of this building in the reigns of Mahānāma (410-432 A.D.), Aggabodhi II (608-618), Silāmeghavaṇṇa (623-632), Aggabodhi IX (831-833), Udaya II (887-898), and its final reconstruction by Mahinda IV (956-972) after it had been destroyed in the Coḷa invasion of the mid-10th Century.[2] The remains of the Mahāpāḷī have been identified by two 10th Century inscriptions on the rice-trough in the large building by the side of the structure which we have interpreted as the remains of the royal palace (see figs. 104, 163, Pl. LV). These inscriptions are unique in that they establish, epigraphically, the identity of one of the historic monuments of Sinhalese Buddhism. If the stone food-troughs,

[1] In general, however, the supplies and maintenance of the so-called alms-halls were not dependent on voluntary donations but rather on the wealth and the lands held by the monasteries, or by the alms-halls, themselves (see Geiger, W., 1960, p. 193). According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, even as early as the 3rd Century B. C., the Mahāpāḷī had royal grants which provided for its maintenance (*Mhv.* 20.23-24). No doubt there was also the practice—as in modern times—of individuals, especially kings, nobles, etc., giving food and alms to the *saṅgha* which were distributed by way of these refectories (e.g. *Mhv.* 45.1, 25; 48.34; 49.78).

[2] For the history of the Mahāpāḷī and a summary of the literary references to it, see Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 24; also *ASCAR* 1902, p. 3.

which are a characteristic feature of these large refectories, had not already indicated the purpose served by these monumental buildings, this stone record establishes it beyond doubt. Moreover, the remains of this alms-hall, although extensively denuded, provide us with definitive evidence of a certain type of structure. Altogether, there are six surviving examples of such buildings in the Anurādhapura area, most of them in a much better state of preservation.

The present remains of the Mahāpāḷī consist of a rough square, about 120 ft. by 128 ft.[1] It seems to have been of a rather crude construction with stone walls to a height of about 2 ft.

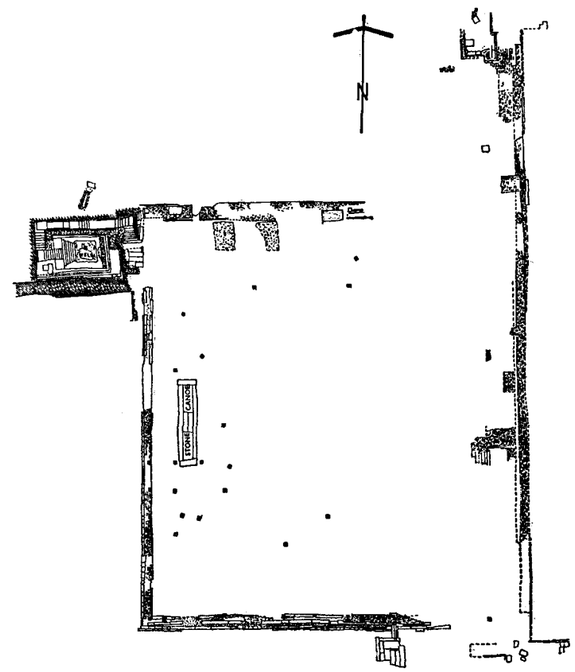


Fig. 104. Mahāpāḷī alms-hall, Anurādhapura

6 ins. and brick walls above. The southern wall has a facing of fairly well-cut stone slabs, but this was missing elsewhere. As Paranavitana observes:

> When compared with the remains of other buildings to be seen at Anurādhapura, the methods of construction employed here are rather crude and purely utilitarian, very little or no attempt having been made to impart any artistic beauty to the structure.[2]

This comment is equally applicable to the other refectories, although the present structure has been so thoroughly pillaged by modern road builders that it gives the impression of being much more rudely built than the other examples. Nothing remains of its internal features save

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1936, pp. 24-36, plan facing p. 17.

[2] Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 26.

the stumps of thirty-three pillars of the large complement it once carried. At present there is only a single entrance to the building in the centre of its northern side, but there is evidence in the earlier structures at the site[1] that it may have had the triple entrances which are a fairly standardized feature of these refectories.

Equally characteristic is the stone drain which leads out from inside the building, through its southern wall, to a square sump. There is some evidence that this drain may have been fitted with a cover, probably of wood.

The remains of at least two earlier structures were discovered at depth of 1 ft.-2 ft. and 4 ft. below the present building, representing, perhaps, the recorded reconstructions of the 7th and

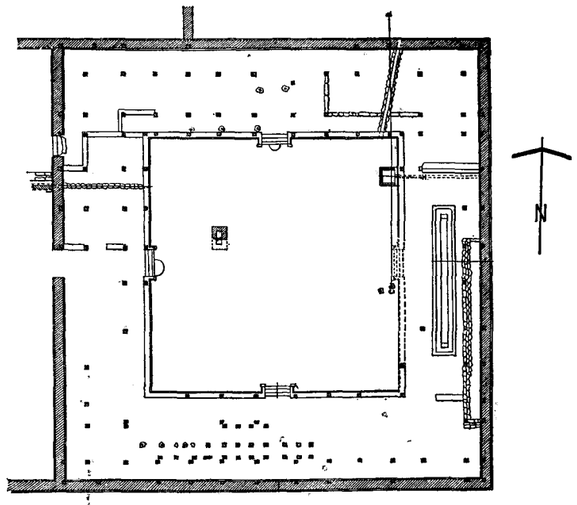


Fig. 105. Bhojanasālā, Mahāvihāra (east)

the 9th Centuries. The later of these two buildings had massive brick walls, over 5 ft. thick and, apparently, very little stonework.

A structure which had been wrongly identified as the Mahāpāḷi by Bell and which proves to be a similar type of refectory, of somewhat larger dimensions, is the building to the south-east of the Ruvanvälisāya (see figs. 4, 105).[2] Here, the essential features of the *bhojanasālā*, particularly of its ground plan, are well preserved. It is a large, square structure, measuring 140 ft. by 137 ft., with an open, stone-paved central courtyard, 78 ft. square and nearly 2 ft. below the level of the surrounding enclosure. The outer walls were of brick with a simple, rectangular stone plinth. The main entrance is in the centre of the western face and there seem to have been two subsidiary entrances on either side of it, or at least one to the north. The central entrance had a rough moonstone and a threshold slab. In common with other such refectories, this edifice has only a low plinth and stands much lower than comparable monastic

[1] See Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 28.
[2] *ASCAR* 1902, pp. 1-3.

structures. The general appearance is one of severe, utilitarian simplicity of construction and a complete lack of ornamentation.

The original plan of the interior has retained the distinctive characteristics of a refectory. The square, depressed courtyard is entered from the surrounding covered area by four sets of stairs placed in the middle of each side. These stairs have plain balustrades, terminals and moonstones. The covered area surrounding the open courtyard was pillared with about 150 very roughly finished stone columns. The eastern section of this area contained the massive stone rice-trough. There are several covered drains which lead out from the courtyard and at least two of them are aligned with a small sunken cistern near the north-east corner of the

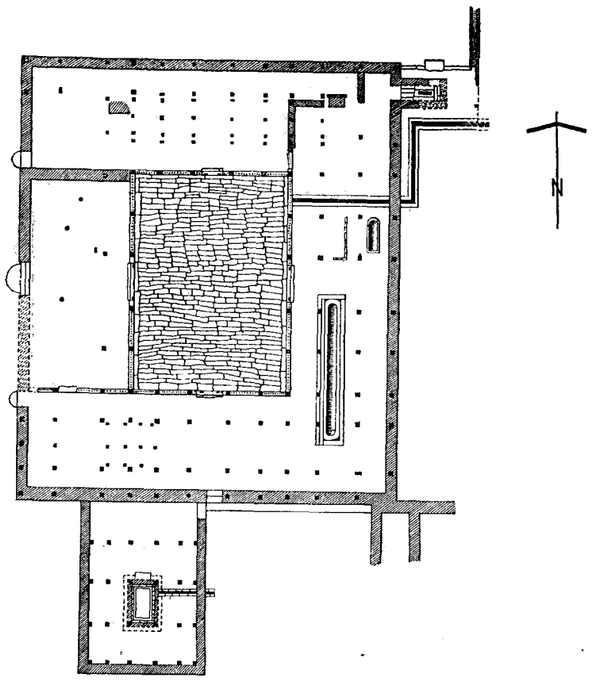


Fig. 106. Bhojanasālā, and 'scullery' (Building Nos. 29 and 30), Jetavanavihāra

courtyard. A number of flat tiles found at the site prove that the original structure had a tiled roof. There is nothing to suggest that it had any upper storeys.

This refectory is located some distance behind the main street which runs along the western periphery of the eastern range of Mahāvihāra *pariveṇas*, indicating its appropriate status as a residential building.

In a similar state of preservation is the corresponding structure in the Jetavanavihāra (see figs. 10, 106).[1] It is slightly smaller and rectangular rather than square, but otherwise has

[1] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 2.

more or less the same features, and a similar location within the eastern range of monasteries. The three entrances, with their plain extra-architectural components, are still in evidence. The stone trough is placed at the back of the building, as in the Mahāvihāra example. There is also a smaller stone trough placed by the side of the larger one. An additional feature of this refectory is a subsidiary structure attached to the southern wall of the main edifice. It has no discernible entrance but was probably entered from the main refectory. Its main features today are a relatively large, depressed sink or cistern, at its centre and a drain leading from this sink. Both the sink and the drain are paved. Bell thought it was a *jantāghara* or bath-house, but it is more likely that it was a kitchen or scullery.

A somewhat smaller structure which Bell identified as the alms-hall of the Thūpārāma lies at the northernmost extremity of the eastern range of the Mahāvihāra, some distance away from the Thūpārāma complex itself (see fig. 4).[1] In its present state of denudation the original

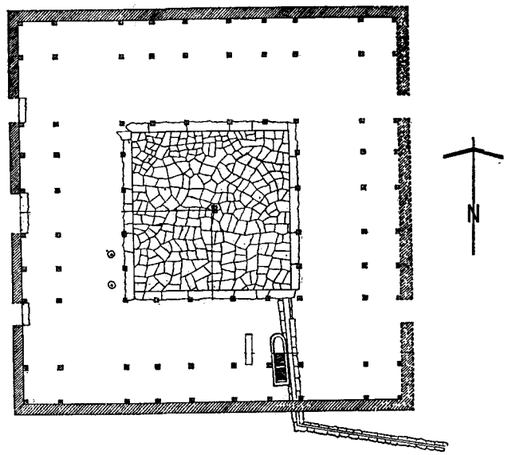


Fig. 107. Bhojanasālā, Mirisavāṭivihāra

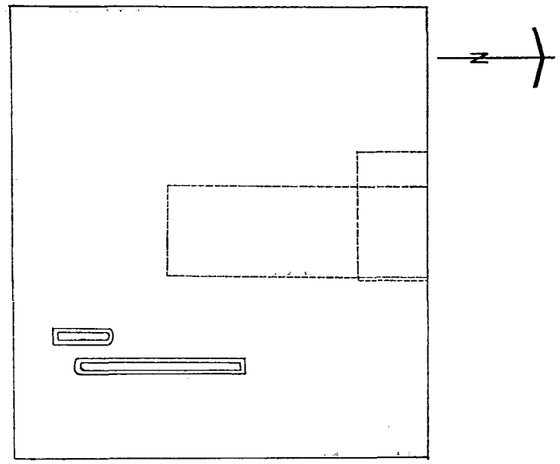
form and purpose of the building is scarcely discernible. However, Bell's description of it as a square structure with irregular halls or chambers around an open, central courtyard is an adequate basis for his identification. It has no stone rice-trough, but the existence of a drain and a stone basin provide some material evidence of its original purpose.

The smallest of the refectories in the major monasteries of Anurādhapura is that in the Mirisavāṭivihāra (see figs. 5, 107, Pls. XXX, XXXI).[2] This has all the usual features such as the triple entrances, a sunken courtyard, rice-trough and drain, but approaches the plan and dimensions of a *pāsāda* more closely than any of the other examples mentioned so far. It provides us with a useful link between these large refectories and a somewhat smaller and more *pāsāda*-like which we shall discuss in the sequel.

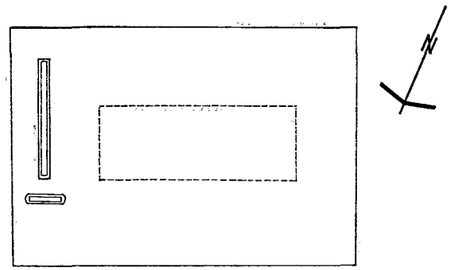
The only refectory, of those in the major monasteries of Anurādhapura, which has not been fully excavated or definitively identified is that of the Abhayagirivihāra (see fig. 108a). The

[1] *ASCAR* 1906, pp. 1-2.
[2] *ASCAR* 1902, pp. 4-5.

remains of the massive stone trough of this building, which lies to the south-west of the main *stūpa* (i.e. Sector III) and within the southern range of *pariveṇas* (see fig. 6), had already been noticed by Burrows in the 1880's.[1] Ayrton correctly associated the ruins at the site as representing the remains of the central alms-hall of the Abhayagirivihāra.[2] Although only partially excavated—if at all—the original plan of the building is still clearly visible. As is often the case with the monuments in the Abhayagirivihāra, it is certainly the largest example of its



a. Abhayagirivihāra—sketch plan



b. Mihintaḷē—sketch plan

Fig. 108. Bhojanasālās

type. Although square, or nearly square in plan, its courtyard is an elongated rectangle. A large food-trough and two smaller ones—one of which has been removed—were placed in the south-east corner of the edifice, which apparently faces north. Pillar stumps to the south indicate what may be the remains of a scullery as in the Jetavana example. There are several other ruined structures around the refectory, which may or may not be connected with it.

[1] Burrows, S. M., 1894, pp. 43-44.
[2] *ASCM* I, p. 13.

A slight variation from the normal plan can be seen in the main refectory at Mihintaḷē, which is situated to the north-west of the Mahāsāya (see figs. 11, 108b, Pl. XXXII).[1] Here the building itself is oblong, entered from a single entrance in one of its narrow sides. As Bell suggests, this was probably due to the nature of the site. The courtyard too conforms to the shape of the surrounding structure. The two stone troughs were placed towards the back of the refectory.

There are two interesting features in this *bhojanasālā* which help us to understand and interpret the other examples more fully. Some of the internal divisions—rather confusing when they do exist elsewhere—have been preserved here to some extent. Bell, who excavated the monument, made these very relevant observations in this connection:

> Unlike the even quadrated division of monks' cells, such as that already described at the presumed Hospital, these four-sided refectories, or "alms halls", were laid out necessarily to suit their special exigencies.
>
> Thus, here the front (west), allowing for passage through, and the south side were divided up into kitchens.
>
> About the middle of the south range of rooms a stone *pīlla*, or trough [i.e. a water spout or duct]—a monolith, 20 ft. 6 in. in length by 1 ft. 4 in. wide, supported high on trilithons—led water from the southern terrace above for culinary use into a scullery and cistern, and thence by a covered drain into the central yard. This paved *midula* [i.e. courtyard] was drained by a sink and conduit at its south-east corner.
>
> On the north side of the quadrangle is an elongated room, 45 ft. in length, brick walled and shut off from the kitchens. This was probably the actual *salle à manger* where meals were served.[2]

Thus, whether we agree with Bell's suggestions or not, we may reconstruct the way in which a monastic eating-house operated. The food was apparently cooked in one part of the refectory and served in a dining-hall located near the rice-troughs. The courtyard was, as we have seen everywhere, supplied with water, both for cooking and for washing, and had outlets for draining the water. The building was fully ventilated by its open courtyard and its multiple entrances—though not in this particular structure at Mihintaḷē—permitted the easy passage of the large numbers of monks that were accommodated within.

A much smaller structure at Mihintaḷē which may also have been a refectory is the so-called 'Priory', which lies in the upper valley below the main complex on Mihintaḷēkanda (see fig. 11).[3] Bell drew special attention to its triple entrances, resembling those of the *bhojanasālās* at Puliyankuḷam and Vijayārāma.[4] Apart from its three entrances this building, which is 61 ft. long and 33 ft. 6 ins. wide, has nothing to indicate its original purpose. Internally, it has an elevated platform, 2 ft. high and 12 ft. 6 ins. wide, which stretches the length of the building. As very few *bhojanasālās* of this *pāsāda* type have any distinguishing features,[5] the existence of this platform and the lack of a courtyard, a sink or a drain neither confirms nor eliminates the possibility that this structure is in fact a refectory. Thus, this identification must remain tentative and of little use to us in our characterisation of this building type.

By far the smallest of its kind is the *bhojanasālā* lying well to the east of the rocks at Vessagiriya (see figs. 12, 109).[6] It has only a single entrance in its slightly bayed front. Apart from this

[1] *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 22-23.
[2] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 22.
[3] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 24.
[4] See below, p. 297.
[5] See below, pp. 300 ff.
[6] *ASCAR* 1909, p. 4.

bay it is more or less a square. The paved court and drain still remain but there is no sign of a stone trough. The courtyard has an unusual raised platform in the centre, with four corner pillars and a further dais or raised section in its eastern half. A somewhat isolated ruin, it is one of the rare survivors of the outlying residential structures which must once have surrounded the remains at this site.

The size of the Thūpārāma, Mirisavāṭi and Vessagiriya *bhojanasālās*—when compared with the monumental refectories of the three great *vihāras*—shows that unlike the ritual structures such as the image-house or the *bodhighara*, the refectory varies in its dimensions in direct proportion to the extent of the monastic establishment. Accordingly, the refectory of the *padhānaghara* complex at Veḷerabāṅdigala is a simple *pāsāda* belonging to Category E (see fig. 110).[1] It has a small, rectangular sink—scarcely a courtyard—at its centre, with four pillars at each corner as at Vessagiriya. The solitary entrance is from the west and there were windows

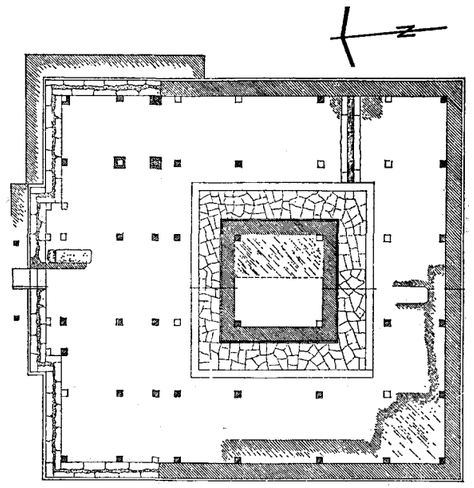


Fig. 109. Bhojanasālā, Vessagiriya

on either side of the door. Again, there is no food-trough but the drain leading out from the sink still remains. A number of tiles discovered in and around the building prove that it had a tiled roof.

From these eight or nine examples, certain characteristics emerge which clearly define this particular building type. It consists essentially of a square or rectangular structure, of varying dimensions, with a central, depressed courtyard or sink, single or triple entrances, food-troughs, drains etc.[2] These features may be conveniently summarised thus (all measurements are given in ft. and ins.; the figures in brackets are approximations or conjectural):[3]

[1] *ASCM* II, pp. 31-32; see also plans following pp. 22 and 31.
[2] Adding to the evidence which positively confirms the identity of these refectories is the discovery of querns in the buildings of the Mahāvihāra and at Mihintaḷē (*ASCAR* 1902, p. 2; 1910-11, p. 22 n.).
[3] The curious stone troughs, so characteristic of these alms-halls, are almost certainly designed for the large

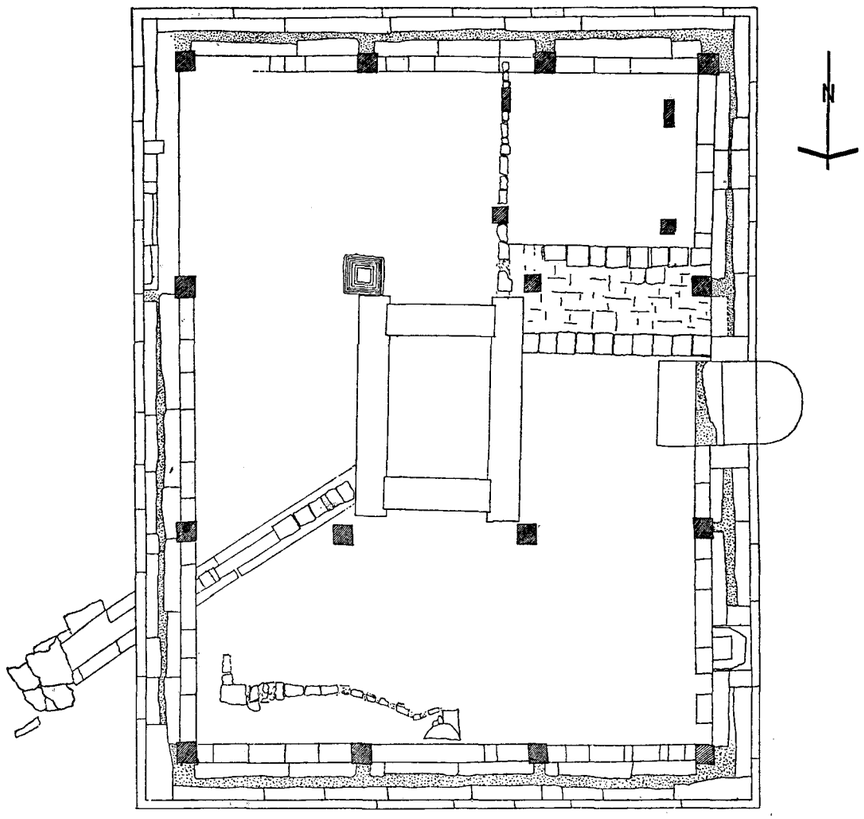


Fig. 110. Bhojanasālā, Veherabāṅdigala

quantities of rice—or rice-gruel—which was the basis of the Sinhalese diet in the past as it is today. These massive *bhattanāvās* ('rice-ships') or *kāṅda-oru* ('gruel-boats'), as they are called, give us some idea of the large numbers that must have been fed in these refectories. The bigger troughs are made up of several carefully fashioned stone slabs, usually bellied out and resembling a boat or canoe. Their respective lengths are: Abhayagiri, 62 ft. 9 ins.; Mahāvihāra, 44 ft. 3 ins.; Mihintaḷē, 41 ft. 9 ins.; Jetavana, 36 ft.; Mahāpāḷi, 27 ft. 6 ins. The smaller type is usually monolithic, that at Mihintaḷē being the exception. The bottom of these smaller boats is often grooved with criss-cross lines. Bell suggested that this was "for the easier scouring of unwashed rice" (*ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 23).

The large, composite 'canoes' probably had an inner container of wood or metal. Those refectories in which there are no stone troughs must have had wood or metal versions, or large pans and cauldrons. Aggabodhi I (575-608 A.D.) is said to have donated a canoe of bronze to the Mahāpāḷī (*Mhv.* 42.33-34).

One other feature connected with the refectory, and possibly incorporated within it, was the *salākagga* or ticket-house "where tickets, probably tokens made of wood, were issued to the monks before they proceeded to the refectory for receiving their ration of food" (Rahula, W., 1956, p. 132).

	Size	*Courtyard*	*Columniation*	*Entr.*	*Troughs*	*Drains*
Mahāpālī	128 × 120	—	—	(3)	1	yes
Mahāvihāra	140 × 137	78 sq.	(150)	(3)	1	yes
Jetavana	110 × 96	57 × 40	144	3	2	yes—in attached scullery
Thūpārāma	84 × 82	52.6 × 50	—	—	—	yes
Mirisavāṭi	73 × 65	30 sq.	84	3	1	yes
Abhayagiri	(148 × 138)	(85 × 30)	—	(3)	3	—
Mihintaḷē	114 × 77.6	62 × 25	128	1	2	yes
Vessagiriya	59.9 × 52.9	23.3 × 21.6	56	(1)	—	yes
Veherab'gla	38.9 × 30.6	(10 × 7.6)	16	1	—	yes

These correspondences help us to identify a type of refectory which is to be found in the somewhat different contexts of the *pabbata vihāras* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*. The structure at Veherabāṅdigala, and, to a lesser extent, the Mirisavāṭi and Vessagiriya refectories have shown us that the *pāsāda* type of building was employed as a *bhojanasālā*. We have spoken earlier of the two juxtaposed structures which usually stand on either side of the avenue leading to the sacred precinct of the *pabbata vihāra* and the central quincunx of the *pañcāyatana pariveṇa*.[1] These have been identified by Ceylonese archaeologists—not always with confidence and sometimes not even with consistency—as the refectory and the *jantāghara* or bath-house.[2]

The building which immediately presents itself for comparison with the *bhojanasālās* that we have been examining above is the structure which lies to the right[3] of the main (southern) entrance to the complex at Puliyankuḷam, just outside the residential area and the moat and inside the outer *prākāra* (see figs. 16, 111).[4] On plan it is nearly square (ca. 68 ft.), with a paved courtyard sunk in its centre and surrounded by two rows of columns. The outer walls are in brick with pillars set against them, leaving a wide space free of columns between the walls and the central colonnades. The paved yard was probably open to the sky. The building faces the main avenue to the west and has three entrances in front. There is no doubt that this is the refectory of the Puliyankuḷam *vihāra*.

The corresponding structure at Vijayārāma also lies to the right of the avenue leading to the main entrance, and between the moat and the outer *prākāra* (see figs. 14, 112).[5] Bell thought it was the 'pansala' or chief monastic residence but there is no doubt from its location and triple entrances that it is the same feature as that at Puliyankuḷam. It differs from this latter building in being of the standard *pāsāda* shape—as at Veherabāṅdigala—and has no sunken yard or paved area. Bell reports that its floor was of beaten mud, which makes it clear that it had no stone paving. A more careful and scientific excavation, however, might have revealed a sunken courtyard of pressed earth or mud. The discovery of a quern within the building confirms our identification. Bell also informs us that 'iron utensils' were found in the building.

Opposite, though not directly aligned with, the refectories of these two monasteries is the structure which we shall discuss in the sequel, the *jantāghara* (see fig. 113). There is obviously

[1] See above, pp. 79-80, 93 and below, pp. 300 ff. (esp. p. 303).
[2] E.g. see *ASCAR* 1899, p. 3 n. and Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, pp. 80-81.
[3] For the sake of convenience the terms 'right' and 'left' are used extensively in the pages to follow. They are always used from the view-point of the observer *facing* the central precinct or quincunx; e.g. if the main entrance is to the north of the observer, right and left lie to the east and west, respectively.
[4] *ASCAR* 1899, p. 3.
[5] *ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, pp. 5-6.

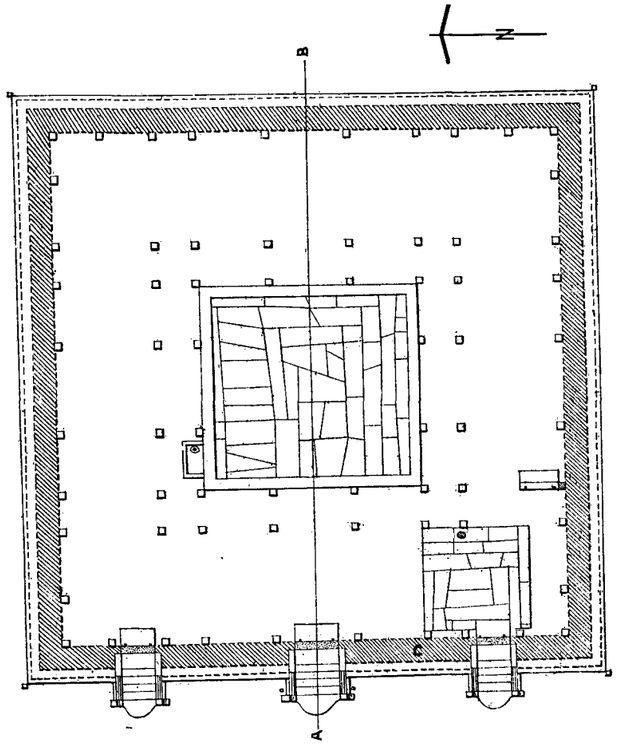


Fig. 111. Bhojanasālā, Puliyankuḷam

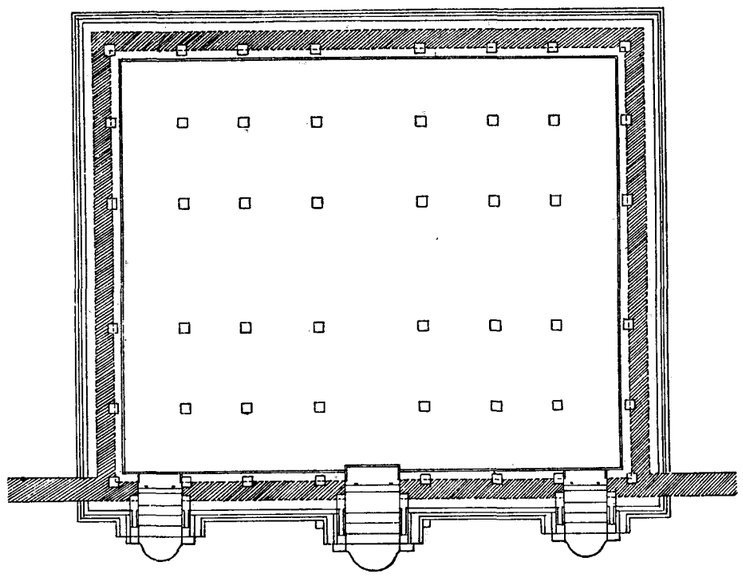


Fig. 112. Bhojanasālā, Vijayārāma

some sort of relationship, both architecturally and functionally, between these two juxtaposed edifices. What interests us at the moment, however, is the fact that the *jantāghara* is usually an oblong-oriented structure, with one of its narrower sides facing the avenue and the refectory beyond. Although the refectory at the Vijayārāma has no paved central yard or sink, this feature is to be found in the *jantāghara* of this monastery (though not, apparently, in the corresponding structure at Puliyankuḷam, which is almost totally in ruin).

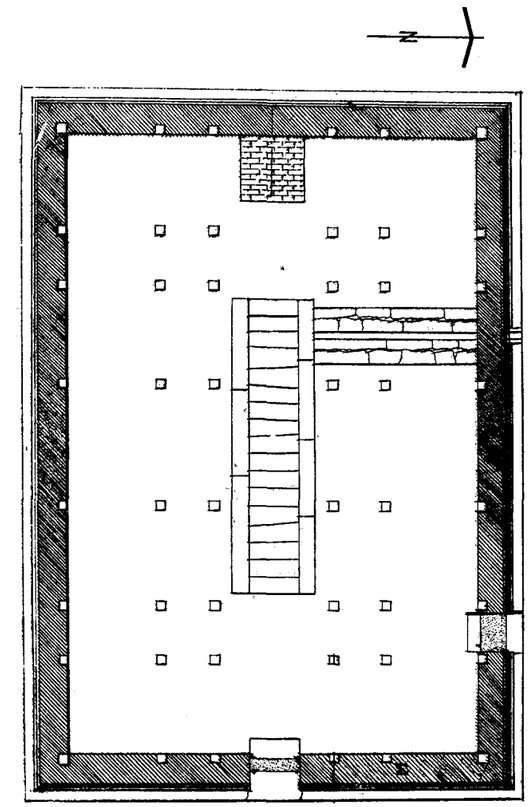


Fig. 113. 'Jantāghara', Vijayārāma

At Pankuliya, on the other hand, the position of these two buildings seems to have been reversed (see fig. 15). Standing between the inner precinct and the outer *prākāra*, the moat at Pankuliya, if any, is not clearly demarcated—amongst the residential *pāsādas* and *kuṭīs*, but to the left of the entrance, is a badly ruined rectangular structure with one of its broader sides facing the path (Building No. 26-27).[1] It seems to have had at least two entrances, one facing the path and the other facing the central precinct. We would normally identify this building as the refectory and this may well be correct. However, there is very little evidence of its

[1] *PPAR* 1892, *(Ninth Report)* pl. XVI.

identity today. Bell makes no reference to it in his account of the remains at Pankuliya except for the plan which he reproduces. On the other hand, the oblong-oriented structure opposite is somewhat larger and much better preserved (see fig. 116),[1] providing us with more material for speculating about its identity. It has a small, shallow sink or bath in the middle—resembling that in the *jantāghara* at Vijayārāma (see fig. 113)—and a drain leading out of it. Thus, we are left with several alternatives in trying to understand the arrangement in this monastery. Perhaps we have the usual arrangement, with the locations reversed, or it is also possible that the refectory here is in fact oblong—as in Mihintaḷē—and that the '*jantāghara*' is either placed at broadsides to the path (i.e. Building No. 26-27) or is dispensed with altogether. Much depends, however, on the identity and character of the type of building which we call a *jantāghara*.

The *bhojanasālā* and the *jantāghara* have not been properly excavated or investigated at any of the other *pabbata vihāras*, thus adding to the ambiguities and uncertainties. It is only at Kaḷudiyapokuṇa (Dakkhiṇagirivihāra) that we have some traces of the classic arrangement in the outlines of an oblong-oriented structure placed on the left (see fig. 19). We have already discussed the elliptical buildings at Toluvila, Pulukunāvi and Magulmahāvihāra.[2] Prematilleke and Silva have identified the Toluvila and Magulmahāvihāra examples as refectories,[3] and in the absence of any better alternatives this speculation may seem acceptable. However, if we consider their location and orientation we are again faced with the problem of whether these were refectories or bath-houses.

At Magulmahāvihāra we have the conventional location, i.e. to the right, but an oblong orientation (see fig. 20). At the other two sites, the buildings lie at broadsides to the path but to the left (see figs. 18, 22). It is only at Toluvila that we have a smaller and rectangular structure, lying next to the elliptical building and at right angles to it, in the conventional juxtaposition of refectory and bath-house. Both structures, however, lie on the same side of the avenue, an arrangement which is unknown elsewhere. The only other basis for conjecture with regard to the elliptical structures is that they are large and commodious, and comparable to the *bhojanasālās* of the Jetavana and Mirisavāṭi *vihāras*. The Toluvila monument, for example is 86 ft. long and 61 ft. broad, at its widest, and has brick outer walls 3 ft. thick. And with this we reach the limits of our speculation—at best a rough guess that the elliptical form was an alternative design for the refectory.

While the picture which emerges from the *pabbata vihāras* is confusing, that in the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* is much clearer. The conventional juxtaposition of *bhojanasālā* on the right and *jantāghara* on the left as one approaches the central precinct of the *pañcāyatana*, is fairly consistently adhered to in the *pariveṇas* which display these two structures. As far as we can see, there are only about four or five exceptions amongst at least twenty-seven examples that are to be found in the major monasteries of Anurādhapura and Mihintaḷē.[4]

[1] *ASCAR* 1892, p. 5; see also *PPAR* 1892 *(Ninth Report)*, pls. XVIII-XIX.
[2] See above, p. 80; see also *ASCAR* 1895, p. 1; 1961-62, p. 77.
[3] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, p. 81.
[4] These include: *Mahāvihāra*, Monasteries H, I and K (only bath-house remaining); *Abhayagirivihāra* Sect. I, Mon. A (refectory and bath-house), Mon. B (ref.), Sect. II, Mon. B and Mahasen's Pavilion (ref. and bath.), Queen's Pavilion (bath.), Sect. III, 'Vihāra No. 2' (ref. and bath.), Sect. IV, Mon. south-east of Stūpa (ref. and bath.), Sect. V, Mon. east of Stūpa (ref. and bath.); *Jetavanavihāra*, Monasteries, F, O, L, K, and H (ref. only), Monasteries B and E (ref. and bath.); *Mirisavāṭivihāra*, Mon. I (ref. and bath.); *Mihiṇṭalē*, Iḍḍikaṭusāya Mon. (ref. and bath.), Mon. with Lion's Bath (bath. ?). For purposes of reference see figs. 4 (Mahāvihāra), 6-8 (Abhayagiri), 10 (Jetavana), 5 (Mirisavāṭi) and 11 (Mihintaḷē). The monasteries in which the arrangements are reversed are: *Mahāvihāra*, Mon. B (bath. to right, no ref.); *Jetavanavihāra*, Mon. N (ref. to left), Mon. G (ref. to left?); *Mirisavāṭivihāra*, Mons. F and M (ref. to left). In Jetavana, Mon. E, listed above, both ref. and bath. seem to have an oblong orientation, while in Abhayagiri Sect. III 'Vihāra No. 2', both ref. and bath are placed broadsides to the avenue.

Despite the fact that there are so many of these, very little information can be added to what has already been said about them, apart from generally confirming the standardised location of the respective buildings. In Monastery B of the Mahāvihāra the structure to the right of the path is oblong-oriented, but Bell suggests that it resembles the *pāsāda* with triple entrances (i.e. the refectory) at the Vijayārāma.[1] He explains its oblong orientation as being due to 'exigencies of space'. There are at least three clear cases in which the central, paved 'sink' of the *jantāghara* has remained intact—in Monastery B of the Abhayagiri Sector II, Monastery A of the Abhayagiri Sector I and Monastery B of the Jetavanavihāra (see figs. 115, 117, 118).[2] Bell compares the first of these to the similar building at the Vijayārāma (see fig. 113) and identifies the Jetavana structure as a 'bath-house' with a 'brick-built bath ... [and] ... an escape drain for water'. The only instance of a *bhojanasālā* in these *pañcāyatana* complexes, which seems to have some traces of a sunken yard or sink is in Monastery B of the Abhayagiri Sector I (Building No. 2—see fig. 7). Bell compares this to the *jantāghara* of Monastery A in the same sector (see fig. 117),[3] even though the former is placed broadsides and to the right of the path while the latter is oblong-oriented and lies on the left.

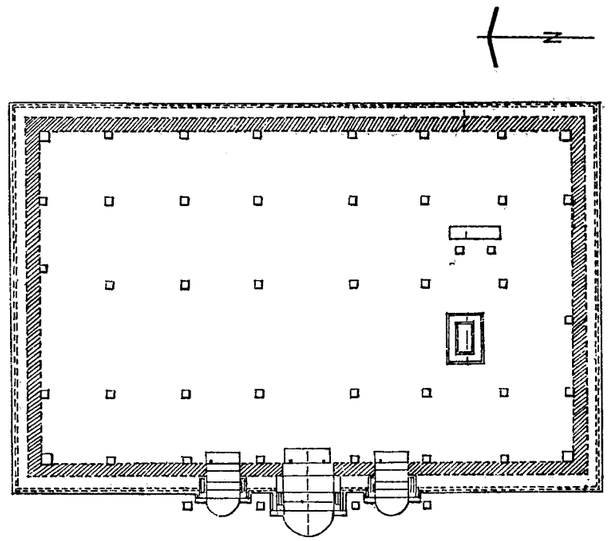


Fig. 114. Bhojanasālā, Monastery B, Abhayagirivihāra Sector II

Very few of these *bhojanasālās* and *jantāgharas* have remained in any reasonable state of preservation—a fact which in itself is perhaps revealing, considering that such utility buildings were usually not as well constructed or as well finished as more important edifices—nor have

[1] *ASCAR* 1897, p. 3.
[2] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 3; 1911-12, p. 21; 1892, p. 3.
[3] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 27.

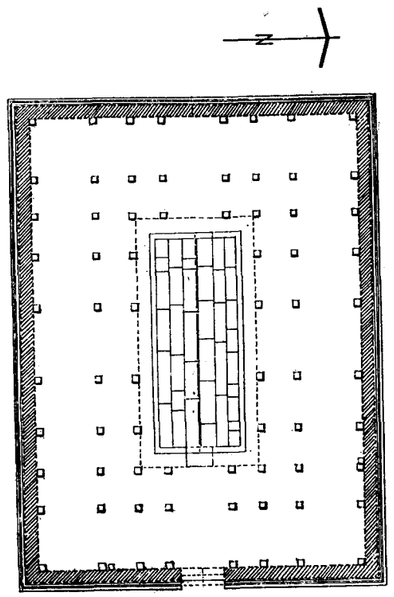


Fig. 115. 'Jantāghara', Monastery B, Abhayagirivihāra Sector II

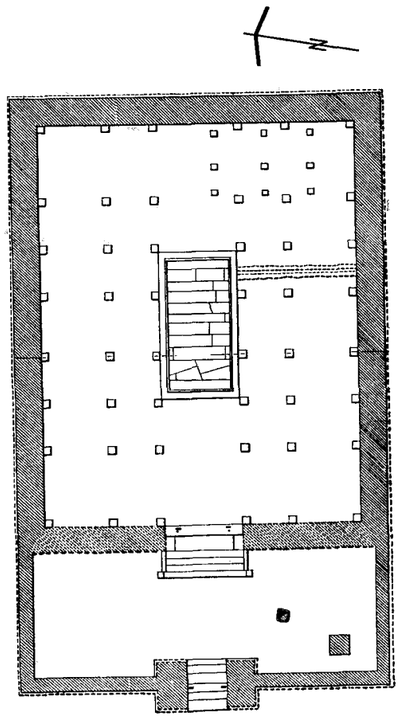


Fig.116. 'Jantāghara' (?), Pankuliya

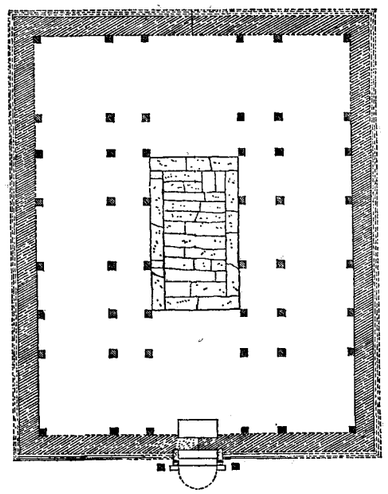


Fig. 117. 'Jantāghara', Monastery A, Abhayagirivihāra Sector I

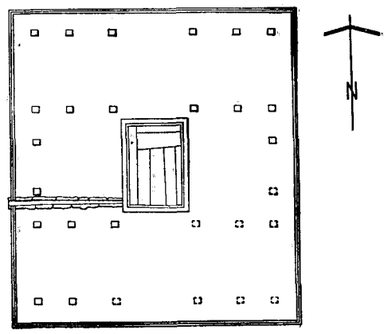


Fig. 118. 'Jantāghara', Monastery B, Jetavanavihāra

they been properly investigated. Of all the examples that we have, it is only in Monastery B of the Abhayagiri Sector II (see figs. 29, 114, 115)[1] that both structures are fairly well preserved. The *bhojanasālā* here has three entrances—an important correspondence—while the *jantāghara* across the street has a large stone sink and drain. Bell has rightly drawn our attention to the close similarities between these buildings and those at the Vijayārāma (see figs. 14, 112, 113). The refectories, both with triple entrances, have similar dimensions—58 ft. by 37 ft. 6 ins. and 52 ft. by 44 ft., respectively. The *jantāghara* of Monastery B is larger (64 ft. by 47 ft.) than that at the Vijayārāma (55 ft. by 39 ft.), but both have very similar sinks. Moreover, both structures in each of these complexes display the conventional orientation.

The identification of the *jantāgharas* has been largely based on Bell's report on the Vijayārāma, where he discovered large quantities of charcoal and ash and the remains of what he considered to have been a fireplace.[2] Whether this fireplace and ash were contemporaneous with the building is a question which has not been posed before and there is now no way of checking this without further excavations. Be that as it may, Bell's initial reaction to his discovery was very definitive—'Here then we had in all probability a genuine *jantāghara*, or hot-water bath, and further excavations converted probability into certainty'.[3] Subsequently, however, he changed his mind and called it a refectory,[4] as he did in the case of all buildings with a sink whether they were rectangular or oblong.

In spite of the confusion which this has created, Ceylonese archaeologists have followed Bell's earlier identification and applied the term *jantāghara* to those structures which have sinks. Thus, Prematilleke and Silva are quite definitive in their characterisation of the *jantāghara* in the *pabbata vihāras* but uncertain of the true nature of the refectories; also, they consider what is obviously the refectory of the monastery at Puliyankuḷam to be a *jantāghara* but they do not explain why it differs in design from the corresponding structure at Pankuliya.[5]

This brings us to the point where we may recapitulate what we have been discussing in the preceding pages concerning the identity of these two structures in all the various types of monastery. We have seen that the monumental refectories have a very specific and unambiguous character and that they are almost certainly related to the buildings placed broadsides and to the right of the path at Puliyankuḷam, Vijayārāma, Monastery B of the Abhayagiri Sector II, etc. Again, the buildings on the left are usually oblong-oriented and we have five examples—Abhayagiri Sector I Monastery A, Sector II Monastery B, Jetavana Monastery B, Vijayārāma and Pankuliya (see figs. 113, 115-118)—where the narrow, paved sink has been preserved. It is only at Pankuliya that this structure is placed on the right. Elsewhere, not only is there a striking similarity in plan, design, construction and columniation but also a consistent location.

There is no doubt then that we have in these juxtaposed buildings a regular, standardised feature of Sinhalese *vihāras* and *pariveṇas*. If we accept the identification of the refectory as a fairly consistent factor, then we have to admit that we still do not really understand its relationship to the so-called *jantāghara*, although the fact that some such relationship did exist is beyond question.

We may ask ourselves whether the so-called *jantāgharas* were possibly the kitchens of these

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[1] *ASCAR* 1894, p. 3.
[2] *ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, p. 6.
[3] *ASC Fifth Prog. Rep.*, p. 6.
[4] *ASCAR* 1899, p. 3 n.
[5] Prematilleke, L. and Silva, R., 1968, p. 80, figs. 17A, 17B.

refectories. The kitchen or scullery attached to the southern wall of the refectory in the Jetavanavihāra may provide an important clue (see fig. 106).[1] It is an oblong-oriented structure, with a central, elongated sink and a drain, and stands at right angles to the main refectory. It is comparable in size to the '*jantāgharas*' in the *pabbata vihāras* and the *pañcāyatana pariveṇas*, although it is relatively much smaller than the *bhojanasālā* itself. The one difficulty in interpreting these structures (as they appear elsewhere) as kitchens, is that they stand a considerable distance away from the refectory, which lies on the opposite side of the main approach to the central precinct. At the same time, it is not inconceivable that cooked food might have been carried from one building to the other.

However, if we continue to identify these structures as bath-houses rather than as kitchens, we may still question the application of the classical term *jantāghara* to the Sinhalese buildings. As far as I can see, *jantāghara* occurs only once in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and that in the context of Mahinda's planning of the Mahāvihāra. It is perhaps not without significance that Mahinda's pronouncement—'This, O ruler of the earth, will be the tank *with the room for warm baths*'[2]—in fact refers to a normal bathing tank,[3] obviously of the type well-known in the monasteries of Anurādhapura. Bathing pools (*pokkharaṇī*) and bathing houses (*nahānakoṭṭhaka*) are frequently mentioned in the Chronicles. Such features are usually open air, cold-water baths, certainly more appropriate in the Ceylonese climate than hot-water baths and more in keeping with usual Ceylonese practice. Of course, some of these may well have had some facilities for using hot water, but this would scarcely allow us to equate them with the steam or vapour bath that is indicated by the term *jantāghara*. The Chronicler, no doubt influenced by canonical descriptions, may well have extended the meaning of the term *jantāghara* to a normal Ceylonese bath-house or bathing pool with some facilities for hot baths.

It is also significant that no remains of a structure resembling the *jantāgharas* of the *pabbata vihāras* and *pañcāyatana pariveṇas* have been discovered amongst the central buildings of the major organic monasteries, despite the fact that many of the building types which are to be found in the smaller monasteries are also found in the major monasteries, usually in a monumental form (e.g. *uposathaghara*, *bhojanasālā*). What we do find instead are a large number of ponds and pools, many of considerable dimensions and some almost certainly meant for bathing. It is interesting to note that the largest pond in the Abhayagirivihāra, the so-called Elephant Pokuṇa, lies almost immediately to the south-west of the main refectory of this monastery (see fig. 6). A similar pond, of equally colossal size, may have existed in the vicinity of the main refectory of the Mahāvihāra, as indicated in Smither's early plan of Anurādhapura.[4] Some traces of a large depression can still be seen at this site, but its extent and outlines have now been obscured.

Further evidence supporting the suggestion that the so-called *jantāgharas* were in fact connected with normal Ceylonese bathing practices comes from the Lion Bath at Mihintaḷē, lying within the complex of monasteries to the south-east of the Kantakacetiya (see figs. 11, Pl. III).[5] This is in fact an elaborately decorated stone cistern with a massive, rampant lion, carved in bold relief, whose mouth formed a highly ornamental water spout. This ingenious monastic bath was located to the left of the path leading to the semi-*pañcāyatana* within whose

[1] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 2.
[2] *Mhv.* 15.31 (italics ours).
[3] See *Mhv.* (tr.), Geiger, W., 1960, p. 9.
[4] Smither, J. G., (1894), pl. I.
[5] *ASCAR* 1910-11, pp. 25-26.

precincts it stands. This position corresponds exactly to that usually occupied by the *jantāghara*, although there is no question here of warm water. It is possible, therefore, that the so-called *jantāghara* was in fact an enclosed, communal bath-house where the monks performed their daily ablutions, bathed, shaved, etc., perhaps just before their midday meal in the refectory opposite.

The possibility of heated water, however, cannot be ruled out. We have, from the Polonnaruva Period, a number of references to a monastic feature known as an *aggisālā*, or fire-house, and a specific reference to stone *nahānakoṭṭhas*, so designed that 'one might be able to bathe in great heat'.[1] Geiger's explanation of *aggisālā* as houses 'for keeping the sacrificial fire'[2] is quite unacceptable. The term usually occurs within the context of other residential buildings, privies, etc., and, in addition, a single *vihāra* seems to have had large numbers of them—for example:

> ...three sermon halls, a cetiya, eight long cloisters and a refectory of (great) length and breadth, eighty-five fire-houses covered with bricks and one hundred and seventy-eight privies...[3]
> ... forty long pāsādas and as many privies, eight small pāsādas and six gate-towers, thirty-four fire-houses and two large outer walls...[4]
> ... three three-storeyed image houses... a thūpa and a cloister, a two-storeyed pāsāda, four gate-buildings, four long pāsādas and eight small pāsādas, one refectory and one sermon hall, further seven fire-houses and twelve privies.[5]

Consequently, it is clear that these were utility buildings and could represent either bath-houses with hot water facilities or kitchens. The latter possibility is suggested by Marshall in his studies of the remains at Sāñcī and Taxila, where he translates *aggisālā* as fire-hall or kitchen.[6]

The ambiguity and uncertainty remain unresolved. In the circumstances, it is perhaps convenient to refer to the structures in question as *jantāgharas* until further evidence permits us to accept or reject this term.

The *bhojanasālās* and *jantāgharas* are regular features of the Sinhalese monasteries. Being essentially service buildings, they may not have been important vehicles of architectural or artistic expression, but they were essential to the life and organisation of the monastic communities. The existence of refectories in the separate *pañcāyatana* units as well as in a monumental form in the greater monastic complex, together with other 'public' alms-houses such as the royal Mahāpāḷī, gives us an idea of how diverse and complicated the monastic organisations were.

The refectory and the *jantāghara* are well known in Buddhist literature and were features of Indian monastic life from early times. It would seem, however, from various examples of refectories and kitchens which are known from monastic remains, that the Indian *bhojanasālā* was generally incorporated within the cellular *saṅghārāma* and not a separate, institutionalised feature with a definite architectural form as in Ceylon. Dutt observes that some of the caves at Kārle and Bhājā may have been used as kitchens, and draws our attention to a dining-hall at the latter site, with a low, elevated platform where the monks may have sat for their meals.[7]

[1] *Mhv.* 78.43-44, 51, 72, 83, 86, 90-91; see also *Cv.*, (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 107.
[2] Geiger, W., 1960, p. 194.
[3] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 106.
[4] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 107.
[5] *Cv.* (tr.) Geiger, W., Pt. II, 1953, p. 113.
[6] Marshall, J., and Foucher, A., (1947), p. 61; Marshall, J., 1951, Vol. I, p. 362.
[7] Dutt, S., 1962, p. 151.

He also mentions a dedicatory inscription referring to a *bhojanasālā* at Kanheri and reproduces a relief fragment from Mathurā depicting a primitive monastic refectory.[1]

Amongst the clearest examples of dining-halls and kitchens incorporated within the cellular Indian *saṅghārāmas* are those at Taxila. Marshall notes that in the monasteries "of the Kushān and later periods the hall of assembly, and later the refectory and kitchen, were placed on the side of the court of cells which was furthest from the stūpa-court".[2] In the *saṅghārāmas* at Kālawān, Giri, Mohṛā Morādu, Pippala, Jauliāñ and Bhamāla the adjacent refectories and kitchens have been fairly clearly identified.[3] They are placed in an extension at the back or the side of the main court of residential cells. A platform, enclosure or paving in a corner of the central courtyard has been identified as a *jantāghara*,[4] and though it may have been used for bathing, there is no positive indication of the use of hot water or steam.

At Mohṛā Morādu that part of the refectory which is usually identified as the kitchen was later converted into what Marshall interprets as a *jantāghara*.[5] Amongst other features in this 'bath-room' is an elevated platform with a central sink or reservoir, with a water channel leading down into the adjoining room. It seems to me, however, that we are faced here with the same problem as in Ceylon, i.e. to decide whether this was a bath, a kitchen or a scullery.

The monastery at Pahāṛpur, which is undoubtedly the largest of the multi-cellular *saṅghārāma* type, has its refectory and kitchens within the cellular courtyard.[6] The refectory seems to have been an enormous rectangular hall. Adjoining the refectory is a covered, masonry drain bringing water into what is thought to be 'a masonry tank or a pool of some sort'. Some distance away from the refectory, and at right angles to it, is a smaller rectangular structure which has been identified as the kitchen.

Similar arrangements can be seen in the monasteries of peninsular India:

> Each monastic establishment was complete in itself, and contained as the unit a *vihāra* for the monks to dwell, an apsidal *chaitya* or two for prayers and a circular *stūpa* for worship and circumambulation. On plan the *vihāra* was a rectangular courtyard enclosed by a brick-wall. In the centre was a stone-paved hall with a roof supported by stone pillars. All around the enclosure ... was a row of cells for the monks often with a verandah in front. Some of the cells were used as store rooms, a few as shrines and there was usually one large room which served as a refectory.[7]

At Śālihundam, however, we have rectangular halls standing as separate elements, again with adjoining kitchens.[8] Thus, we see that the refectory and kitchen are regular features of the developed Indian monastery, although they are not a standardized and distinct building type as in Ceylon.

The *jantāghara*, on the other hand, is as ambiguous a feature as it is in the Ceylonese context. Marshall has given us an elaborate description of it, culled from the *Vinaya* literature:

[1] Dutt, S., 1962, pp. 151-152.
[2] Marshall, J., 1951, Vol. I, p. 281. With regard to Monastery G at the Dharmarājikā, Marshall says that the hall of assembly and "some other common rooms" were placed between the *stūpa*-court and the court of cells—"I use the term 'common-rooms' here, because I hesitate to believe that a refectory and kitchen would have been placed in front of the main entrance to the court of cells". However, we know that this was in fact the case in the Sinhalese *vihāras* of the Late Anurādhapura Period.
[3] Marshall, J., 1951, pp. 333, 343-344, 362, 365, 383, 394, pls. 93(a), 98(a), 101, 114.
[4] Marshall, J., 1951, pp. 360 ff.
[5] Marshall, J., 1951, p. 360; see also *ASIAR* 1915-16, pp. 28-29.
[6] Dikshit, K. N., 1938, p. 29.
[7] Ramachandran, T. N., 1953; p. 6.
[8] Subrahmanyam, R., 1964, p. 30.

> ... the bath-room (*jantāghara*) was for hot vapour baths. It was equipped with a fire-place, a hot water bath and seats for the bathers, whose faces were smeared over with clay in order to protect them from the excessive heat. Attached to it were a cooling room, an ante-chamber for keeping the water in (*udaka-koṭṭhaka*) and a hall.[1]

However, Marshall has nowhere definitively identified the remains of such a structure, with all its ingenious mechanisms, although he very readily associated certain features of the monasteries at Taxila with these hot-water baths. This is not to say, however, that such baths did not exist —the descriptions are too precise and detailed to be mere literary fancies—but to insist on a more rigorous and scientific approach when applying this kind of literary evidence to the material remains.

The date of the Sinhalese *bhoianasālās* and *jantāgharas* must be related to the chronology of other surface structures at Anurādhapura which have been discussed earlier. Therefore, they may be assigned to the latest phase of the Anurādhapura Period. The 10th Century inscriptions on the stone trough in the Mahāpāḷī confirm this. The earlier remains under the present structure, from two successive periods of building, as well as the recorded reconstructions of the Mahāpāḷī in the 5th, 7th, 9th and 10th Centuries—not taking into account its traditional founding in the 3rd Century B.C. and a reference to it in the 2nd Century A.D.[2]—indicate the existence of such institutionalised refectories, with a distinct architectural form, at least from the beginning of the Late Anurādhapura Period, if not earlier.

There is no doubt that these monastic refectories continued into the Polonnaruva Period. Although a number of *bhojanasālās* are mentioned in the lists of buildings erected by Parākramabāhu I, there have not yet been any systematic excavations of the residential structures in the monasteries at Polonnaruva; so we cannot judge whether the form of the Anurādhapura buildings continued into the later period.

In modern Sinhalese monasteries the *bhojanasālā* or *dānasālā* is not a regular or formalised feature, but when it does exist, as in some of the larger monasteries, it takes the form of a long, rectangular house or hall, of the conventional domestic type with no particular architectural embellishment.[3] The kitchen, or kitchens, are often placed in ancillary structures some distance away from the refectory, but occasionally they are incorporated within it. Today, as in the past, the archetypal *pāsāda* form is applied to these service buildings.

It is a measure of the wealth, the sophistication and the architectural formality of the classic Sinhalese tradition in the Anurādhapura Period that even such purely functional structures as the *bhojanasālā* and the so-called *jantāghara* were regular features of a monastic complex, with a conventional location. Often of substantial size, they had an appropriate architectural character and their own distinctive form and design. Architecturally speaking, they may not have attracted the same degree of interest or attention as the more elaborate ritual or residential edifices; nevertheless, they played a necessary and important role in the life of the monastic community.

[1] Marshall, J. and Foucher, A., Vol. I, (1947), p. 62.
[2] See Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 24.
[3] Bareau, A., 1957, pp. 24-25, figs. I, II, IV, V, VII, X.

SECTION THREE

THE ARCHITECTURAL FORM

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUBSTRUCTURE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE

In spite of the array of architectural monuments of the Anurādhapura Period that have been exposed, conserved and identified, only a few have survived with their walls substantially above the level of the basal platforms while their roofs or superstructures have disappeared altogether. The whole face, as it were, of early Sinhalese architecture has been obscured, leaving us with an image of great domed *stūpas* presiding over the skeletons of numerous shrines and monastic residences. And yet, there must have been an architecture here that was as substantial as the *stūpas* and as varied, rich and colourful as the fragments of painting and sculpture which have come down to us from this period.

Our discussion in the preceding chapters has been primarily concerned with the plan, the function and the history of various monastery and building types—an analysis and an interpretation of the surviving skeletal remains. A whole area of inquiry, however, lies in a consideration of the architectural *form*, or more precisely, the total architectonic character, of these monastic buildings—the flesh, so to speak, which covered the bones. If this subject has received relatively little attention in the study of classic Sinhalese architecture, this is at least partially due to the scarcity of the surviving data and the essentially speculative nature of such an exercise.

The most enigmatic problem that confronts the archeaologist and, particularly, the architectural historian, is that of the roofs which covered these monastic buildings. Whatever form these roofs took, they must indeed have been one of the distinctive features of this architecture and any attempt to restore that lost image must concern itself with a solution to this problem. Although largely a matter of speculation and conjecture, this question lies quite legitimately within the scope of our study. On the other hand, the actual remains themselves consist almost entirely of the basal platforms and entrance stairs in brick and stone, often elaborately moulded or sculpted. As integral components of the architectural form, these are also an essential part of this analysis and a logical starting point for an examination of the general character of Sinhalese monastic building. In so far as this study is primarily concerned with the form and function of the monuments of Anurādhapura, the interest in such features as the base-mouldings and the various components of the entrance is directed at their *architectural* rather than their *sculptural* qualities, if it is at all possible to make such a distinction.

The decorative motifs and figural representations found in such elements as the moonstones and guardstones of the entrance are a rich source of material for the study of Sinhalese sculpture, both from the point of view of stylistic and chronological development as well as of religious symbolism and religious history. The moonstones, the guardstones and the wingstones, or balustrades, are amongst the most substantial sculptural remains from the Anurādhapura Period. There are hundreds of such pieces, ranging from the simplest, undecorated types to the most elaborately carved examples, still standing in the ruins of Anurādhapura and other contemporary sites. These sculptures have been studied in a number of books, articles and monographs. We do not attempt here to collate or to re-examine all this material as the

stylistic evolution and symbolic meaning of this sculpture is not the concern of this study. It is for the most part in a purely architectural context that we take up the development of base-mouldings and the component parts of the entrance, the decoration of the exterior wall-faces and the general form of the roof.

The perennial and classic form of Sinhalese architecture was the elongated, rectangular structure, which finds its purest expression in the *pāsāda*. Other forms, such as the square and the circle, were sometimes employed in major building types. Judging from the existing monastic and secular architecture of the later periods, as well as from related or parallel traditions such as those of Kerala, Nepal, Burma and Thailand, the principal emphasis in classic Sinhalese building must have been on the sloping and often multi-tiered roofs. The dynamic verticality and dramatic tensions of these sloping or winged roofs were counterbalanced by the stability and inertia of the cube or cylinder which formed the main body of the building, firmly anchored to the ground by its heavily moulded base. Thus, the principal architectonic quality was an equilibrium reached between the two opposing tendencies of 'movement' and inertia.

A kind of lighter counterpoint to this inherent tension was provided by the sculptural decoration, emphasizing the major points of architectural (and ritual) interest such as the entrance, the base, the pilasters 'supporting' the superstructure and presumably the edges and pinnacles of the roof. Much of the interspace in the wall-faces seems to have been left undecorated, probably lime-washed in white or painted in monochrome. Colour seems to have been used to highlight the sculpture and mouldings and to provide a chromatic ground for the decorated areas.

In the superstructure and the roof, most of which was of timber and other perishable materials, there may have been elaborate carvings, indistinguishable in their final appearance from the painted and plastered brick mouldings and stone sculptures of the substructure. The whole effect of such a building in its final state was almost certainly as delicate and variegated both in form and colour as the present remains are generally stolid and dull. Similarly, the interiors were probably covered with brightly painted decorative motifs and narrative friezes. Unfortunately, none of this external and internal ornamentation can be seen in the ruined monasteries of Anurādhapura today, although a faint shadow remains in such small details as the decorated moonstones and the ornamental pillar capitals.

Luce's evocative description of the lost architecture and the surviving monuments of Pagān may well be applied to Anurādhapura:

> The chief material glory of the Pagán period is its architecture. Hundreds of stupas, temples and monasteries, built nearly all of brick, still stud the 25 square miles which, in its largest sense, we call Pagán. Yule guessed their number to be not less than eight hundred, perhaps a thousand. The buildings range in size from small stupas ten or twenty feet high, to four-storeyed cathedrals climbing to two hundred feet. This is what remains today; but it is only half the story.
>
> Beyond the laterite coast, Burma's native architecture and carving have always been chiefly in wood. At Pagán, where now the plain is loaded with brick monuments, inscriptions show that there was once a wealth of Wood—palaces, schools, colleges and monasteries—perhaps the major glory of Pagán. With their looped and fretted eavesplates, and roofs tapering or slung like chandeliers, they must have lightened and set off to great advantage the brick masses in between. The brick monuments themselves were then less lumpish than they are now. Enclosure-walls and square-set brick monasteries have not changed much, perhaps, except for decay; but time has blunted or levelled every spire and pinnacle; and archaeology dare do no more than clear the rubble, cement leaks, and grout the ruin. One cannot reconstruct a heap of brick, as archaeologists in Java have given new life to heaps of stone.
>
> ... The brick was once enriched with stucco carving, imitating wood. Tongues of foliation broke the plinth; acanthus scrollwork lifted the pilaster; tasselled monsters lolled below the cornice; rhombs of green or yellow glaze embossed the crenallations; horns involving capricorn and leogryph, with spires between of leaf and bud and stalk, composed a living crown for every door and window. Many of these lovely details are now lost...[1]

What is true of Pagān is perhaps even more true of Anurādhapura. The distinctive architectural and aesthetic character of classic Sinhalese building can scarcely be apprehended from the skeletal remains of the monuments which survive. Very little can be reconstructed in the mind's eye, even less subjected to the rigorous scrutiny of scientific analysis.

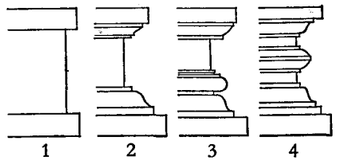
SUBSTRUCTURE

The principal element of the substructure was the moulded revetment of the basal platform. Known as the *adhiṣṭhāna* in conventional Indian architectural terminology, this was at once both the foundation of the building and the base of the outer walls. Base-mouldings are a characteristic feature of classic Indian, Ceylonese and South-East Asian architecture and the Sinhalese mouldings have their counterparts in the building traditions of these areas. Although primarily a decorative or pseudo-architectural feature, base-mouldings have their origins in constructional practice. They reflect an attempt to express aesthetically the loadbearing and stabilising role of the successive courses of brick or stone masonry which are laid as a foundation for the walls and superstructure of a building. At the same time, they indicate or demarcate, both structurally and symbolically, the distinct separation of the sacred monument from the surrounding ground. As far as the entire architectural conception of a religious edifice is concerned they provide a formal statement of the stable and often elaborate base on which the structure rests.

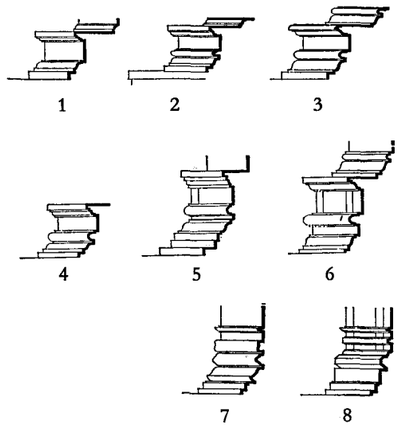
The study of base-mouldings is invaluable to the art-historian and the archaeologist in any consideration of the character and formation of an architectural tradition. We know very little about the original mouldings of early monastic buildings in Ceylon, but from the 7th or 8th Century onwards there is a considerable amount of material which enables us not only to formulate a comprehensive account of the distinctive mouldings of the Late Anurādhapura Period but also to discern a clear, if rather complex, evolutionary sequence. The *adhiṣṭhānas* or revetments of the basal platforms of the Late Anurādhapura Period, like those of the earlier epoch, are usually of brick masonry. An exception is the double-platformed buildings of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, which are wholly in stone. The actual mouldings of the brick basal platforms are either in brick or in stone. The stone mouldings are often in the form of a facing to the brick masonry underneath and it is only in later and more elaborate structures that we sometimes find the revetment, itself, constructed of stone blocks with moulded outer faces. In some buildings, on the other hand, only the more important parts of the *adhiṣṭhāna* are made of stone while the rest of the base is of moulded brick.

The design of the principal elements of Sinhalese base-mouldings (see figs. 119-122) throughout the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods displays six basic forms, three rectilinear and three curvilinear. The rectilinear mouldings (see fig. 119a [1]) consist of the rectangular *plinth*, or the *upāna* of South Indian architecture, the *fillet* or *paṭṭa* and the main, vertical

[1] Luce, G. H., 1969, p. 229.



a. Evolution of Sinhalese base-mouldings Anurādhapura Period (after Hocart)
1-4 represent the principle stages of development



b. Comparison of Sinhalese and *Drāviḍa* style base-mouldings, Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods (after Paranavitana)
1-3 Anurādhapura Period buildings, Anurādhapura
4 Baddhasīmāpāsāda, Polonnaruva
5 Thūpārāma Temple, Polonnaruva
6 Tivaṅka Temple, Polonnaruva
7-8 Śaiva temples, Polonnaruva

c. Base-mouldings from Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanical buildings in South and South-east Asia 4th-10th century (after Brown)
1 Gupta Temple, Deogaṛh
2 Durgā Temple, Aihoḷe
3 Stūpa, Mirpur Khās
4 Temple No. 15, Deogaṛh
5 Building No. 21, Sāñcī
6 Maṇḍor, Jodhpur
7 Virupakṣa Temple, Paṭṭadakal
8 Main Temple, Sārnāth
9 Barabuḍur, Java
10 Stūpa, Sārnāth
11 Caturbhuja Temple, Khajurāho

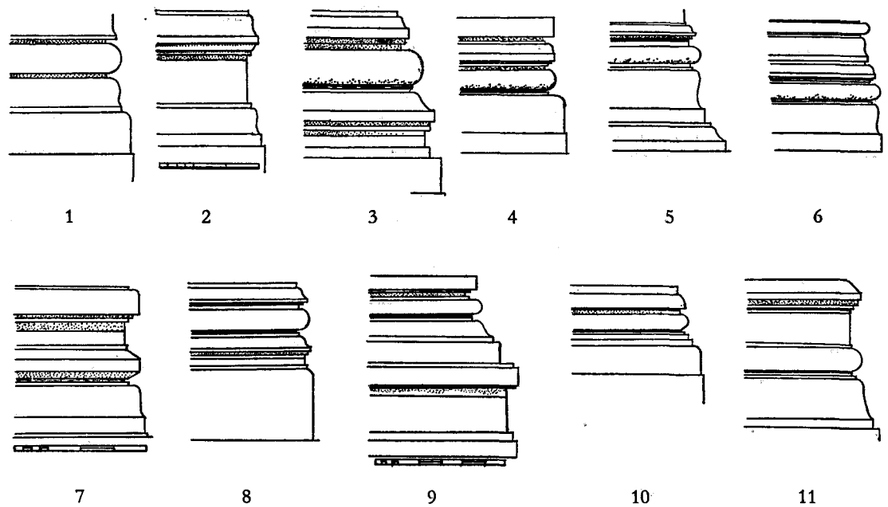
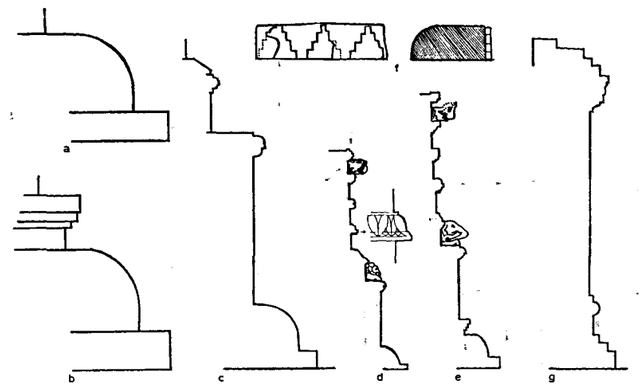
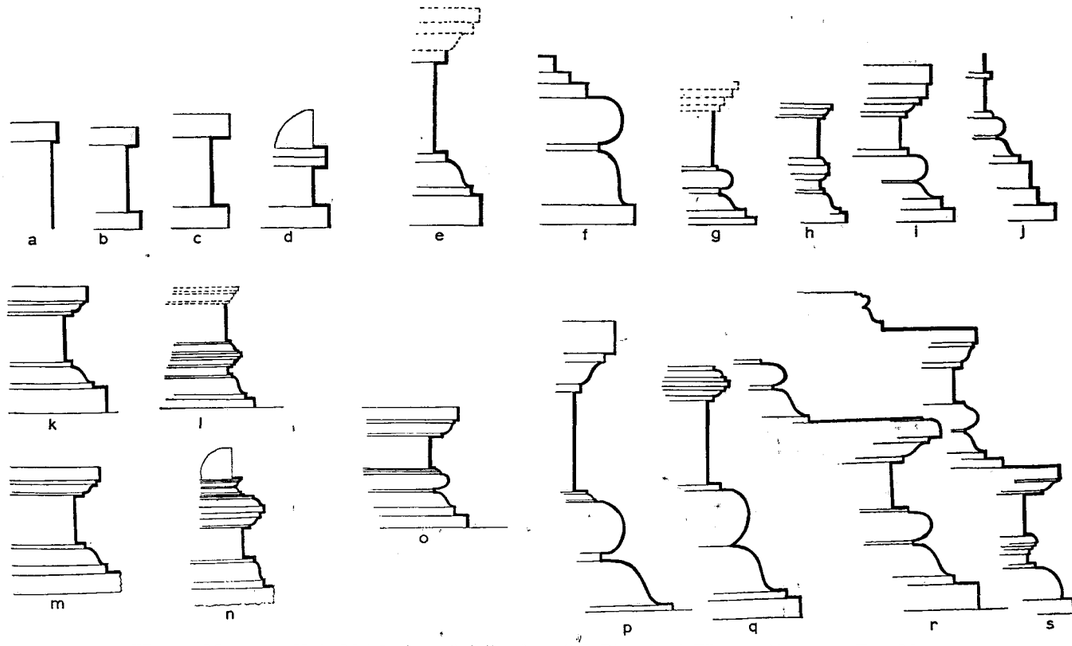


Fig. 119a-c. Base-mouldings



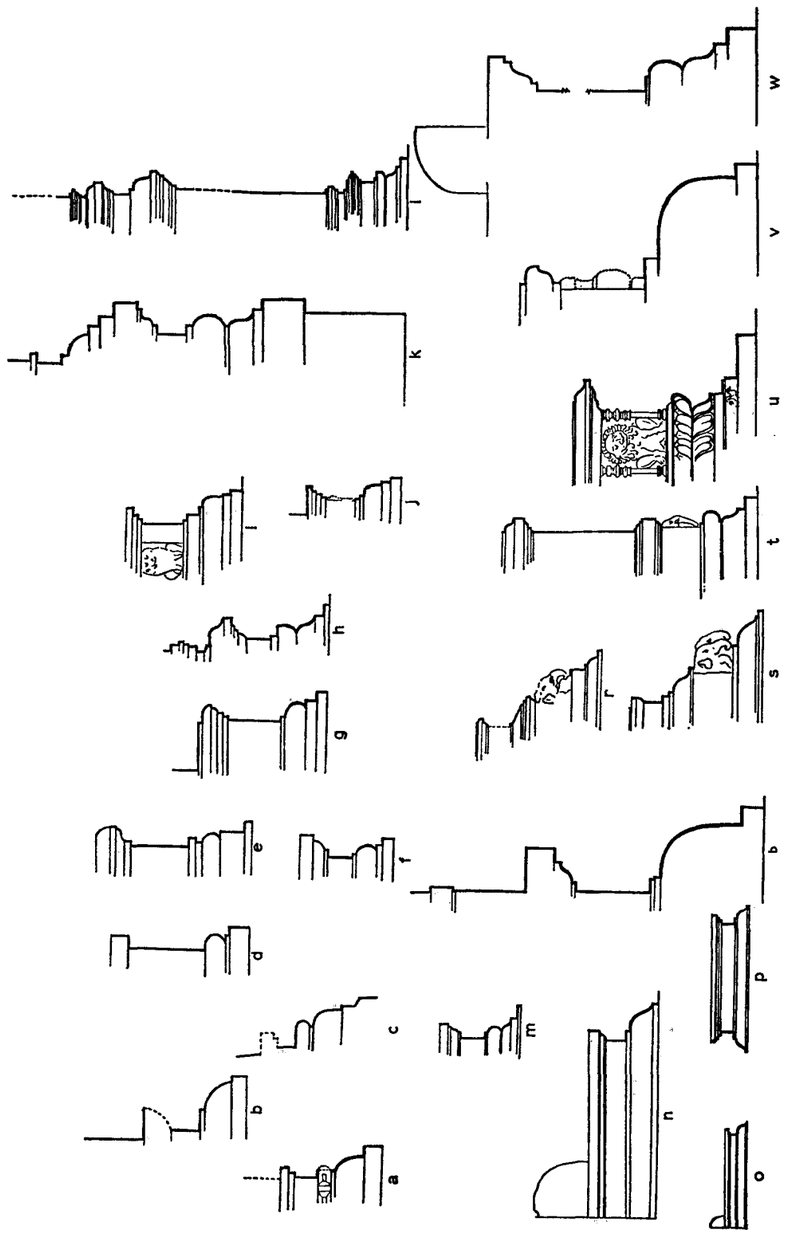
a. Southern vāhalkaḍa, Ruvanvälisāya; b. Western vāhalkaḍa, Jetavana stūpa; c. Western vāhalkaḍa, Ruvanvälisāya; d. Western vāhalkaḍa, Ruvanvälisāya; e. Northern vāhalkaḍa, Jetavana stūpa; f. Ornamental brick, Gurudeṇiya; g. 'Cave'–monastery, Ratravelivihāra

Fig. 120a-g. Stone mouldings, Early Anurādhapura Period



a. Western Monastery K; b. Mullēgala; c. Building No. 40 C, Riṭigala; d. Western Monastery E; e. Monastery C, Jetavanavihāra; f. Ayton Road Monastery; g. Monastery B, Jetavanavihāra; h. Uposathaghara, Jetavanavihāra; i. Kapārārāma, Abhayagirivihāra; j. Piriveṇa A, Thūpārāma; k. Western Monastery B; l. Staircase Bay, Uposathaghara, Jetavanavihāra; m. Western Monastery A; n. Western Monastery D; o. Western Monastery D; p. Monastery B, Thūpārāma; q. Monastery North of Stūpa, Abhayagirivihāra; r. 'Mahasen's Pavilion', Abhayagirivihāra; s. 'Queen's Pavilion', Abhayagirivihāra

Fig. 121a-s. Brick and stone mouldings, Late Anurādhapura Period



a-c. Sigiriya, 5th-7th Century; d. Building No 11, Pankuliya; e. Building No 21, Pankuliya; f. Building No 12, Pankuliya; g. Vijayārāma; h. Building A, Citadel, 8th-9th Century; i. Piḷimagē No 42, Jetavanavihāra; j. Piḷimagē No 40, Jetavanavihāra; k. Nakhāvehera; l. Geḍigē, Citadel, ca. 10th Century; m. Āsana, Building A, Citadel, 8th-9th, Century; n-p. Āsanas, Sigiriya, 5th-7th Century; q. Piḷimagē, Avukana; r. Bodhighara, Kurunāgala-Anurādhapura Road (now in Colombo Museum); s. Bodhighara, Vessagiriya; t. Bodhighara, Nillakgama, 8th-9th Century; u. Inner Sanctum, Bodhighara, Nillakgama, 8th-9th Century; v. Bodhighara, Magulmahāvihāra; w. Stūpa Platform, Magulmahāvihāra

Fig. 122a-w. Brick and stone mouldings, Late Anurādhapura Period

body of the base, the *dado* or *kaṇṭha*.[1] The *plinth*, as its very name indicates, is the lowest moulding and is never dispensed with except in the earliest *plain ashlar* double-platforms,[2] where the vertical *dado* starts directly from the ground (see fig. 121a). The *fillet* is a plain, flat band inserted between mouldings (see fig. 119a [4]) or repeated in projecting or receding tiers (see fig. 122 l), in order to add height to the base. The *dado* is often a plain, undecorated vertical surface. On the other hand, in the most evolved type of base with curvilinear mouldings, the *dado* is interrupted by the insertion of a *torus* moulding and ornamented with pilasters, lions and other decorative motifs.

The curvilinear mouldings consist of the simple, quarter-circle, roll-moulding or *ovolo* (see fig. 120a)—known as the *kapota* in South Indian usage, when employed as the coping of the *adhiṣṭhāna* or as a cornice—, the S-shaped *cyma reversa* or *ogee*—also a form of *kapota*—and the semi-circular *torus* or *kumuda* (see fig. 119a [2-3]). The *ovolo* is an ancient and archaic feature in Ceylon, dated examples being known from as early as the 2nd or 3rd Century A.D.[3] Large *ovolo* mouldings are employed in the base, placed next to the *plinth* (see figs. 120a-c). On a smaller scale they are used in copings, cornices, etc., often in reversed and combined forms, from the Early Anurādhapura Period onwards (see figs. 120c-e). In the Late Anurādhapura Period, the *ovolo* is retained alongside more developed forms, particularly in brick mouldings (see figs. 122a-l). The S-shaped *cyma reversa* is the moulding which is most characteristic of the base-mouldings of the Late Anurādhapura Period (see figs. 121 e-s). It replaces the *ovolo* next to the *plinth* and in an inverted form is also used in copings and cornices. An incipient form of *cyma* is known from the Early Anurādhapura Period (see figs. 120d-e; especially 120 d-detail), but its characteristic shape is found only from about the 7th Century onwards. This is equally true of the semi-circular *torus* (see fig. 120g), which is an even later development. The curved forms of the *cyma* and the *torus* progressively come to dominate Sinhalese base-mouldings from the Late Anurādhapura Period onwards, until the post-Polonnaruva epoch when they cover a substantial part of the *adhiṣṭhāna*.

The analysis of base-mouldings was first undertaken by Ayrton in connection with his excavations of the double-platform buildings at the Western Monasteries, and developed by Hocart (see fig. 119a).[4] There are some important considerations which have to be taken into account in adapting and developing Hocart's pioneering studies. We have to keep in mind that there was not necessarily a continuous and unbroken sequence of development from simple to more complex forms but rather that each major epoch and each medium made something like a fresh start in a particular evolutionary cycle.[5] Thus, the mouldings of the Early Anurādhapura Period do not lead directly to those of the Late Anurādhapura Period, although there is obviously some connection between the two. In fact, if we apply the periodisation outlined in our Introduction, we could say that the base-mouldings of Phase II, Phase III and Phase IV each have their own cycle of development.

These evolutionary sequences are further complicated by the differences in medium and technique. The early period was substantially one of brick building, although scarcely anything is known about the early brick mouldings. At the same time, there is a certain amount of early stonework which provides us with some data regarding the stone mouldings of that

[1] For the terminology of South Indian mouldings see Harle, J. C., 1957; see also Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., 1914, pp. 51-52.
[2] See above, pp. 127 ff.
[3] *CJSG* II, p. 2.
[4] *ASCM* I, pp. 60-62; *CJSG* I, p. 4.
[5] See above, p. 201 n. 1.

time. Phase III, on the other hand, in keeping with its transitional character, has fairly well-developed brick and stone mouldings at Sīgiriya, as well as the rude beginnings of simple rectilinear stone mouldings in the early double-platforms. In Phase IV we find a considerable increase in the use of stone for architectural and extra-architectural features, such as mouldings, entrances and pillars. This is not merely a quantitative increase but a fundamental change in style, medium and working methods, which we shall discuss in the sequel. As far as brick mouldings are concerned, the pattern of development is not as clear as in stone. Due to the relative impermanence of the material there is much less evidence to go on, particularly from periods earlier than Phase IV. It would appear, however, that by virtue of the unbroken continuity of the technique in general, brick mouldings had their own particular history of development, at least semi-independently of the processes noticeable in the evolution of stone mouldings.

There is a certain amount of confusion in Hocart's studies, not only because he was trying to correlate the development of base-mouldings with that of the double-platforms, but also because—as he himself readily admitted—his was an *ex tempore* analysis which he progressively developed in the five reports published in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*.[1] In these Hocart also paid some attention to mouldings other than those from the double-platforms and he compiled a list of 'inscribed stones', i.e. pieces of moulding or other extra-architectural features which could be precisely dated by inscriptional evidence. This work in particular and Hocart's studies in this field in general are of fundamental importance to Ceylonese archaeology and art-history. It lays the foundations for a systematic study of style and chronology, and its implications in much wider fields of historical research are of no little significance. From his analysis of base-mouldings and stonework—in connection with which he formulated a fundamental division into an 'archaic period' or 'limestone age' and a 'classical period' or 'gneiss age'—Hocart went on to develop a periodisation which, in its final form, he summarised thus:

> *Pre-Buddhistic Sinhalese:* 5th century B.C. to circ. 250 B.C. No remains identified.
> *Early Buddhist:* circ. 250 B.C. to circ. 100 B.C. No remains identified.
> *Brick and limestone:* Archaic art, circ. 100 B.C. to circ. 325 A.D. Gupta art, circ. 325 A.D. to the fall of Sīgiriya, circ. 544 A.D.
> *Gneiss:* Early gneiss or Pallava: 6th and 7th centuries.
> *Classical:* 8th to 10th or 11th centuries.
> *Archaistic:* Polonnaruva: 11th to early 13th.[2]

Despite its somewhat narrow focus on constructional techniques and Indian influence,[3] this classification closely corresponds to the historical phases we outlined in our Introduction. What is particularly relevant to the study of base-mouldings are Hocart's observations about the changes from archaic/limestone to classical/gneiss styles. They are worth quoting at length:

> ... there is to all appearances a remarkable break between the limestone and the gneiss ages. If we knew nothing about India or the archaic period we might see in the early gneiss efforts the beginnings of Sinhalese art and masonry; we might trace the gradual evolution of building from the rude stone masonry of Veherabāndigala through the square cut style to the elaborate mouldings and ornamentation of the decorated. Indeed we have done so in Volume I, and it cannot be said that this evolution has been subverted by subsequent research. Yet we know that excellent stonework, even sculpture of great merit was produced during at least the four centuries preceding the gneiss age. Practically all the mouldings which appear in stone platforms of the ninth century or thereabouts were known in the archaic period. The cyma curve carved with lotus petals which comes in after Polonnaruva was already suggested by the frontispieces of the big topes. How are we to reconcile the apparent infancy of stonework in the fifth or sixth centuries with the high grade of art in the preceding centuries?
>
> It will be remembered that in the archaic period limestone was used merely as a luxury. The number of men employed upon it must have been very small, and it is not impossible that they were largely imported artists. On the other hand, there must have been a very large number of bricklayers to erect the colossal topes. In the gneiss age the positions are reversed: there is a brisk demand for stone in connection with the square temple on a stone foundation, while the tope loses at once in importance and size and frequently requires more stone than brick. The new fashion imported from India found Ceylon equipped with few stone cutters, perhaps no indigenous ones at all. The demand had to be met by enrolling a large number of men, hitherto engaged in bricklaying or some other occupation than masonry; they had to learn their craft from the very beginning. Thus while the sculptors or the Indians were just carrying on and improving the technique of the archaic period, the masons or the Sinhalese were slowly learning to surmount the difficulties of cutting gneiss. When they had mastered the art of cutting straight lines and level surfaces they proceeded to add mouldings previously known, but in different positions and with slight differences. The cyma, as I have said, is perfectly curved, and it is introduced into the plinth instead of the ovolo which alone is found in that position in the archaic period. Thus the stone platform so characteristic of this period becomes gradually enriched with old ideas newly applied.[1]

Although we need not accept uncritically Hocart's rather mechanical explanation of the changes in medium and style, his description for the general processes at work are nevertheless remarkably perceptive. For instance, in the paragraph immediately preceding that quoted above, he draws our attention to the possibility of a crucial technological development—the use of harder steel tools—leading to changes in medium and style in the period of transition between what later historians called the Early and the Later Anurādhapura Periods. Of equal importance is his half-formulated recognition of several successive cycles of change, that is to say of earlier development being superseded by new phases of innovation and evolution, each with its own distinctive history.

In his earliest attempts to understand the development of stone masonry and base-mouldings, in the double-platform buildings and elsewhere, Hocart visualised a more or less straightforward evolution from purely rectilinear to dominantly curvilinear forms (see fig 119a).[2] He went even further in suggesting that this took place progressively from the 3rd or 4th Century A.D. onwards. We have discussed and critically revised this chronology and classification in our chapter on the *padhānaghara pariveṇa*.[3] However, both Ayrton and Hocart quite correctly surmised that the mature style of the curvilinear mouldings extends from the 7th/8th to the 10th Century,[4] i.e. our Phase IV. Within this style we see a progression from a relatively simple *plinth-cyma-dado-coping* sequence (e.g., see fig. 121e) to more and more elaborate forms, usually by the multiplication of mouldings and *fillets* and the addition of a *torus* above the *cyma* (e.g. see figs. 121k, r). Thus, the final sequence which has been fully evolved by the latter half of

[1] *CJSG* I, pp. 3-9, 45-51, 92-94; II, 2-10, 74-79.
[2] *CJSG* II, p. 78.
[3] Hocart, it is true, also pays some attention to irrigation, religious developments, changes in the names of kings, etc. Although the material available to him was hopelessly inadequate and dealt with rather summarily, his insights into Ceylonese history are inspired and remarkably percipient.

[1] *CJSG* II, pp. 7-8.
[2] *CJSG* I, pp. 5-9.
[3] See above, pp. 127-130.
[4] *CJSG*, I, pp. 6-8.

Phase IV is *plinth-cyma-torus-dado-coping* (e.g. see fig. 121p). The coping is usually made up of broad and narrow *fillets* but often also includes an inverted *cyma*. The great bulk of mouldings, both in brick and stone, that can be seen in the monuments at Anurādhapura are of the curvilinear type. Thus, we can take this to be the classic Sinhalese style.

As far as an absolute chronology is concerned, we are in agreement with Ayrton and Hocart that this style comes into existence in its evolved form about the 7th or 8th Century and progressively dominates the base-mouldings from that time onwards. The earliest firmly dated examples are from the 8th and 9th Century—e.g. the *āsana* from Building A in the Citadel (8th or early 9th Century), both the outer shrine and the inner sanctuary of the *bodhighara* at Nillakgama (8th or 9th Century), and the platform of the *stūpa* in the Magulmahāvihāra (9th Century). These are all illustrated here (see figs. 122m, t, u, w). What is common to all of them, from the simplest to the most elaborate, is that they have both the *cyma* and the *torus*, combined at the lower end of the *dado*, constituting a *padma* or formalised lotus. This is made very explicit in the inner sanctum at Nillakgama and elsewhere where these mouldings are ornamented with a lotus petal design. Again, another common feature is that all these bases are in stone. Thus, we can conclude that the curvilinear *cyma*-and-*torus* form was fully evolved by the 8th or 9th Century.

This evolution, however, was not strictly unilinear or consistent. Simpler rectilinear and *ovolo* mouldings continued side by side with the more ornate type. Thus, the coping stone from the 9th Century *stūpa* platform at the Magulmahāvihāra is an *ovolo* and the base-mouldings of the monumental image-house at Avukana are of a simple and archaic *ovolo* and broad *fillet* type (see figs. 122q, w), and date from the 8th or 9th Century.

There is an even greater variation and the persistence of earlier forms in brick mouldings. While it is generally true that many brick mouldings reproduce the characteristics of the stone mouldings (see fig. 121), there are several instances where they display an entirely different style, both simple and elaborate (see fig. 122). Thus, at Pankuliya and Vijayārāma, where the buildings seem to date mainly from the 8th and 9th Century, respectively,[1] we have a fairly simple *ovolo* style (see figs. 122 d-g), while the 8th or early 9th Century Building A in the Citadel and the nearby Gedigē, ca. 10th Century (see figs. 122h, l), both display a highly complex sequence of mouldings, with the *cyma* and the *ovolo* or inverted *ovolo* in place of the *torus*.

The inferences which we may draw from this are, as suggested earlier, that brick and stone mouldings have each their own history of development, the one semi-independent of the other. The curvilinear style in stone must have had its origins in the 7th Century or earlier, i.e. in Phase III. This is confirmed by three stone *āsanas* from Sīgiriya (see figs. 122n-p), which can be dated between the late 5th and the 7th Century.[2] These display a fully articulate *cyma*

[1] See above, p. 81 n. 3.

[2] *CJSG* I, pp. 93-94, II, p. 77. The dating of the monuments at Sīgiriya, especially those on the summit, is still a matter of some uncertainty, although there can be no doubt that the greater part is from the time of Kassapa I (477-495 A.D.). After the fall of Kassapa, Sīgiriya was converted into a monastery but is still mentioned in a political context in the early 7th Century (*Mhv.* 44.32 ff.). In his excavations on the rock, Bell noticed two distinct phases of building on the terrace of the Lion staircase and observed that the later work was "disgraced by a 'shoddiness' and impermanence in marked contrast to the boldness and substantial construction of earlier time" (*ASCAR* 1898, p. 8). This seems to bear out the general contention that the remains at Sīgiriya are mostly from the great building phase under Kassapa. The excavations of the 'flower beds' on the summit revealed five successive reconstructions, again the earliest being the most substantial (*PPAR* 1897, pls. XVIII 'A'-XXI). Paranavitana's work on the *graffiti* at Sīgiriya—surely one of his greatest scholarly achievements—also throws some light on this problem. He observes that although there are some *graffiti* from the period between the 5th and the 7th-8th Century, the bulk of the verses are from the 8th to the 10th Century (Paranavitana, S., 1956, pp. viii-xii). It is clear from this as well as from the contents of the verses—one of which mentions a ruined wall on the summit and others the difficulty of the approach to the rock through jungle—that at least the rock itself was no longer in use and that the monuments on the summit were in a state of ruin (Paranavitana, S., 1956, pp. cciii-cciv). Thus, though the major part of the monastic remains found in the area below the rock may date from Phase IV or even later, there can be little doubt that the monuments on the rock itself are from Phase III and mostly from the reign of Kassapa in the late 5th Century. There is evidence to suggest that even the fragments of painting found in the caves at the foot of the rock are contemporaneous with the famous Sīgiriya 'frescoes', which are certainly from the 5th Century (de Silva, R. H., 1971, p. 95). If the remains at Sīgiriya were not so extensively ruined, they would provide us with a substantial body of archaeological material from this transitional phase, almost all of it dating within the fairly narrow limits of a century or so.

but no *torus* and possibly represent the most advanced style for that period. This type, i.e. *cyma* but without *torus*, certainly continues into the later phase right through to the 10th Century. On the other hand, the combined *cyma*-and-*torus* seems to begin somewhat later than the Sīgiriya *āsanas*, probably from the latter part of Phase IV. The earliest dated examples of this are those discussed above, from the 8th and 9th Centuries (see figs. 122m, t, u, w). This *cyma*-and-*torus* type is dominant in the 10th Century and is used almost exclusively at Polonnaruva.

We observed earlier that the *cyma* moulding was, in general, a Late Anurādhapura Period feature which replaced the *ovolo* of the earlier phases. This process probably first manifested itself in stone mouldings as described above: briefly, a change from *ovolo* to *cyma* between the 5th and the 7th Centuries and from the plain *cyma* to *cyma*-and-*torus* from about the mid-8th Century onwards; this development seems to have been gradual and progressive, the newer forms only replacing the older through a long period of time. Brick mouldings, on the other hand, must have been more developed in Phase III and possibly in Phase II as well, and thereby more resistent to the impetus that was motivating the changes that we see in stone mouldings in Phases III and IV.[1] This would explain why we find very elaborate and complex brick mouldings, from as late as the 9th or 10th Century, in which the *ovolo* rather than the *cyma* still dominates. On the basis of these observations, we may go further and conjecture that the stone mouldings of the Early Anurādhapura Period were, in general, derived from brick mouldings, whereas the brick mouldings of the Late Anurādhapura Period imitated those in stone, while sometimes retaining their own peculiarities acquired in an earlier phase.

It is scarcely possible to test this hypothesis, on account of the lack of data from brick mouldings of the Early Anurādhapura Period. Virtually the only examples of mouldings from that epoch are those which we see in the so-called *vāhalkaḍas* or frontispieces of the colossal *stūpas* (see figs. 120a-e), dated by inscriptional and other evidence in the 2nd to 4th Century A.D.[2] These highly ornamented limestone and brick *vimānas*—for they are in effect no less than solid representations of the facade of a shrine—are rather exceptional features. Today, only their disproportionately high limestone bases and small sections of their brick superstructures survive. It is difficult to say how representative these stone bases are of the base-mouldings and other decorative features of the brick architecture of this period. As with the solid masonry structures in Sinhalese architecture from other periods, these *vāhalkaḍas* may exhibit a much greater susceptibility to 'foreign' influence and 'imported' forms and motifs than the contemporary brick-and-timber dwellings.

Be that as it may, these frontispieces display a confident and fully formed architectural sensibility. Many of the mouldings and ornamental motifs familiar in the later periods can be

[1] We could understand this in terms of the 'law of the retarding lead' ("remmende voorsprong"), formulated by the Dutch historian Romein (see Wertheim, W. F., 1964, pp. 16-18).

[2] *UHC* pp. 261-262.

found here, such as the *cyma*, a form of the *torus*, the lotus petal motif, the *hatthipākāra*, the *makara*, etc. The dominant moulding, however, is the rectangular *plinth* and the large *ovolo* at the very base of the *vāhalkaḍa* and a number of other *fillets* and smaller *ovolos* in the body of the structure. It is possible to conclude from this that the characteristic mouldings of the Early Anurādhapura Period were the curvilinear *ovolo* and the rectangular *plinth* or *fillet*.

Both the *ovolo* and the rectangular shapes are forms which are easily accommodated in—one might almost say natural to—brick masonry,[1] while stone lends itself to more complex and intricate forms. It would not be too far-fetched to suggest that the dominance of the *ovolo* and the broad *fillet* in the early period was due to the fact that the base-mouldings of monastic buildings at this time were almost always in brick rather than in stone. Bricks moulded into an *ovolo* shape at one end and decorated with a simple, rectangular relief motif at the other have been found together with plain, inscribed bricks dating from about the 1st Century A.D. (see fig. 120f).[2] This is convincing evidence of the existence of these forms from a very early date. Again, at Sīgiriya, the *ovolo* and the *fillet* predominate in the base-mouldings of walls, etc. (see figs. 122a-c). The juxtaposition and combination of rectilinear and curvilinear forms in later mouldings, both in brick and in stone, is a tendency which can be traced back to the original *ovolo* and *fillet* of the earliest dateable mouldings, from the beginnings of Phase II.

The material examined in the preceding pages reveals a clear pattern of the alternating predominance of brick and stone styles in the Early and the Late Anurādhapura Periods, respectively, confirming our earlier observations regarding the semi-independent development of brick and stone base-mouldings within each phase. The mouldings that we have been discussing have their parallels in Indian and South-East Asian architecture (see fig. 119c). Their particular development and disposition, however, took place within the momentum of the Sinhalese tradition. As Paranavitana points out, the strength of this tradition is best displayed at Polonnaruva where, after a break of nearly a hundred years of Coḷa domination, Sinhalese architecture is revitalised largely within the terms of its own conventions.[3] This is demonstrated in the continuity of Sinhalese base-mouldings, which are clearly distinguishable from their *Drāviḍa* equivalents (see fig. 119b; compare 1-3 with 4-6 and contrast these with 7 and 8).

In so far as a building is an integral plastic conception, the character and development of base-mouldings is intimately related to that of other aspects of architectural form, such as entrance stairs, wall-faces, doorways and so on. The essential components of the entrance to a Sinhalese religious or royal edifice were the steps, preceded by a moonstone and flanked by wingstones or balustrades and guardstones or terminals. None of the individual components of these flights of stairs is unknown to the architectural traditions of India or South-East Asia, but the particular combination and the consistent application of that combination is so distinctly and almost exclusively Sinhalese that we may call it 'the Sinhalese entrance'.[4]

The moonstone and the guardstone, as their very names indicate, were commonly made of stone. This was usually also the case with the steps, themselves, even on the summit of the rock at Sīgiriya, where almost all the other remains are of brick. With regard to the balustrades

[1] The rectangular shape is, of course, natural to brick, while the *ovolo* form, which is not, is easily moulded in clay.

[2] *CJSG* II, pp. 149-151. The strange shape of these bricks may be due to the fact that they were placed at the base of a wall, the *ovolo* moulding on one side of the wall, the relief motif forming a part of a frieze on the other.

[3] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (1), pp. 24-25.

[4] For a more detailed discussion of selected examples of moonstones, guardstones, wingstones, etc., and of the Indian parallels see Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 171-190 (Chap. VI, "Sculptures of the Flights of Steps").

or wingstones flanking the steps, these again are usually of stone, although brick or brick with a stone facing or coping is not unfamiliar. From about the 6th Century onwards, however, stone is employed almost exclusively. The use of the harder material in such features as steps and moonstones, and even in terminals, is quite understandable for stone seems always to have carried a special signification in what was essentially a brick-and-timber tradition. Thus, it is at points of great ritual importance, such as the *vāhalkaḍas* at the cardinal points of the *stūpa* and religious or royal *āsanas*, that we first find the regular use of stone in an architectural context. This reasoning applies equally to the entrance of a monastic building, which by its very function is a focus of considerable ritual interest.

We may conjecture that the architectural decoration of the Early Anurādhapura Period consisted of painting, wood-carving and possibly stucco and terracotta ornament. We can imagine that the hard brick surfaces were plastered, whitewashed and decorated in particular areas with painted designs. Moulded and carved bricks were used but rarely—an example being the paws of the great lion at Sīgiriya—while the application of stucco reliefs to brickwork seems to have been either a feature of the Late Anurādhapura or, more especially, of the Polonnaruva Period. Brick does not lend itself easily to intricate detailing, although such intricacy must have been known in woodwork. We may surmise that painted designs similar to those in wood were applied to the masonry sections of a building. All this, however, is a matter for speculation. What we do know is that in the different components of the classic Sinhalese entrance stone was used almost exclusively from about the beginnings of the Late Anurādhapura Period onwards, and that the stylistic evolution of these features in that phase had its own particular development, as was the case with base-mouldings.

With the increasing use of sculptured ornamentation in Phase IV, these entrances became the principal vehicle of Sinhalese stone carving, as might have been expected. The reason for this cannot have been merely the fact that they provided large areas of stone surface suitable for relief work. The base-mouldings and the vertical face of the *adhiṣṭhāna* could also have served this purpose but did not, except in a few rare instances, until the Polonnaruva Period and after. The elaborate decoration of the entrance must have had some previous history in the Early Anurādhapura Period. On the other hand, the apparent simplicity of the early moonstones and guardstones, and the progressive development of sculptured ornamentation in these features, must be connected with the evolutionary pattern displayed in base-mouldings and the general increase in stone carving in the Late Anurādhapura Period.

The study of the stylistic development, iconography and ritual significance of the sculptured components of the Sinhalese entrance is beyond the scope of this study.[1] We confine ourselves to a brief discussion of the moonstone, the guardstone and the wingstone, in terms of their general form and character and their relation to our study of structural architecture.

The semi-circular shape of the moonstone (or *paṭika* and in later Sinhalese usage *sandakaḍapahaṇa*) is an ancient motif in Indian decoration (e.g. the half-medallions or half-lotuses of Sāñcī and Bhārhut) and the moonstone itself is not unknown in Indian architecture from the beginnings of the present era onwards. It is significant, however, that what is probably the only example of a decorated moonstone in India was found in the 'Sihalavihāra' at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.[2] Its origins in Ceylon are unknown, but although its relation to the Indian feature

[1] For a detailed discussion of the ritual significance of the moonstone and the other elements of the Sinhalese entrance see Paranavitana, S., 1954 (2); see also Paranavitana, S., 1955 (3), Devendra, D. T., 1958 (2), 1965, Prematilleke, L., 1966.

[2] Ramachandran, T. N., 1953, pp. 5, 13, pl. XIIB.

is obvious enough, the exact nature of the relationship has yet to be properly understood.

The theory of 'Indianisation' depends, to a great extent, on details such as this, which at first glance seem to be a direct manifestation of Indian concepts in Sinhalese art and architecture. Although we have insufficient data to make any real analysis of this problem in the context of the moonstone, it seems to us that the process of transmission is a much more complicated matter than the simple, mechanical transference of Indian motifs and concepts to Ceylon.

Godakumbura has described the functional origins of the moonstone in the following way:

> The semi-circular slab of stone known as the 'moonstone' is really the first member of a flight of steps which leads up to the ancient edifices... Originally, this slab would have been rectangular, and later for practical purposes, such as the possible prevention of its hurting the feet of the devotee who walked bare-foot, the edges of the slab on its outer side would have been rounded. In the course of time decorative motifs were made on the slab.[1]

This fairly logical, if speculative, explanation could be developed even further. One can well imagine that the earliest 'moonstones' were slabs placed as supports in the earth below wood, mud or brick stairs, and probably projecting in front. Rectangular slabs serving the same purpose as the moonstones are quite frequently met with in Anurādhapura, particularly in the *padhānaghara pariveṇas* but also elsewhere (see fig. 127b). There may be other explanations for the origin of the moonstone but the relevant point is that there are obvious functional reasons for placing a large, stone slab at the foot of a flight of steps. Such a practice can still be seen in mud buildings and also at the base of wooden stairs. We have already discussed the corner pavings that we find in the monastic *pāsādas* of Anurādhapura and the likelihood of their having served as landings for wooden staircases.[2] Some of these landings were equipped with miniature moonstones, guardstones, etc., and Godakumbura has drawn our attention to literary references which suggest that moonstones were in fact placed at the foot of internal staircases.[3]

We may assume that a rectangular or semi-circular stone slab—with or without ornamentation—was a fairly regular feature in timber or mud entrances. With the transition to more permanent and stable materials such as brick and stone masonry, the purely ornamental value of this slab would have become more important than its functional purpose. At this stage, the decorative motifs and architectural components of the more developed Indian tradition would have provided, as it were, a reservoir of ideas—many of them already familiar to the Sinhalese and all relating to a common religious basis—from which the local builders could extract those forms and concepts which would satisfy, at least partially, their new requirements. Thus, we could say that instead of the foreign concept generating a new form, the new form evolved out of the local necessity being satisfied by an imported idea.

The subtle distinction between these two processes is crucial. It involves shifting the dynamism behind the Sinhalese form from India to Ceylon, without rejecting or distorting the history of the Indian contribution or the motivating force of the local traditions. An understanding of the continuing momentum of the indigenous tradition would also explain why features such as the moonstone had their distinctive character and their own history of development in Ceylon, quite independently of the evolution or disappearance of that form or motif in India. The Sinhalese moonstone provides us with a suitable subject for the study of

[1] Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), p. 18.
[2] See above, pp. 256-257.
[3] Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), pp. 21-22.

culture change and 'Indianisation'—in terms of the relationship between what appears to be a seminal Indian motif and a characteristically Ceylonese ornamental feature.

Prematilleke has classified the existing moonstone into two basic types, on the basis of decoration: i. (a) the *plain* (see fig. 123 I.i (a)) or (b) the *simply ornamented* type, usually with a central raised boss in the shape of a half-lotus (see fig. 123 I.i (b)) or sometimes with an outer rim or band of lotus petals; ii. the *highly ornate* type, with a central half-lotus and several concentric bands of decoration, consisting of animal and plant motifs, etc. (see figs. 123 I.ii, 134a, Pl. XXXIII).[1]

While this still remains the most useful differentiation between moonstones, there are a number of other factors regarding the shape and outline of the stones, which have to be taken into account. The first of these concerns the depth or shallowness of the *arc* which constitutes the basic outline of a moonstone (see fig. 123 II-A). Some of the early examples, such as the very large versions at Vijitapura and the Abhayagirivihāra,[2] are not completely semi-circular in shape but consist of an arc which is something between a quarter-circle and a semi-circle (see fig. 123 II-A.i). If we examine even the highly ornate moonstones of the Late Anurādhapura Period closely, we observe that very few of them display a completely semi-circular shape.[3] The evolution from the shallower arc to the semi-circle and beyond seems to be a progressive development culminating in the 'elongated' forms of the post-Polonnaruva epoch in which the moonstone continues at the back beyond the semi-circle.[4] We may consider this to be a parallel development to the increasing predominance of curvilinear shapes in the base-mouldings, as observed above. However, this tendency cannot be strictly related to a chronological sequence as it seems to operate independently within each basic type. Thus, some of the earliest dated moonstones of the *plain* or *simply ornamented* variety, from about the 6th or 7th Century, are closer in shape to a complete semi-circle than the 9th or 10th Century examples of the *highly ornate* type. We may call the three main stages of this development: i. the *shallow arc*, ii. the *semi-circular* and iii. the *elongated arc* stages (see fig. 123 II-A).

A second factor is that in the poorer or relatively less-developed monasteries such as the Mirisavāṭivihāra or the *pabbata vihāra* at Pankuliya, the arc of the moonstone is not truly semi-circular but flattened or straightened in front (see fig. 123 II-B ii). This is an important variation and constitutes what may be designated the *flattened arc* type, as opposed to the more usual *rounded arc* type (see fig. 123 II-B.i).

While this latter distinction concerns the outline of the arc in front, there seems to be a further differentiation in the two or three alternative shapes which are adopted in the general formation of a moonstone, mainly with regard to the base or the two lower ends of the arc. In the first, the stone is cut in a *simple arc* form, either rounded or flattened in front (see fig. 123 II-C.i). In the second, which we may call the *florid* (*a*) type, a *cyma* or S-curve is added on either side of the arc, leaving two projections at the back of the stone (see fig. 123 II-C.ii (a)). A rare variation on this latter, or *florid* (*b*), type, shows two smaller *cyma* curves added to the top of the arc, thereby drawing it out into a pointed or 'lotus-petal' shape (see fig. 123 II-C.ii (b)). Bell often referred to these *cyma*-curved or *florid* types as the 'cocked hat' moonstones.

It is not clear how these shapes relate to the basic typology or the evolution of the moon-

[1] Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 185-190.
[2] See *CJSG* II, pl. XXII, fig. 2; Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), pl. 5.
[3] Compare Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), pls. 6-11 with pls. 4, 12-15.
[4] See Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), pls. 16-29. In most of the post-Polonnaruva moonstones the half-lotus boss has developed into a large circular lotus which dominates the whole composition.

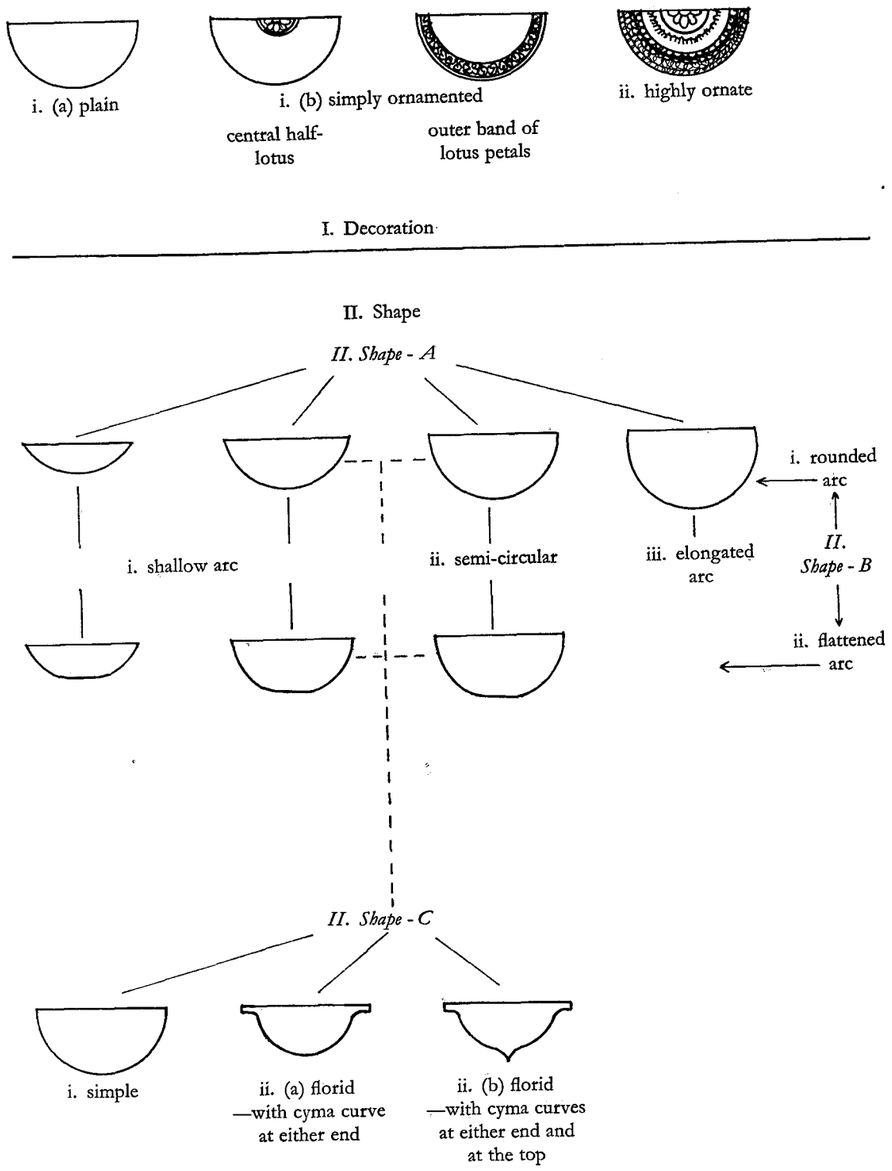


Fig. 123. Classification of moonstone types

stone. The difference may be merely a nicety of technique. The *simple* form and the two *florid* versions (see fig. 123 II-C) are found in the *plain* or *simply ornamented* and the *highly ornate* moonstones (see fig. 123 I), as well as in the *flattened arc* and the *rounded arc* types (see fig. 123 II-B). In general, the simple form seems to prevail at the beginning of the Late Anurādhapura Period and once again at the end of this epoch, continuing into the ensuing Polonnaruva Period. In the intervening phase, from about the mid-7th to the 9th or early 10th Century—i.e. through most of Phase IV of our periodisation—both the simple and the florid versions exist side by side, cutting across all other typological differentiations.[1]

For purposes of clarity we may summarise these different ways of classifying Sinhalese moonstones as follows (see also fig. 123):

I. Decoration	i. (a) plain
	i. (b) simply ornamented—i.e. central half-lotus, etc.
	ii. highly ornate
II. Shape—A	i. shallow arc
	ii. semi-circular
	iii. elongated arc
II. Shape—B	i. rounded arc
	ii. flattened arc
II. Shape—C	i. simple—i.e. without cyma curves
	ii. (a) florid—i.e. with cyma curve at either end
	ii. (b) florid—i.e. with cyma curves at either end and at the top

The interrelations between these various characteristics are not clear. Judging from the published material and casual observations, each category seems to contain nearly all the variations found in the other categories.[2] However, extensive documentation in the field is necessary before we can establish whether or not this is in fact the case. For the time being, only Prematilleke's basic classification serves any useful purpose.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of dated material with which we might attempt to establish a tentative chronology or evolutionary sequence of the moonstone. The available evidence is listed below in a roughly chronological sequence:

1. Composite moonstone (i.e. made up of several pieces of stone); incised linear decoration; very shallow arc; Abhayagiri *stūpa*; dated in the 1st Century B.C. by Godakumbura; no real basis for this precise date, but probably 1st Century B.C.—3rd Century A.D.[3]
2. Plain, semi-circular moonstone; Mādirigiya image-house; dated 3rd/4th Century by Paranavitana; basis for dating uncertain, more likely to be 5th/6th Century.[4]
3. Plain, semi-circular moonstone; Sigiriya, near Lion staircase; late 5th-early 7th Century, on the basis of the general dating of the monuments on the rock.
4. Simply ornamented, semi-circular moonstone; Vessagiriya; inscription, ca. 6th Century.[5]
5. Simply ornamented, almost semi-circular moonstone; Vessagiriya; inscription, ca. 6th/7th Century.[6]
6. Plain moonstone, apparently of the flattened rather than semi-circular type; Noccikuḷama; inscription, 6th/7th Century.[7]

[1] An analogy to this can be seen in the formation of the guardstone, where we have a round top and a *cyma*-curved or pointed top version (see below, p. 329 n. 4).
[2] The single exception to this is that all moonstones of the *flattened arc* type are plain.
[3] Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), p. 23, pl. 5; see also below, p. 328.
[4] See above, p. 212 n. 2.
[5] *CJSG* II, pp. 3, 12, pl. XX, fig. 1.
[6] *CJSG* II, pp. 3, 12, pl. XX, fig. 2.
[7] *CJSG* II, p. 3, pl. XX, fig. 3.

7. Plain, not fully semi-circular moonstone; Mihintaḷē; several inscriptions, earliest ca. 6th Century.[1]
8. Plain, extremely large and shallow arc moonstone; Vijitapura; inscription on steps, 6th/7th Century.[2]
9. Highly ornate, nearly semi-circular moonstone; Pankuliya image-house; inscription on steps, ca. 10th Century.[3]
10. Highly ornate moonstone, extending beyond the semi-circle; Hāṭadāgē, Polonnaruva; inscription, 12th Century.[4]

A clear and definite pattern emerges from this. The large, shallow arc type was probably typical of the Early Anurādhapura Period and was related to the monumental architectural style of the early *stūpas*. The moonstone at Vijitapura (No. 8), as Hocart observes, is a survival of this monumental type in the Late Anurādhapura Period. A rather unusual moonstone of similar proportions, but in this case nearly semi-circular, can be seen at the entrance to the shrine at Māligāvela. The moonstone here, if it can be called that, has been incised on a number of rectangular slabs which form a paving just below the steps leading to the image-house. We have suggested earlier that this structure probably dates from the 8th or 9th Century.[5] Thus we have two monumental moonstones, one from Phase III and the other from Phase IV of our periodisation. The third example is the large stone (No. 1) from the Abhayagiri *stūpa*, which Godakumbura has attributed to the 1st Century B.C. There seems to be no real basis for this date. On the other hand, it has the shallowest arc of the three moonstones and can, thus, be considered the earliest example, and assigned to Phase II, which would coincide with the earliest stonework of the colossal *stūpas*.

The average-sized, plain or simply ornamented moonstones seem to date from the 6th Century onwards. As we have seen, there are several dated examples from the 6th and the 7th Centuries. Godakumbura has suggested that these stones are earlier than the inscriptions on them,[6] but again there seems to be no evidence or reasoning behind this opinion. On the contrary, with four inscribed stones (Nos. 4-7) and two more which are dated by associated inscriptions or other evidence (Nos. 2, 3) it seems very likely that they are contemporaneous with the inscriptions. What this implies is, of course, that the plain or simply ornamented moonstone of a roughly semi-circular type had been fully developed by the end of Phase III and had come into general use by that time. The highly ornate versions (Nos. 9, 10), on the other hand, are probably from the latter half of Phase IV, i.e. from about 850 A.D. onwards.

This gives us an upper and lower limit for the majority of moonstones from the Anurādhapura Period. A careful and systematic study of the stylistic changes in all the known moonstones would almost certainly give us a fairly clear picture of the evolution of this important and distinctive architectural feature. All we can say at present is that the moonstone probably existed in the Early Anurādhapura Period, that it had taken a definitive form and was widely used by the 6th Century, from which time onwards we have hundreds of examples at Anurādhapura and at other sites of the Anurādhapura, Polonnaruva and post-Polonnaruva epochs.

The history of the guardstone and the balustrade or wingstone corresponds closely to that of the moonstone. Godakumbura has described the evolution of the guardstone from its origins as a painted wooden plank or stone terminal slab—serving as a stop-wedge at the

[1] Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), p. 23, pl. 3.
[2] *CJSG* II, pp. 3, 12, pl. XXII, fig. 2.
[3] *CJSG* II, pp. 3, 12, pl. XXI.
[4] Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), p. 26, pl. 14; see also *CJSG* II, p. 164.
[5] See above, p. 206.
[6] Godakumbura, C. E., (1967), pp. 21, 23.

lower end of a slanting rail or balustrade coping—to its final form in the elaborately carved, anthropomorphic *nāgarājas* of the Late Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.[1] Briefly, he distinguishes five phases: first, there are plain slabs which, in the second stage, give way to stones with an incised *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif, subsequently rendered in low or high relief; this in turn is replaced by figures of dwarfs, one on each guardstone, usually depicting Śaṅkha and Padma, attendants of Kuvera, or *bhūtas* representing Bahirava, a local version of the guardian of treasure;[2] the fifth and final phase, which is the most common in the more important monastic buildings at Anurādhapura, is the guardstone featuring a *nāgarāja* (see figs. 128-134).[3] This sequence is not a strictly consecutive series but a succession of overlapping developments. Thus, the most evolved *pūrṇaghaṭa* or dwarf types do not necessarily predate the earliest *nāgarājas*.[4]

The chronology of this development must correspond in general with that of the other extra-architectural features, although the available evidence is much less than in the case of base-mouldings or moonstones. Nothing is known of the guardstones of the Early Anurādhapura Period. The undecorated, round-topped guardstones at Sīgiriya, Mādirigiriya etc., are obviously an early, 'primitive' type, probably representing some of the first attempts at rendering this feature in stone. We may conjecturally assign this to the beginnings of Phase III. A more developed stage shows an elongated, 'inverted shield' or 'lotus petal' type (see figs. 128 a-c), which Hocart has attributed to the 6th Century, on the basis of associated inscriptional evidence.[5] He also records an 'imperfect lotus petal type' from Kaḷudiyapokuṇa, near Sīgiriya, which bears an inscription of the 7th Century.[6] At the tail end of the series, we have the fully developed *nāgarājas* of Anurādhapura, which cannot be later than the 10th Century and which continue as the sole motif on the guardstones of the Polonnaruva Period. In fact, we can almost certainly say that this form, when fully evolved, is coterminous with the highly ornate moonstone, i.e. from about 850 A.D. onwards, although it was not used exclusively in association with moonstones of this type.

The five successive phases that we mentioned above must be dated between the 5th/6th

[1] Godakumbura, C. E., (1964), pp. 18-33; see also Devendra, D. T., 1958 (2) and Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 174-185, for a general discussion of the form, evolution and significance of the guardstone.
[2] Paranavitana, S., 1955 (3); Prematilleke, L., 1964, pp. 182-183; see also Devendra, D. T., 1958 (2), Prematilleke, L., 1966.
[3] See also Godakumbura, C. E., (1964), pls. 1-24.
[4] One other factor which has to be taken into account is that many guardstones are pointed at the top, by the addition of two small *cyma* curves, thereby producing a form resembling a 'lotus petal' or 'inverted shield': [see our figs. 128a-f; also *CJSG* I, pp. 6-7, II, p. 14; Godakumbura, C. E., (1964), pp. 18-19]. This is an alternative shape to that with a simple round top. We have seen a similar variation in the moonstone. Again, it is not clear how this relates to the sequence of guardstones discussed above. Some of the earliest examples, i.e. of the plain, undecorated type, are rounded at the top, but so are the evolved dwarf or *nāgarāja* versions at the end of the Anurādhapura Period and in the Polonnaruva epoch. Many of the intermediate guardstones from about the end of Phase III and from Phase IV are pointed. A characteristic feature of the later, round top examples is the addition of a shoulder or pilaster on the outer side supporting an animal figure. This is absent from the intermediate versions, although Hocart suggests that it "was already in existence in the archaic period" (*CJSG* II, p. 75).

Stelae depicting zoomorphic *nāgas* are found in association with both *stūpas* and waterworks [see Godakumbura, C. E., (1964), pp. 21, 29, pl. 27]. Although some of these resemble guardstones, Godakumbura maintains that they do not serve the same purpose. This seems usually to be the case. None of these *nāgas* have been found *in situ* at the entrance to a monastic building. However, Bell has published one from the shrine at Avukana, which appears to all intents and purposes to have served as a guardstone (see *ASCAR* 1895, p. 7; *PPAR* 1895, pls. XXVIA, XXVII).
[5] *CJSG* II, p. 14.
[6] *CJSG* II, pp. 74-75, pl. XXXVIIA.

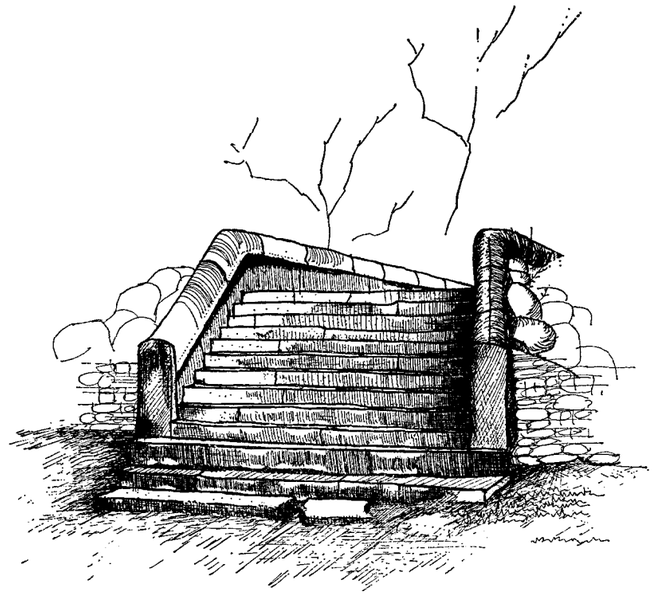
Century and the 10th Century. Exactly when each particular motif or type originated can only be determined by a systematic analysis of the evolution of sculptural style. Hocart discusses several guardstones in an 'archaic' style depicting *pūrṇaghaṭas*, dwarfs or, most frequently, *nāgarājas*, some of which he ascribes to the 4th or 5th Century, on the basis of style.[1] He suggests that these were earlier than the undecorated 'lotus petal' or 'inverted shield' type. The fact that limestone rather than granite is used for the majority of these 'archaic' sculptures may indicate that there is some basis for this early date. At the same time, there seem to be no grounds to assign them on purely stylistic features to a period much earlier than the 7th or 8th Century. As with base-mouldings, however, there is every reason to believe that some of the most advanced features of Late Anurādhapura Period guardstones were already present in the Early Anurādhapura Period, and that what we see in Phase III is actually a fresh start in granite. This matter can only be resolved in a detailed study of the stylistic developments.

The balustrade or wingstone is closely associated with the guardstone. An integral part of the staircase, it has its functional origin in the railing or wall which served the dual purpose of carrying the steps and of supporting or protecting the person using them. The early balustrades were no more than low parapets built on either side of the entrance stairs. Some of the earliest balustrades that survive are in brick. They are basically of two types: one consisting of brick or stone masonry, topped with straight rather than curved coping stones (see fig. 124a, b); the other a more elaborate construction in brick masonry, shaped and moulded in a curvilinear or voluted form (see figs. 125, 126a). Whatever the actual dates of these two types may be, there is no doubt that they preserve forms which go back to the Early Anurādhapura Period, the rectilinear shape suggesting primitive timber construction and the voluted form implying a more sophisticated mud or brick conception.

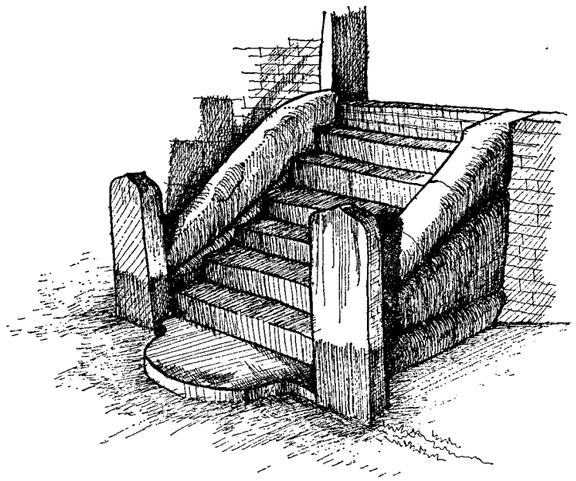
These two distinct shapes are maintained in the later developments. Thus, with the increasing tendency towards components carved from a single block of granite from about the 6th Century onwards, we have two types of wingstone existing side by side, the one rectilinear and the other curvilinear.[2] The rectilinear form is marked by an absence of heavy ornament and is particularly associated with the double-platform buildings of the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*,[3] but it is not unknown in other monastic contexts.[4] The earliest appearance of the rectilinear wingstone in the form of a monolithic sculpture (i.e. as opposed to a mere coping or balustrade of a parapet) cannot be ascribed to any particular date, but it certainly seems to have prevailed throughout most of the Late Anurādhapura Period until the 10th Century. We may presume that it originated in the 6th or 7th Century. Prior to this there seems to have been the parapet and rectilinear coping made up of composite materials or several pieces of dressed stone. This can be found at a number of sites and can be assigned to a period between the 5th and the 7th Centuries at Sīgiriya and Veherabäṅdigala on the basis of the general dating of these two complexes.

Hocart ascribes the earliest curvilinear forms to the 3rd or 4th Century.[5] It is possible that he is right, but there is no specific evidence for such an early date. The earliest examples that we have are the voluted, brick balustrades on the summit of the rock at Sīgiriya (see fig. 125),

[1] *CJSG* II, pp. 75-76, pls. X, XII, fig. 1, XXXIX-XLII; see also Godakumbura, C. E., (1964), pls. 7, 8, 12-16, 20, 23, 24.
[2] *CJSG* I, pp. 8, 48.
[3] *ASCM* I, pp. 19 ff.
[4] Hocart's illustrated sequence of wingstones reproduces several examples of this rectilinear type from monasteries other than *padhānaghara pariveṇas* (see figs. 128a, c-f).
[5] *CJSG* II, p. 76.



a. stairs, Tiriyāya

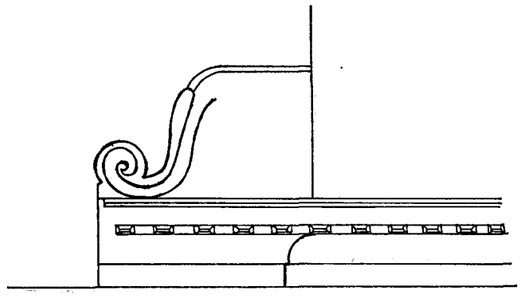


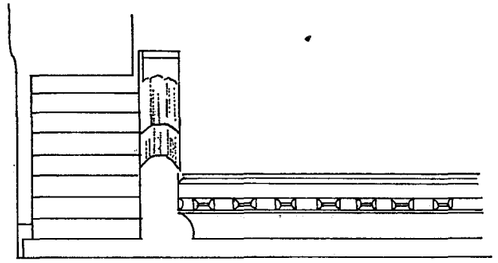
b. entrance, Vaṭadāgē, Rājaṅganē

Fig. 124. Stairs and entrances

which are probably from the main building phase in the late 5th Century. Here the volute is deep, the main body of the S-curve being almost vertical. An alternative form in granite has been noted by Hocart in a series of wingstones at Vessagiriya, in which the curve is very shallow, the entire stone 'being very low in proportion to the height' (see fig. 126b).[1] These Vessagiriya examples can be dated in the 6th Century on the basis of associated inscriptional evidence.[2] This clearly documents the beginnings of the curvilinear form in granite.

There is a clear sequence of subsequent development in curvilinear wingstones, from a simple, voluted form with little or no decoration to increasingly elaborate floral ornamen-





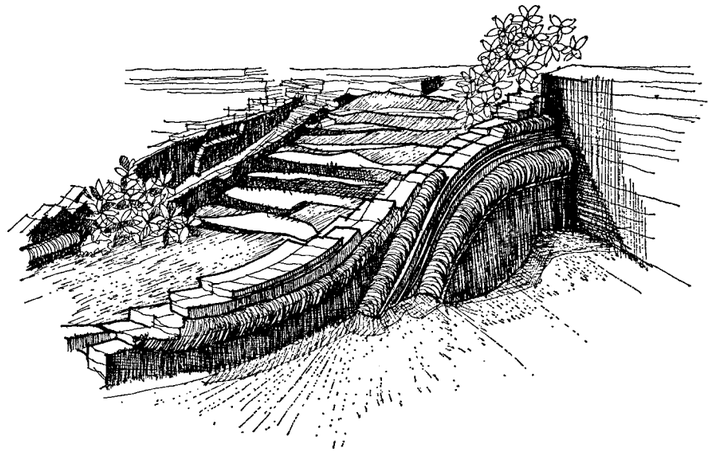
Sigiriya, late 5th – early 7th Century
Fig. 125. Staircase with volutes and ornamental brick moulding,

tation (cf. figs. 128b, 129c with 128g, 130c, 131c, 132c, d) culminating in the fully articulated *makara* wingstones (see figs. 128h, 133c, d, 134c, d) of the last phase, at the end of the Late Anurādhapura Period and in the subsequent Polonnaruva epoch. As with guardstones, this is only an ideal sequence. Exactly when and in what manner each stage evolved is, once more, a problem which can only be resolved in a detailed study.

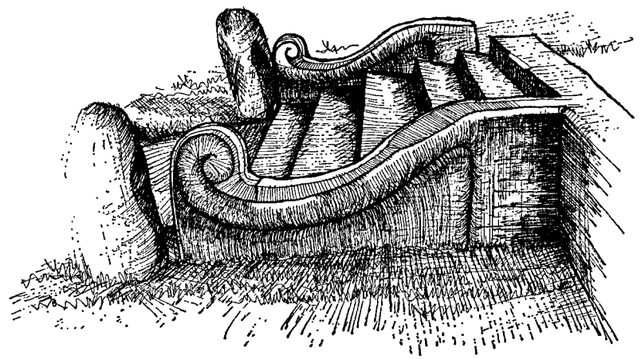
Of more immediate relevance here is the relationship between the respective evolutionary sequences of each of these three components of the Sinhalese entrance, i.e. the moonstone, the guardstone and the balustrade or wingstone. Hocart made an attempt to relate wingstones to

[1] *CJSG* II, p. 76; a parallel form in brick can be seen in the Kirivehera at Kataragama; see our fig. 126a.
[2] *CJSG* II, p. 76.

guardstones,[1] and in a recent article on the Mirisavāṭivihāra, Weereratne has tried to classify the different combinations of the three major components of the Sinhalese entrance in the buildings of that monastery.[2] We reproduce both these illustrated sequences (see figs. 128, 135). Hocart's typology is hopelessly incomplete and deals mostly with the rectilinear wingstone and the plain



a. voluted brick balustrade, Kirivehera, Kataragama

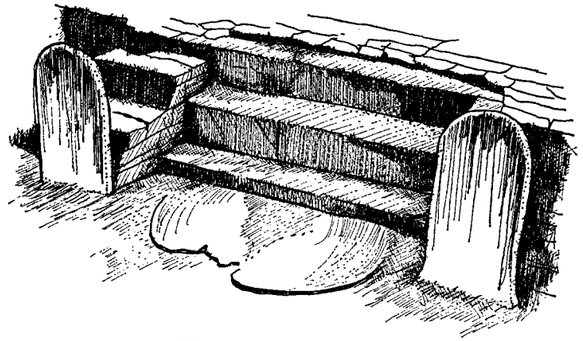


b. wingstones, Vessagiriya
Fig. 126. Entrances, brick and stone volutes

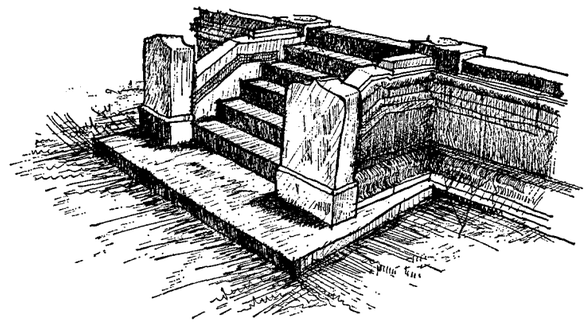
'lotus petal' guardstone. On the other hand, Weereratne's classification is more ambitious and more interesting, though limited to a single monastery. Her categories, however, are too rigid and the five combinations she presents allow of no variations. Thus, there are several instances, even in the Mirisavāṭivihāra, where we find combinations which do not fit into any

[1] *CJSG* II, pp. 14-15, pls. XXIV-XXVI; see also *CJSG* I, pp. 6-9, 48.
[2] Weereratne, E., 1970, pp. 32-33, 47.

of her patterns. For example, she links the plain guardstone decorated only with a moulded pediment with the rectilinear, moulded balustrade (see fig. 135-Dagoba); however, there are at least two examples of such guardstones which are connected to curvilinear wingstones.[1] Again, she associates the *makara* wingstone with the flattened arc moonstone (see fig. 135-Group 4), but once more there are at least two instances where we find the *makara* with plain, semi-circular moonstones.[2]



a. Lion staircase area, Sīgiriya



b. Western Monastery C, Anurādhapura

Fig. 127. Entrances

Weeraratne's classification, however, draws our attention to the correlations between these three components. There are a number of variables with the result that there is no strict or unilinear sequence of combinations. This indicates a certain unevenness in the evolution of each particular feature.[3] We cannot really explain or interpret this until we have a fuller

[1] Mirisavāṭivihāra, Mon. D, north *kuṭī* (*ASCAR* 1902, p. 6); Mon. F, north-west *kuṭī* (*ASCAR* 1903, p. 2).

[2] Mirisavāṭivihāra, Mon. E, *pāsāda* (*ASCAR* 1902, p. 6); Mon. G, *pāsāda* (*ASCAR* 1903, p. 3).

[3] When studying the combination of elements in any particular entrance, one must not lose sight of the possibility that some components may have been replaced at a later date.

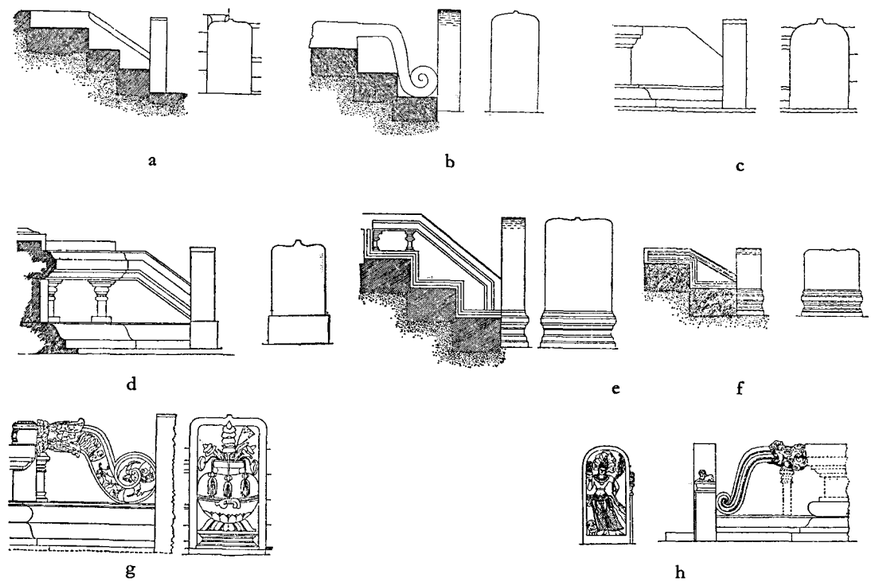


Fig. 128. Evolution of wingstones and guardstones (after Hocart)

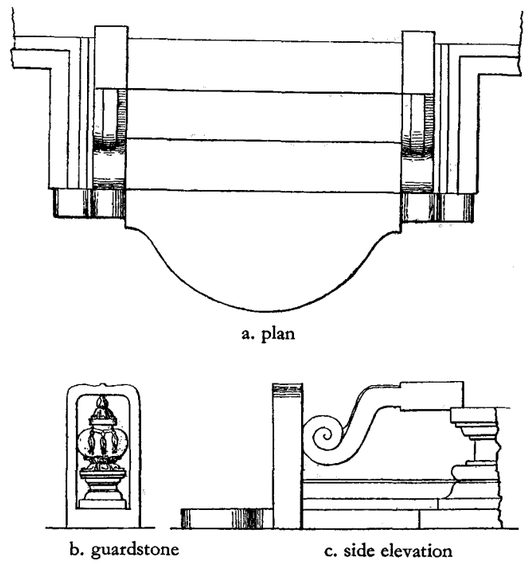
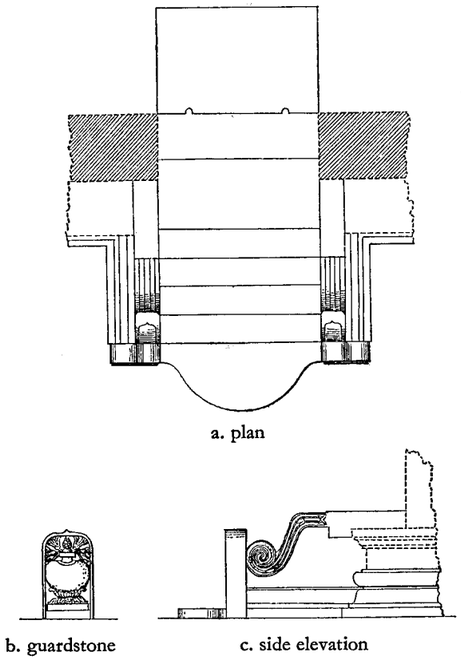


Fig. 129. Entrance, Building No. 39, Toluvila

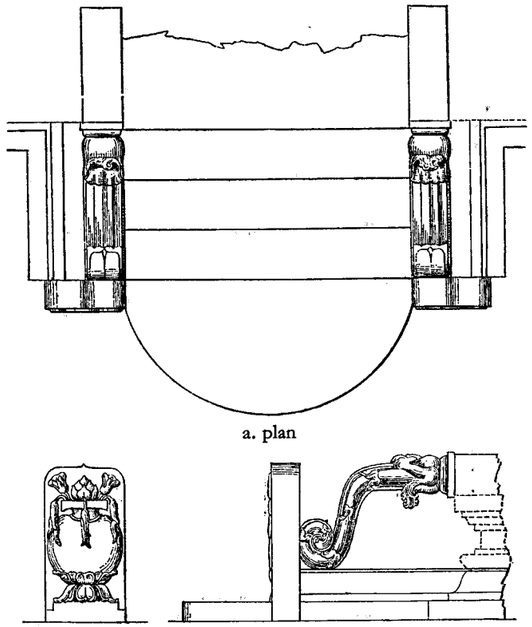


a. plan

b. guardstone

c. side elevation

Fig. 130. Entrance, Building No. 11, Toluvila

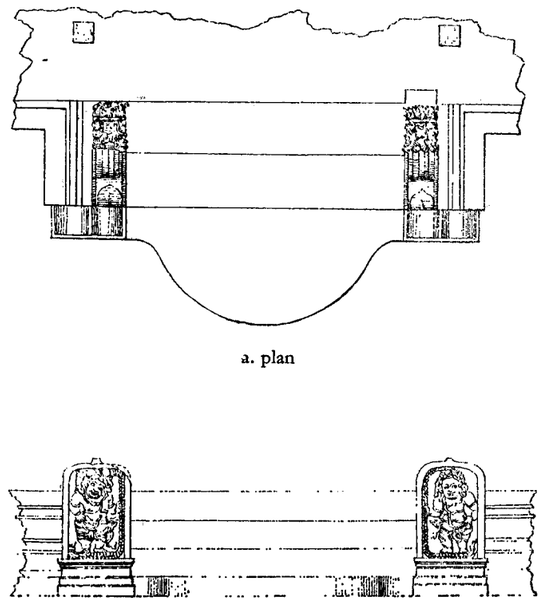


a. plan

b. guardstone

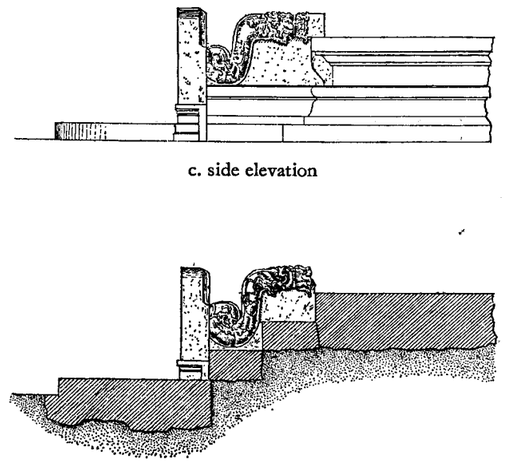
c. side elevation

Fig. 131. Entrance, Building No. 26, Toluvila



a. plan

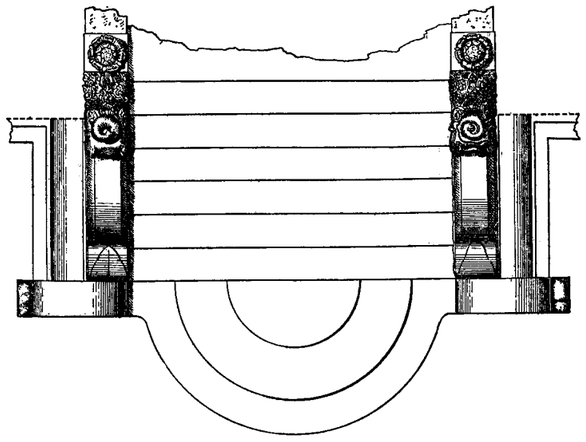
b. front elevation



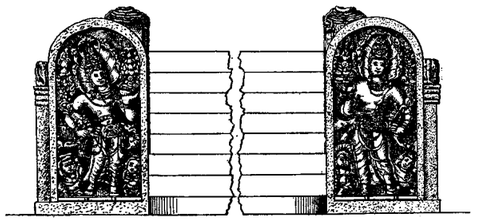
c. side elevation

d. section

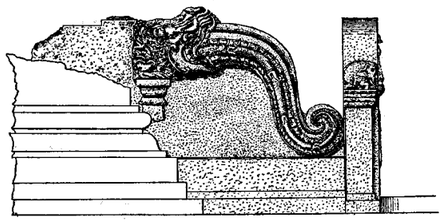
Fig. 132. Entrance, Building No. 49, Toluvila



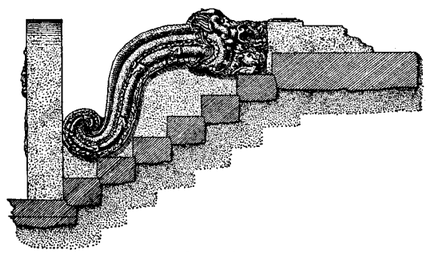
a. plan



b. front elevation

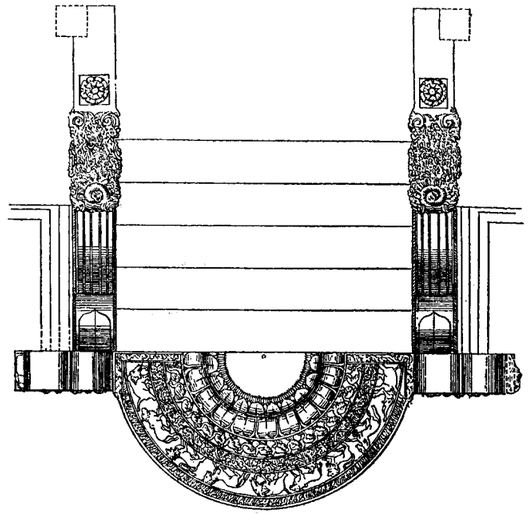


c. side elevation

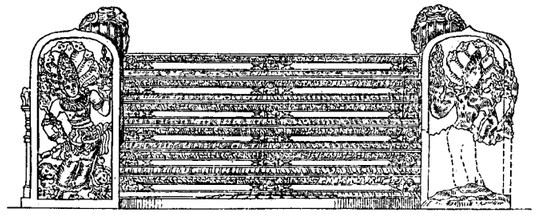


d. section

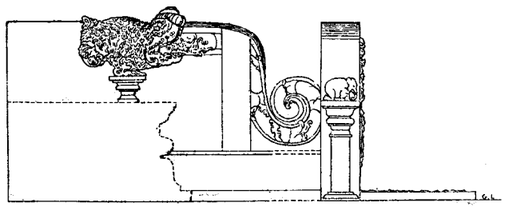
Fig. 133. Entrance, 'Piriveṇa A', Thūpārāma



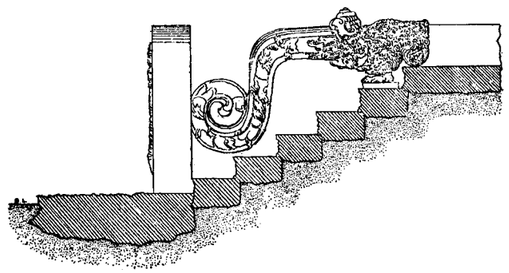
a. plan



b. front elevation



c. side elevation



d. section

Fig. 134. Entrance, Trident Temple, Thūpārāma

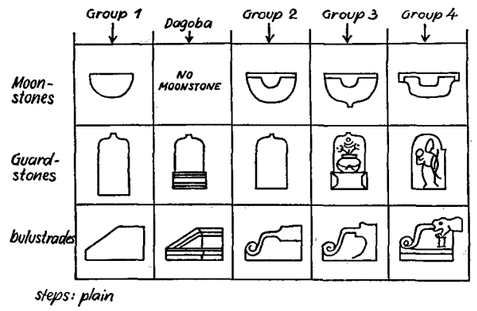


Fig. 135. Entrances: Weereratne's correlation of moonstones, guardstones and wingstones in the Mirisavāṭivihāra

knowledge of the history of these developments. We can, however, discern certain correlations which we have tried to tabulate as follows:[1]

Phases	*Wingstones*	*Guardstones*	*Moonstones* (*Decoration*) *rounded arc* (*Shape—B.i*)	*flattened arc* (*Shape—B.ii*)
Phase II-? Phase III to Phase IV	**rectilinear**	**plain** (pūrṇaghaṭa)	plain	[rectangular slab *or* no moonstone]
Phase II-? Phase III Phase IV	**plain volute**	**plain** (pūrṇaghaṭa)	**plain** central half-lotus	**plain** and simple (i.e. Shape—C.i)
Phase III — ? Phase IV	**floral volute**	(plain) **(pūrnaghata)** (dwarf) (nāgarāja)	plain central half-lotus	**plain** but simple or florid(a) (i.e. Shape— C.i. or ii. a)
Phase IV	**makara**	(pūrṇaghaṭa) dwarf **nāgarāja**	plain **central** **half-lotus** highly ornate	**plain** and florid(a) and florid(b)—? (i.e. Shape— C. ii. a or ii. b)

No absolute chronology can be applied to these sequences, but we can see that their generally progressive development took place mostly in Phase IV, in which nearly all these combinations prevail. In the final analysis, however, it may turn out that the fully evolved com-

[1] The dominant form is in bold type, while the rare or recessive motif is placed within round brackets. For an explanation of the terms used in the table, especially with regard to the moonstones, see above, pp. 325 ff. and fig. 123.

binations belong to a much narrower time span than the three centuries of Phase IV. Undoubtedly, factors unrelated to time, such as the wealth and importance of a monastery or monastic edifice, also play their part.[1] Thus, the *makara—nāgarāja—half-lotus moonstone* sequence dominates in the three major *vihāras*, while the highly ornate moonstone is rare outside the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagirivihāra, and is unknown in the Jetavanavihāra and the Mirisavāṭivihāra. Again, the last-named *vihāra*, which is the 'poorest' of the four great organic monasteries, does not display a large number of *nāgarāja-makara* combinations in comparison to the other three. The variations between these *vihāras* clearly reflect the differences in their status, wealth and general architectural character.

Similarly, the *pūrṇaghaṭa* guardstone is best known from the suburban *pabbata vihāras*. At Toluvila, for instance, it is regularly combined with the floral volute wingstone. It seems also to be particularly associated with *stūpas*, often though not always in combination with rectilinear wingstones.

As far as the relation between these sequences and the various building types are concerned, we cannot as yet see any particular conventions other than the general tendency for the more elaborate variations to be applied to major edifices, ritual, ecclesiastical as well as residential, while ancillary or service buildings, such as gate-houses and refectories, display the simpler forms. All the combinations are found in association with *cyma* and *torus* mouldings, suggesting that the various types of stone entrance components were in use in the latter half of Phase IV. A detailed analysis of the complex relationship between monastic buildings and their architectural and extra-architectural features, based on a thorough documentation and a study of stylistic development in the sculptures of the Sinhalese entrance, could possibly be a basis for constructing a chronology of Sinhalese art and architecture.

In comparison to the large mass of material connected with the substructure—much of which has been very poorly documented if we consider how much has actually survived—the evidence concerning the facades and wall-faces of the monastic buildings of Anurādhapura is extremely limited. Only a few structures have been preserved above the level of their basal platforms. In figs. 136-143 we reproduce the most substantial data available from the Anurādhapura Period, as well as a few selected Polonnaruva buildings which seem to retain some element of an Anurādhapura character. There is so little to go on that only the most general descriptions and observations can be offered.

The most distinctive feature of the exterior wall-faces of the period under discussion is the large area of smooth, undecorated surface which prevails even in elaborate constructions at Anurādhapura such as the Geḍigē in the Citadel and the Nakhāvehera (see figs. 136, 137).[2] Both these are entirely brick-built structures and are therefore not wholly representative of the mixed brick-and-timber architecture of Anurādhapura. There is no doubt, however, that the impression they present preserves something of the general character of the exteriors of Anurādhapura Period buildings.

With the exception of the cornice-mouldings the wall-face of both monuments is undecorated. These cornices are typical of the brick style of the period—both structures almost certainly date from the 9th or, more probably, the 10th Century—and differ from the usual base-mouldings only in the highly elaborate effect created by the large number of successive courses of bands and *fillets*. Of course, this is not unknown in either brick or stone *adhiṣṭhānas*, but it has a particularly dramatic impact when it occurs several feet above the ground, at the top of a

[1] See also above, p. 334 n. 3.
[2] *ASCAR* 1897, p. 4; 1911-12, pp. 40-41.

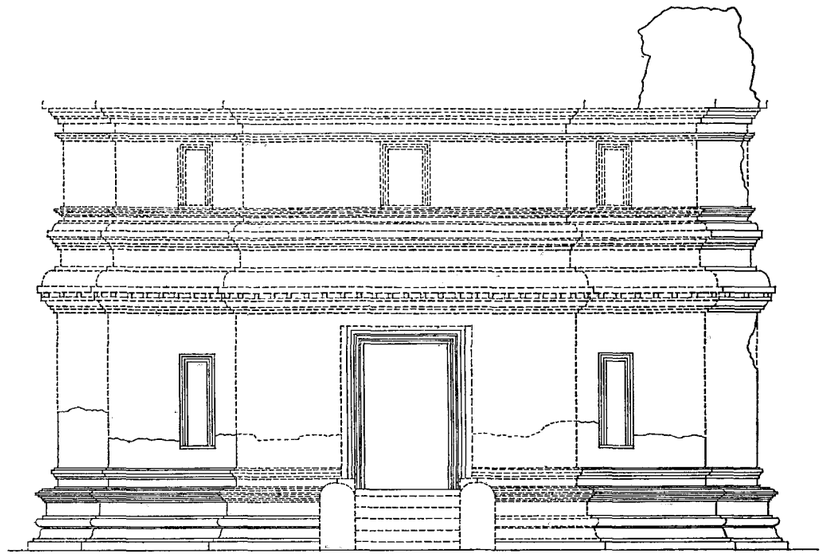


Fig. 136. Facade, Geḍigē, Citadel, Anurādhapura

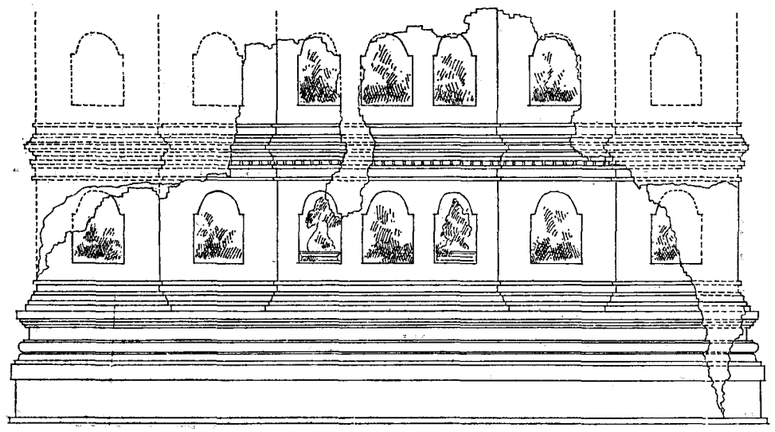


Fig. 137. Wall-face, Nakhāvehera, Anurādhapura

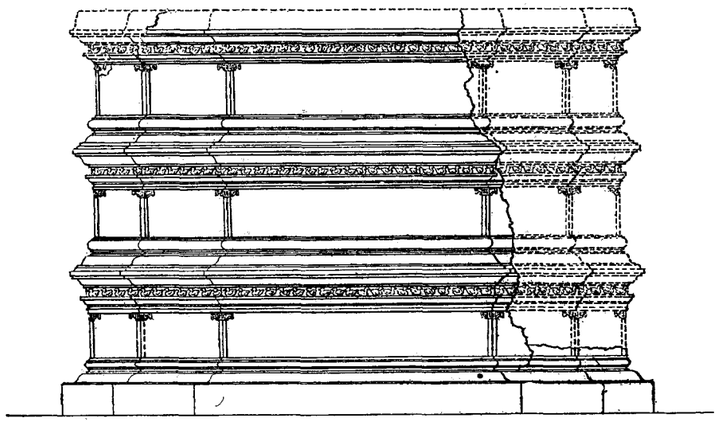


Fig. 138. Wall-face, 'Mausoleum', Polonnaruva

smooth, vertical face. These cornice-mouldings demarcate externally what are in fact the internal divisions into storeys. Interrupting the vertical rise of the walls, they add a considerable element of interest to the outer surface. At the same time, the close multiplication of horizontal lines does not dispel but rather enhances the sense of height and verticality while imparting, by the simplest of means, a highly decorative effect. The repetition of storeys, or vertical multiplication of the body of the building—as opposed to its tower or superstructure—is already found in the Early Anurādhapura Period, e.g. in the *vāhalkaḍas* or frontispieces of the major *stūpas*.

The almost exact duplication of the lower storey in the upper storey or storeys—sometimes on a vertically diminishing scale as in the Geḍigē (see fig. 136), and sometimes by straightforward doubling or trebling, as in the Nakhāvehera and the 'Mausoleum' at Polonnaruva (see figs. 137, 138)—is unusual in contemporary Indian architecture.[1] Its real parallels are in such South-East Asian monuments as Caṇḍi Sari, whose correspondence to Sinhalese archetypes we have pointed out earlier. We may conjecture, on the basis of these three relatively well-preserved monuments from Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva, that the same principal of duplication applied to storeyed buildings of the mixed-brick-and-timber type.

The question of ornamentation, however, requires further investigation. If we base ourselves merely on the evidence of the existing masonry substructures it would appear that the majority of Anurādhapura buildings were as sparsely ornamented as the Geḍigē, the Nakhāvehera, and the 'Mausoleum' at Polonnaruva. It is only in Polonnaruva that the sculptured floral and animal motifs are applied in and around the cornice-mouldings (see figs. 138, 139) and subsequently that miniature pavilions and figural reliefs are placed in the empty wall-faces (see figs. 153-155). From the Late Anurādhapura Period onwards the decoration of entrances and *adhiṣṭhānas* and then of cornices and wall-faces seems to show a progressive tendency in the masonry sections of buildings which only manifests itself fully in the great 12th Century monuments such as the Laṅkātilaka and the Tivaṅka temples at Polonnaruva.

There are, however, some important considerations that have to be kept in mind. We have already seen that the sculptured ornamentation of stone extra-architectural features has its own cycle of development in the Late Anurādhapura Period, and that many of the elaborate motifs of this later epoch were already anticipated in the Early Anurādhapura Period. Floral and animal motifs, and even human figures, can be found on the early *vāhalkaḍas*. Moreover, the existence of painted details, rare vestiges of which have survived on these *vāhalkaḍas*,[2] cannot be lightly dismissed. Possibly, buildings such as the Geḍigē and the Nakhāvehera were colourfully painted and much more profusely decorated than would be indicated by the bare masonry which survives today. Traces of red and green paint were noticed at the Nakhāvehera[3] and, in this respect at least, the evidence from Polonnaruva is applicable to Anurādhapura. In principle, Bell's description of the 'Mausoleum' at Polonnaruva, despite his strictures, could be applied to the Anurādhapura buildings:

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[1] Harle, J. C., 1957, p. 138. What we do find in Indian temples is not the duplication of the 'body' of the building as in Ceylon, but the repetition or multiplication of its storeyed superstructure, usually in the form of receding tiers. The repetition of storeys in the main body of the structure is, of course, quite a normal feature in Indian residential building, both religious and secular. The rare instances where such duplication is found in connection with a temple are clearly a manifestation of the influence of residential architecture (see Brown, P., 1959, p. 129, pl. CXV, fig. 2).

[2] *UHC*, p. 409.

[3] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 41.

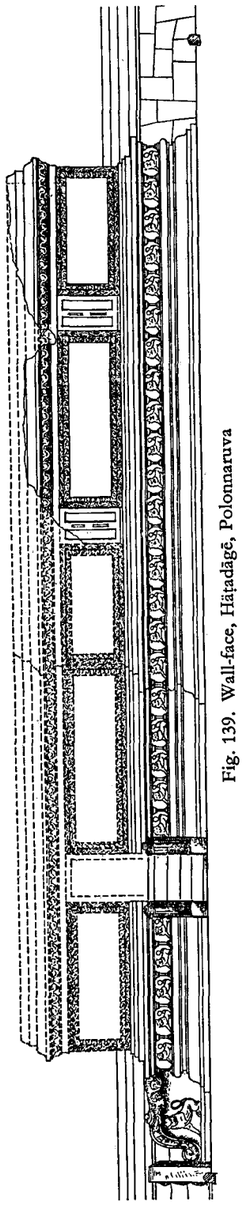


Fig. 139. Wall-face, Hāṭadāgē, Polonnaruva

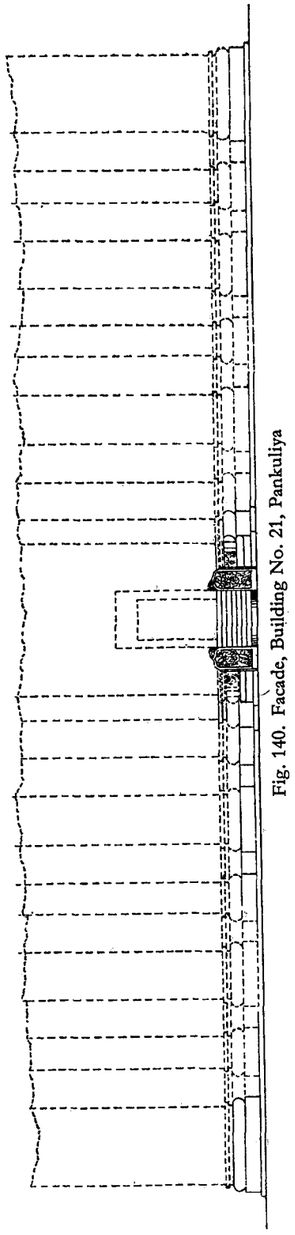


Fig. 140. Facade, Building No. 21, Pankuliya

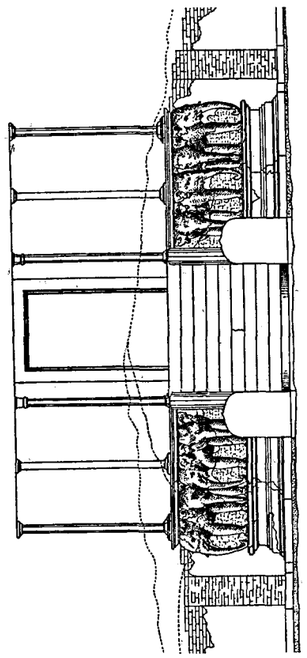


Fig. 141. Facade of entrance pavilion, Monastery D, Abhayagirivihāra Sector I

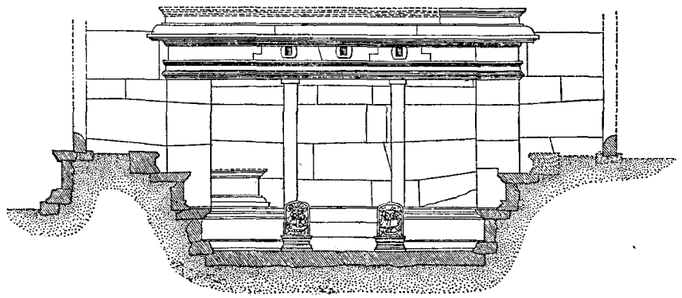
> The surface ornamentation is tastefully conceived and has been completed with great care; the lines are true and sharp, the plaster hard and smooth. In more than one particular the present design possesses idiosyncrasies found only at Polonnaruwa, e.g. the stucco pilasters, the frieze of *hansas*, and, not least, the vivid and varied colouring of the entire façades ... Like the "Audience Hall" and "Pavilion", the main colouring of the walls is in monochrome. A bright blue covers all the broadest spaces; only the pilasters and narrow string courses are picked out in red.[1]

The use of decorative pilasters as well as stucco relief motifs and figures is not unknown in Anurādhapura, although the material is admittedly scant. The use of pilasters on outer wall-faces as well as of moulded brick ornament can still be seen on the summit at Sīgiriya (see fig. 125). Paranavitana has drawn our attention to ornamental bricks from the Early Anurādhapura Period (see fig. 120f)[2] and fragments of stucco reliefs and ornamental bricks have been recorded by Bell at Pankuliya.[3] In addition, figural reliefs enframed in highly ornamental *toraṇas* are known from the Vijayārāma.[4] It may be held that these examples are all exceptional. However, all this, when taken together with the elaborate decoration of the *vāhalkaḍas*, testifies to the existence of a developed architectural ornamentation throughout the Anurādhapura Period. It is only in such monuments as the *bodhighara* at Nillakgama (see fig. 149d and Pl. XIII), with its elaborately carved doorways and highly ornate sanctuary, that the inherent decorative tendencies of Sinhalese architecture are expressed in the relatively permanent medium of stone.

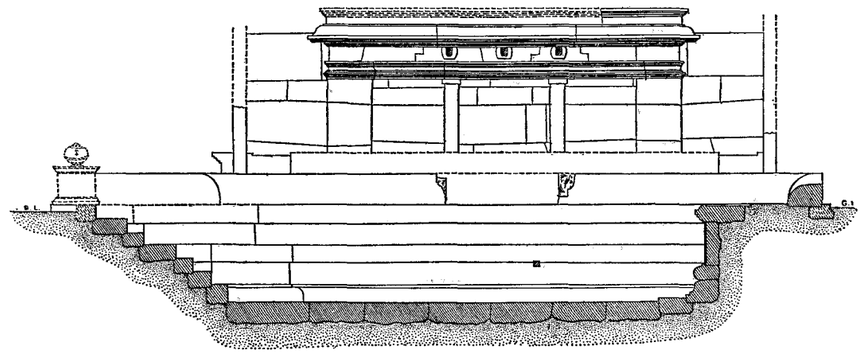
If the ornate detail from Pankuliya or Nillakgama is not truly representative of classic Sinhalese architecture in the Anurādhapura Period, the simple use of pilasters, however, is documented in a number of architectural and extra-architectural features as well as in a few structural monuments, where it is the principal decorative motif of the wall-face. In fig. 144 we reproduce two sculptural details in which pilasters have been used as ornament, but in a manner highly reminiscent of wall-faces subdivided vertically by pilasters. In this respect, we may also recall the sanctuary of the *bodhighara* at Nillakgama and the 'Lion Bath' at Mihintaḷē.[5] Structural monuments of an early type with these features are the chapel near the northern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Mirisavāṭi *stūpa* (see Pl. XX) and the Upulvan shrine at Devundara.[6] The Mirisavāṭi chapel cannot be assigned with any certainty to the Anurādhapura Period, while the Upulvan shrine is probably of Polonnaruva date, but they both clearly preserve an 'archaic' or early character. This also applies to Building No. 21 at Pankuliya, with its heavily pilastered facade (see fig. 140). Pilastered facades, however, which are definitely of the Anurādhapura Period can be seen in the porch of Monastery D of the Abhayagirivihāra Sector I, conjecturally reconstructed by Bell and in the Royal Baths to the north of Isurumuṇiya (see figs. 141, 142).

The importance of the pillar and the pilaster in the architecture of Anurādhapura is amply testified to by the decorative columns and their capitals (see figs. 145-147) in a number of monastic buildings, the best known being those in the *vaṭadāgēs*. The clear correspondences between the pillar and pilaster capitals of Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva (see figs. 145-148) indicate that the latter are a continuation of a feature which already existed in a developed form in the Anurādhapura Period.[7]

[1] *ASCAR* 1900, p. 11.
[2] *CJSG* II, p. 151.
[3] *PPAR* 1892 *(Tenth Report)*, pls. XXVIII-XXXVIII, XLII-XLIII.
[4] *ASC Sixth Prog. Rep.*, pp. 6-7, pls. II-X.
[5] Devendra, D. T., 1958 (1), figs. 56, 58, 59.
[6] Paranavitana, S., 1953 (1).
[7] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (1), p. 25.



a. Pokuṇa 'C'



b. Pokuṇa 'B'

Fig. 142. 'Facades' of Royal Baths, Maguluyana, Anurādhapura

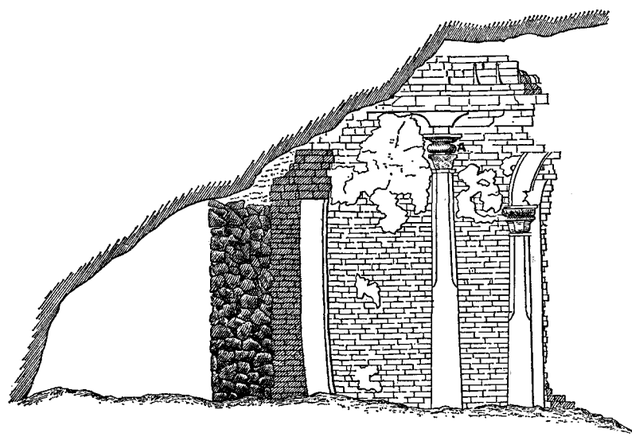
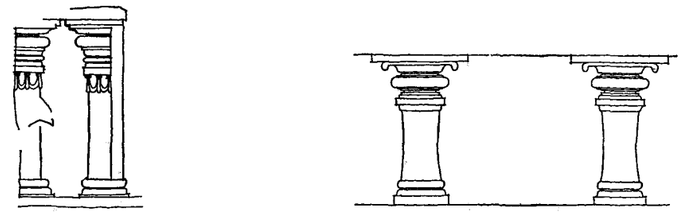


Fig. 143. Wall-face, 'cave'-monastery, Pidurāgala

In bringing together this fragmentary but cumulative evidence, almost all of it from sculptured stone details, we have to bear in mind the differences in medium between brick, stone, terracotta, stucco, wood and metal. In connection with brick and stone base-mouldings, we have already noticed that each medium tends to display its own styles and to have an independent history of development, while at the same time influencing the other. Scarcely any architectural ornament in wood, terracotta, stucco or metal is available from the Anurādhapura Period, not to mention painted decoration. Therefore, any generalisations about the character of classic Sinhalese architecture can only be based on the existing brick and stone masonry and consequently have obvious limitations. At best, we can only surmise that the



a b

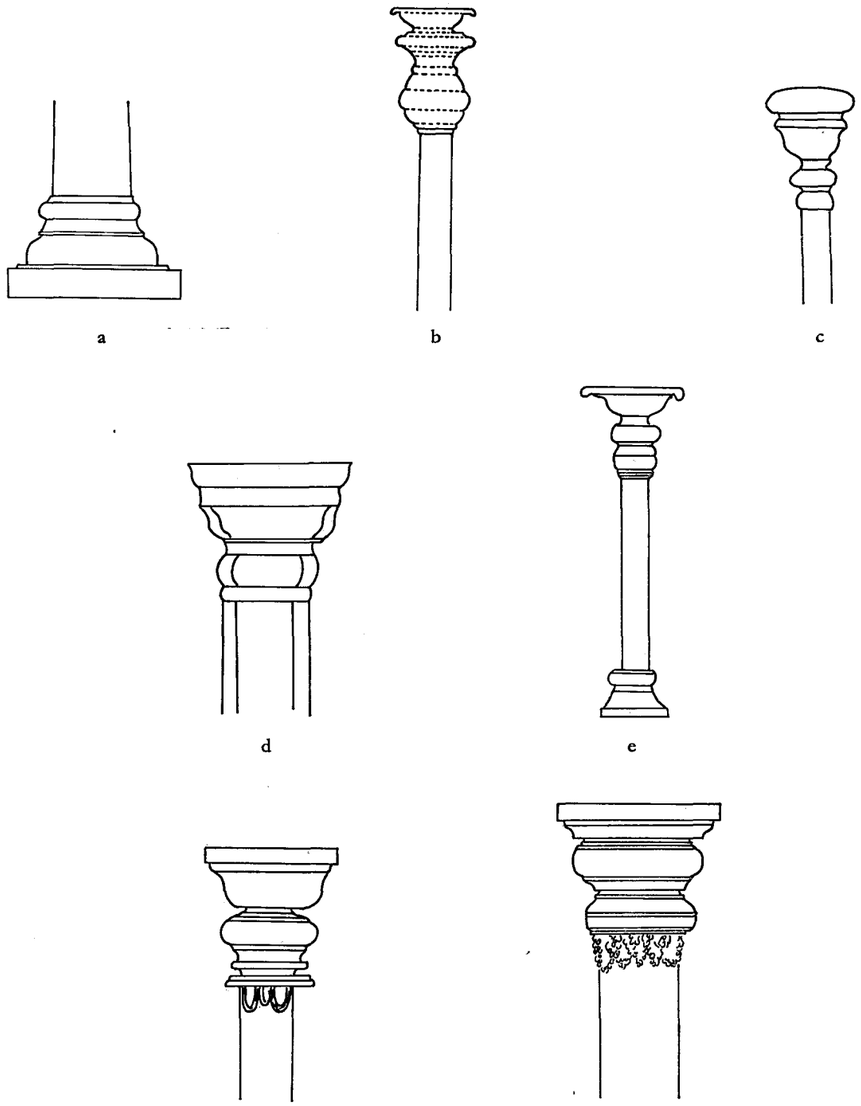
a. wingstone, Ransimālakaya area, Mahāvihāra; b. base-mouldings, pāsāda, Monastery F, Mirisavāṭivihāra

Fig. 144. Pilaster decoration, Anurādhapura Period (from reliefs)

exteriors of brick-and-timber structures in the Anurādhapura Period may have been more colourful and elaborate than the surviving monuments such as the Geḍigē and the Nakhāvehera suggest.

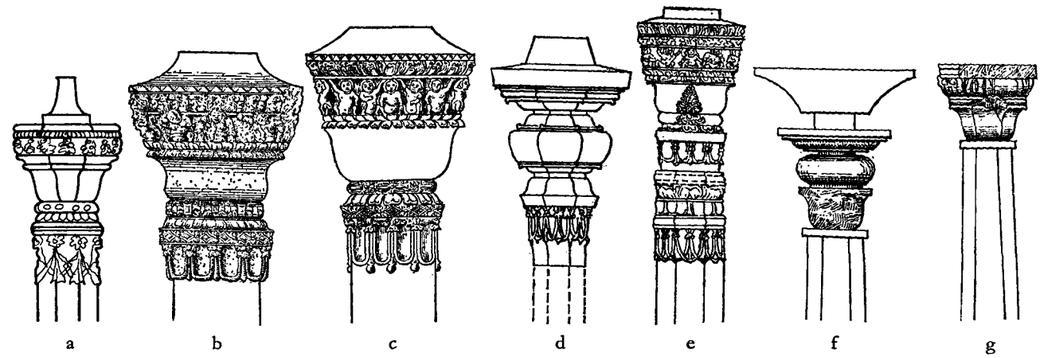
The existing evidence is scarcely sufficient for us to attempt any reconstruction of these lost facades and wall-faces. However, it is unlikely that the timbered sections of a building were *fundamentally* different in character from the masonry substructures which remain. At the same time, from the evidence discussed above and from the fact that the 'softer' materials such as timber, terracotta and stucco lend themselves more easily to elaborate detail than brick or stone, it is likely that the mixed architectural monuments of Anurādhapura were more elaborately decorated than they appear to be now at first glance. The general principles and motifs which prevailed in this ornamentation could not have been very different from those that we find, in subdued or suppressed form, in the surviving masonry. Occasionally, as in the decorated pillar capitals and the sculptured components of the entrance, or in such monuments as the *bodhighara* at Nillakgama, this exuberant detail—always simmering as it were beneath the surface—bursts through into the harder materials.

To say this, however, is not to ignore a perpetual dualism in the Sinhalese architectural sensibility, an ambivalence between simplicity and economy, on the one hand, and exuberance and extravagance, on the other. Thus, while there may have been a wealth of detail it appears to have been restricted in general to those areas where ornamentation was logical and appropriate—entrances, base-mouldings, cornice-mouldings, pilasters, windows, doors and the sections of wall-faces bordering these features, all zones of high ornamental attraction. The large intervening wall spaces were probably lime-washed in white or painted in monochrome. The result must have presented a balance, a kind of dynamic equilibrium between the opposed



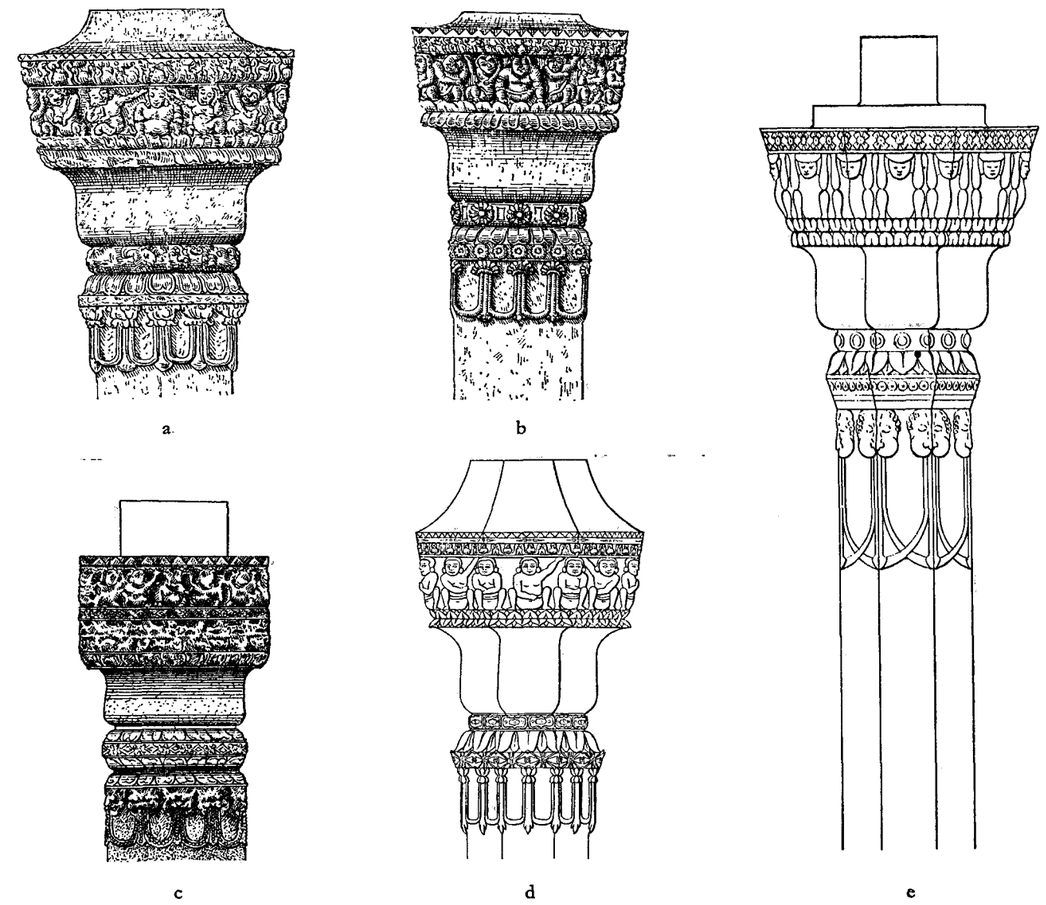
a. Brick pilaster base, Sīgiriya, 5th-7th Century; b. Inner sanctum, Bodhighara, Nillakgama 8th-9th Century; c. Lion Bath, Mihintaḷē; d. Lion Bath, Mihintaḷē; e. Frieze, Ruvanvälisāya; f. Wingstone, Monastery B, Thūpārāma; g. Wingstone, Tivaṅka Temple, Polonnaruva

Fig. 145. Pilaster capitals, Anurādhapura Period (from reliefs)



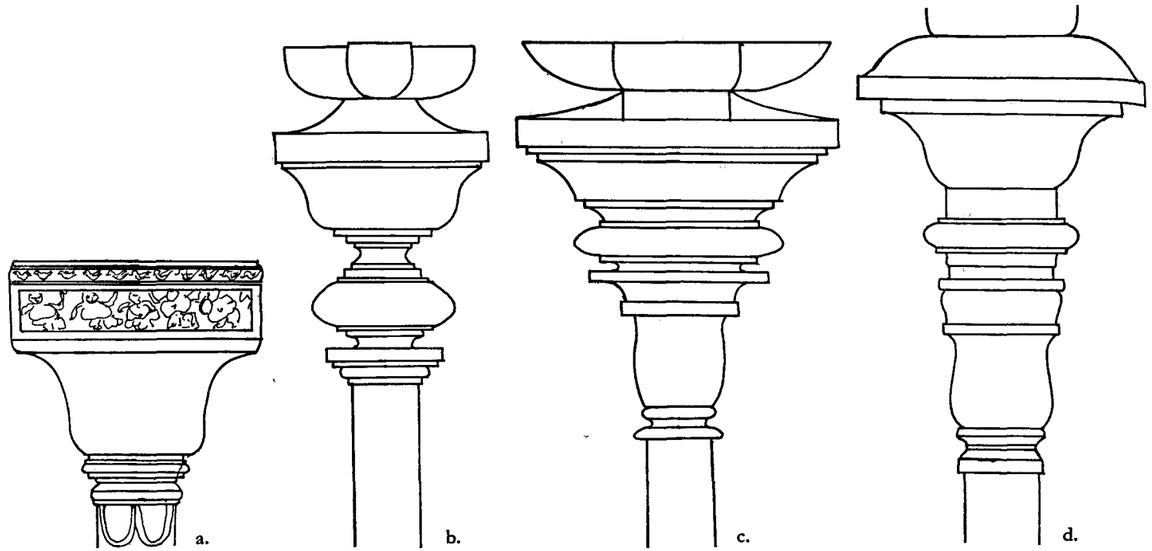
a. Thūpārāma, Anurādhapura; b. Pāsāda, Monastery L, Jetavanavihāra; c. Pāsāda, Monastery I, Mahāvihāra; d. Bodhighara, Kapārārāma, Abhayagirivihāra; e. Bodhighara, Kapārārāma, Abhayagirivihāra; f-g. Pilaster capitals, Pidurāgala (Polonnaruva Period?)

Fig. 146. Pillar capitals, Anurādhapura Period



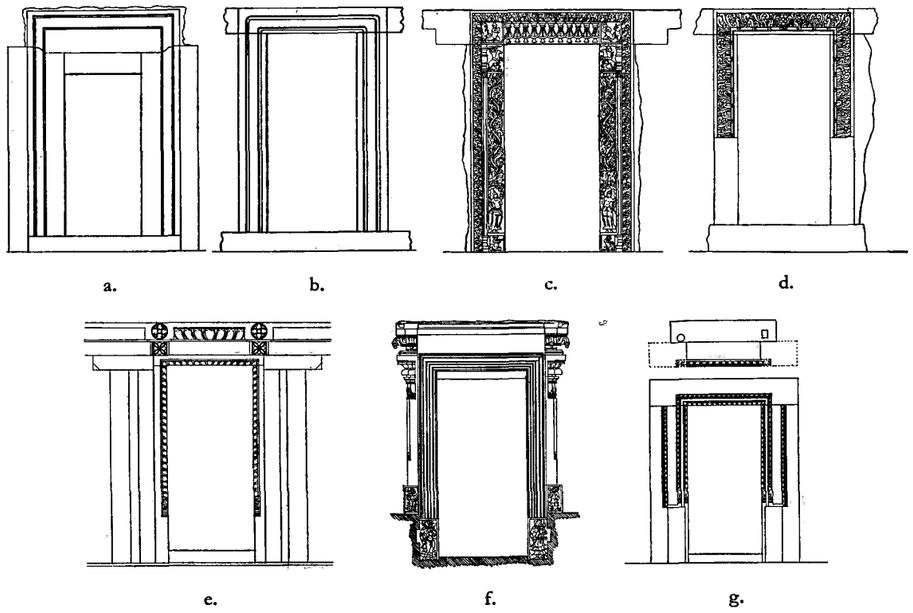
a. Pāsāda, 'Ayton Rd.' Monastery; b. Mayuraparivena; c. Bodhighara (?), Monastery I, Mahāvihāra; d. Thūpārāma, Anurādhapura; e. Laṅkārāma, Anurādhapura

Fig. 147. Pillar capitals, Anurādhapura Period



a. (Pillar capital) Laṅkātilaka Temple; b. Thūpārāma; c. Laṅkātilaka Temple; d. Tivaṅka Temple.

Fig. 148. Pilaster capitals, Polonnaruva Period



a. Lion Bath area, Mihintaḷē; b. Kaṇṭakacetiya, Mihintaḷē; c. Bodhighara, Nillakgama (8th-9th Century); d. Abhayagirivihāra, Anurādhapura; e. Upulvan shrine, Devundara; f. Palace, Yāpahuva (13th Century); g. Ganēgoḍavihāra, Avissavälla (ca. 14th Century)

Fig. 149. Doorways, Anurādhapura Period and later

tendencies of simplicity and elaboration. This is best exemplified in such famous monuments as the *vaṭadāgē* at Mādirigiriya (see Pl. XI), the Kuṭṭam Pokuṇa[1] at Anurādhapura, and the Hāṭa-dāgē at Polonnaruva (see fig. 139), all of which are expressions of the classic Sinhalese sensibility in its purest form.

That this point of equilibrium was not maintained consistently is clear from the complex and ever-shifting character of the various architectural and extra-architectural elements that we have been examining in this chapter. Thus, if we compare the simplicity of some of the miniature shrines from the urinal stones (see fig. 152) with the elaborate sculptured facade represented in a fragment in the Anurādhapura Museum (see Pl. XXXIV), or if we consider the variety of ornamentation in the doorways of the Late Anurādhapura Period (see figs. 149a-d; for purposes of comparison see also figs. 149e, f), we see that dual tendencies of economy and extravagance often existed side by side. This duality seems to have been an important aspect of the development of architectural form and ornamental detail, which must have been basically controlled by such factors as technology and the inherent nature of materials, while other factors such as the imitation and adaptation of Indian motifs must, in turn, have been governed by a continuing momentum of aesthetic necessity and increasing technical ability. It is only by understanding these complex and dynamic interrelations, rather than by merely mechanical documentation, that we can begin to interpret the remains and reconstruct the lost image of the monastic architecture of Anurādhapura.

SUPERSTRUCTURE

There can be no doubt that the most dominant feature of the superstructure in the monastic architecture of Anurādhapura was the roof or multi-tiered roofs which once covered these buildings. However, so completely have the superstructures of these monuments been destroyed that any attempt at conjectural reconstruction must be approached with great care and circumspection. The field of inquiry does not lie entirely in the realm of conjecture; a few threads of evidence remain, both from the Late Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods and from the corroborative evidence of parallel architectural traditions in India and South-East Asia. An even more rewarding source of evidence is the perennial, indigenous architecture of the island, preserved to this day both in the simple, rural dwellings of the countryside and in their aggrandised versions of the Kandyan Period.

The only building, ostensibly from the Late Anurādhapura Period, which has a section of its roof preserved is the Geḍigē at Nālanda, near Mātalē. Although partly in ruins to day, even its present appearance is largely due to a partial and haphazard restoration—inaccurate in several details[2]—by the Public Works Department in 1893-94. However, there is no reason to doubt that its original plan and design have been preserved and that the temple was a shrine entirely built of stone with a *śālā-śikhara* or wagon roof as the crowning feature of its roof. Only the southern gable of this *śikhara*, with its typical *gavākṣa*, and a small section of the wagon roof remain in position now. Fragments of the other *gavākṣa* were discovered at the site. The ground plan of the temple, certainly unchanged in the restoration, makes it clear that the *garbhagṛha* over which the *śikhara* stands is an oblong-oriented structure. Bell was uncertain about the shape of what he called 'the dome', but compared the southern *gavākṣa* with the

[1] See *UHC*, pl. XXIIb.
[2] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 47; see also *ASCAR* 1952, p. 11, 1959, p. 41.

gable-ends of the *śālā śikhara* over the Mahendravarmeśvara shrine at the Kailāsanātha Temple in Kāñcīpuram.[1]

The Geḍigē is considered to have been a sanctuary "dedicated to a Mahāyāna cult with pronounced Tāntric leanings", from a period when Tāntrism was widespread in Ceylon.[2] The precise date of the temple is still a matter of some conjecture. Bell, after some hesitation, finally decided that it belonged to the period of Coḷa occupation in the 11th Century.[3] He based his opinion at least partly on Rea who thought that the shrine resembled the Coḷa style more closely than that of the Pallavas. Hocart, in an attempt to fit the Geḍigē into his chronological system, dates it in the 7th or 8th Century.[4] Paranavitana, with the additional support of some associated inscriptional evidence of the 8th and 9th Centuries, assigns it to the Late Pallava style of about the 8th Century.[5] The stylistic affiliations of this monument—an important factor in determining its date—are in fact more complicated than either Bell or Paranavitana seem to recognise.[6] But, whatever the actual date of the Geḍigē at Nālanda, there is general agreement that it is an entirely 'imported' monument in a generally South Indian style. The materials used in its construction, its ground plan and the greater part of its ornamentation have no parallels in the architecture of the Anurādhapura Period. Therefore, its entirely stone superstructure provides no material evidence towards a reconstruction of the traditional Sinhalese roof.

One other building, possibly from the Late Anurādhapura or, more likely, the Polonnaruva Period, which retains a substantial portion of its original superstructure, is the Upulvan shrine at Devundara.[7] A 19th Century description of this small temple records that "on the top there appears formerly to have been a dagaba"[8]; Paranavitana interprets this as probably indicating a *śikhara*—possibly a brick dome—over the *garbhagṛha*.[9] He dates the building in the 7th Century and maintains that it is not an 'imported' *Drāviḍa* conception but a purely local attempt at stone architecture, while admitting that "it falls outside the normal development of Sinhalese architecture". It has been suggested that the temple is perhaps an example of provincial South Indian building, from the Polonnaruva Period.[10] In its present form it is a simple stone structure with a square sanctum and a projecting vestibule. A flat stone roof covers both rooms. The ceiling of the sanctum is more substantially constructed than that of the antechamber, suggesting that it may have supported a masonry *śikhara* or dome, or even an upper storey.

Whatever its date and architectural affiliations, by the very nature of its construction, general design and ornamental detail, this monument has very little in common with classic Sinhalese architecture, beyond the conventional *gandhakuṭī* ground plan, common to most Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions. Like the Nālanda Geḍigē, this takes us no further in our attempt to visualise the original form of the classic Sinhalese roof.

A building more relevant, in this respect, than the shrines at Nālanda and Devundara, is the

[1] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 47.
[2] *UHC* p. 401 (see also *ASCAR* 1952, p. 11).
[3] *ASCAR* 1910-11, p. 50.
[4] *CJSG* ,Vol. I, pp. 94, 148; Vol. II, pp. 6-7.
[5] *UHC* p. 401 (see also *ASCAR* 1947, p. 17; 1952, p. 11).
[6] A close examination of this temple shows it to be of a highly eclectic character, relating to more than one Indian tradition. However, as in the case of the Upulvan shrine at Devundara, an investigation of this question requires more detailed discussion than is possible or necessary here.
[7] Paranavitana, S., 1953 (1), pp. 6-10, pls. III-VIII.
[8] Forbes, J., 1840, Vol. II, p. 178.
[9] Paranavitana, S., 1953 (1), pp. 3-4.
[10] See above, p. 209 n. 1.

so-called Thūpārāma Temple at Polonnaruva, the only monument from the early periods of Ceylonese architecture of which the greater part of the roof has been preserved in something like its original state (see fig. 150). In the Thūpārāma we have a shrine which is seemingly a product of the continuing Sinhalese traditions.[1] In its plan, purpose and the materials used in its construction it recalls the image-houses of the Anurādhapura Period. This is equally true of its base-mouldings, pilasters capitals and ground plan, all of which are a continuation of earlier forms. In the design of the superstructure, however, with its four-faceted dome or *Nāgara śikhara* and the row of *kūṭās* and *śālās* along the periphery of its roof, the Thūpārāma is clearly related to the stone temples of Pallava, Cāḷukya and Coḷa architecture.[2]

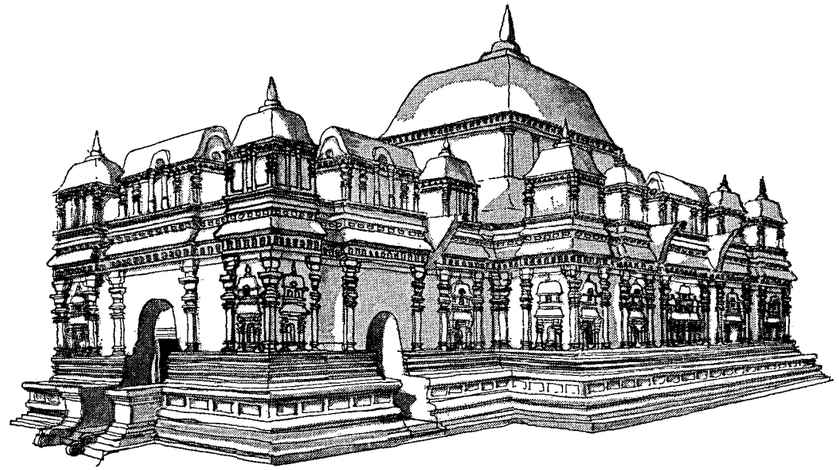


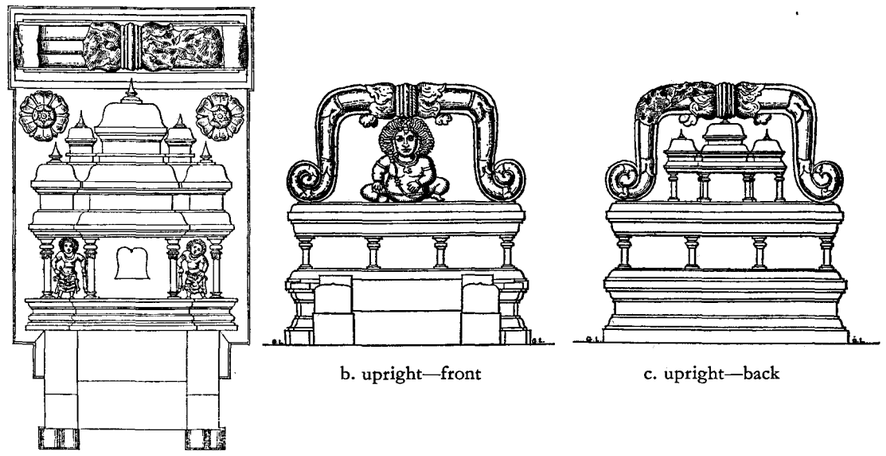
Fig. 150. Thūpārāma Temple, Polonnaruva (conjectural reconstruction)

The resemblance between the Thūpārāma and these South Indian temples is too close to contend that this is due to a coincidence of parallel development rather than the result of direct influence.[3] However, the fact that the Thūpārāma does not reflect *contemporary* South Indian design and that it embodies certain essential features which are distinctly Sinhalese suggests that this South Indian influence had been absorbed, at least in part, at an earlier date, and re-interpreted in the terms of the local tradition. Examples of the survival of early *Drāviḍa* design in shrines of a later period can be found in other regions bordering the homeland of the *Drāviḍa* style, for instance in the temples at Vizhinjam in Kerala.[4]

It is significant that in both the Ceylonese and the Kerala monuments the *Drāviḍa* influence

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (1), pp. 24-26.
[2] See Longhurst, A. H., 1924, pl. XVII(a); Srinivasan, K. R., 1958, pls. XLIV B, LX B; Cousens, H., 1931, pl. XXXII; Raju, V., 1937, pls. VIII, X; Brown, P., 1959, pl. LXVI, fig. 1; *ASCAR* 1906, pl. XIX. Bell, in his account of the Thūpārāma, refers to the amalgamation of Sinhalese and South Indian architectural features in the temple and to the resemblance between its superstructure and certain Pallava and Coḷa monuments, including the 11th Century Coḷa temple at Polonnaruva, the Śiva Dēvālē No. 2 (*ASCAR* 1903, pp. 28, 32).
[3] See below, p. 361.
[4] See below, pp. 358-359.

manifests itself chiefly in the form and design of their masonry superstructures, that is to say, in those sections of these buildings which do not lie within the mixed—i.e. brick-and-timber—architectural traditions of Ceylon and Kerala. Unlike the Nālanda Geḍigē or the Upulvan shrine at Devundara, the Thūpārāma Temple at Polonnaruva is not a wholly 'imported' conception. Being of brick masonry rather than of stone, it has some roots in Sinhalese architectural practice. At the same time, as it has a solid masonry roof, in contrast to the timbered superstructures of classic Sinhalese building, it displays a high degree of *drāviḍisation*.[1] The distinctions between the stone and the brick monuments—the former displaying an 'imported style', the latter a mixture of foreign and local forms—on the one hand, and the mixed brick-and-timber structures, on the other, are of fundamental importance to the question of the roof in classic Sinhalese architecture, as we shall see in the sequel.



a. slab b. upright—front c. upright—back

Fig. 151. Urinal stone with miniature relief shrines, Mahāvihāra (east)

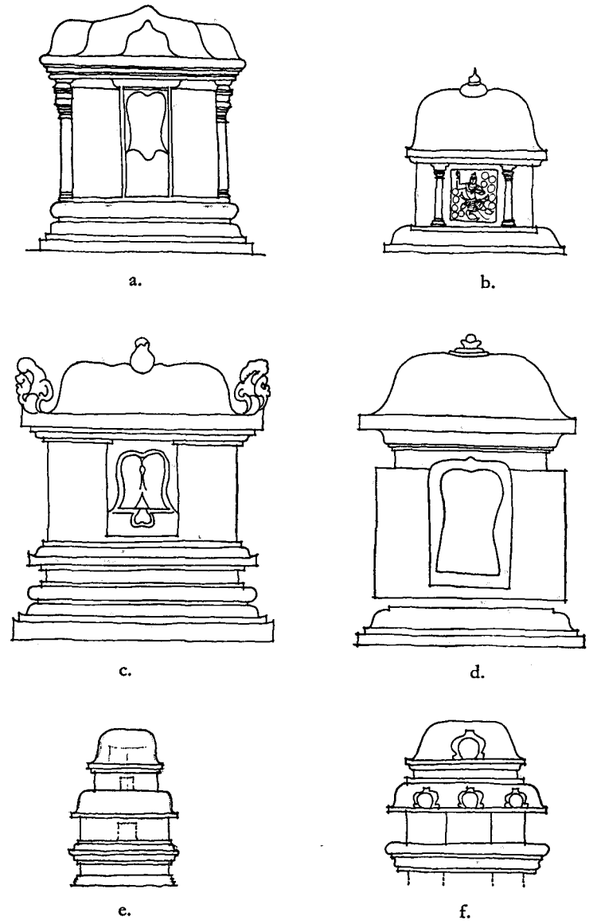
The nuclear design of the Thūpārāma can be seen in a number of multi-domed miniature shrines represented in relief on the central panels of the outer walls of this temple (see fig. 154a; cf. also figs. 154b, c). These are but elaboration of the single-domed miniature shrines which are also displayed on the temple walls (see fig. 153a). In an earlier study, I have discussed the connection between the Thūpārāma Temple, itself, and these architectural motifs or 'models'.[2] Versions of these miniature shrines, both in their single- and their multi-domed forms, are found elsewhere in Polonnaruva and in association with monuments of the Anurādhapura Period: in Polonnaruva, at the Laṅkātilaka Temple (see figs. 153b, 154b) and in an increasingly 'baroque' style at the Tivaṅka Temple (see figs. 153c, d, 154c, 155), on the walls of the central shrine at the Potgulvehera and carved on the rock-face on either side of the seated Buddha at the Uttarārāma or Galvihāra; at Anurādhapura, in several urinal stone

[1] We have already noticed this phenomenon in connection with the central shrine at the Potgulvehera, as well as in chapter V on the image-house (see above, pp. 157, 199 n. 4.).

[2] Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, pp. 101-102.

reliefs (see figs. 151, 152a-e, Pl. XXXVI), mostly from the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, in a unique position on the outer faces of the wingstones at the entrance to the *pāsāda* of Monastery B in the Mahāvihāra; and lastly, in monuments of the Anurādhapura Period but at provincial sites, such as on the doorways of the Geḍigē at Nālanda (see fig. 152f) and on guardstones at Māligāvela and at the Magulmahāviharā. They continue in the post-Polonnaruva epoch, on the staircase at Yāpahuva (see fig. 156).

Some of the Polonnaruva shrines clearly belong to the great building phase in the latter half of the 12th Century under Parākramabāhu I and Niśśaṅkamalla, others possibly to the

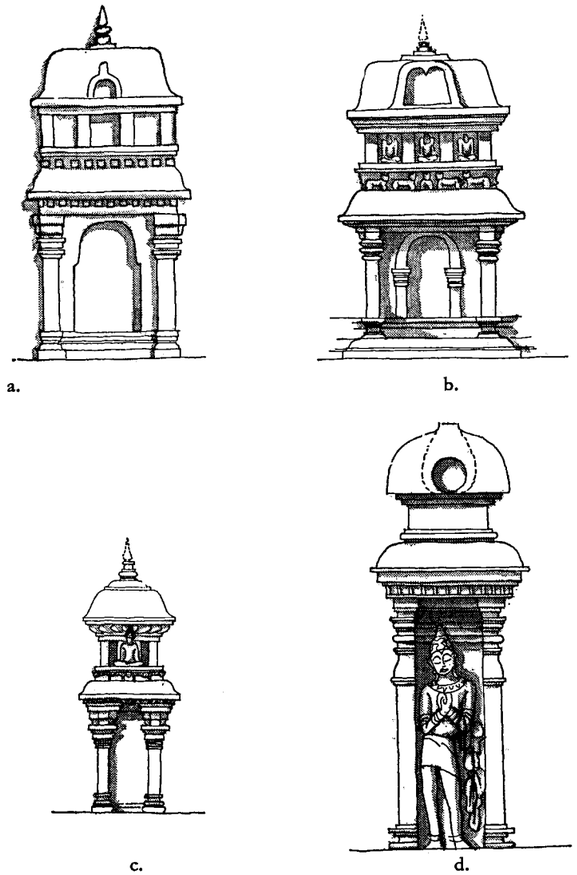


a. b. c. d. e. f.

a. Vessagiriya; b. (Archaeological Museum, Anurādhapura); c. Toluvila; d. (Archaeological Museum, Anurādhapura); e. 'Vihāra No. 2', Abhayagirivihāra Sector II; f. Lintel, Geḍigē, Nālanda

Fig. 152. Miniature relief shrines from urinal stones, etc.

reign of Vijayabāhu I in the preceding century.[1] None of the Anurādhapura shrines can yet be dated with any degree of accuracy but the decorative carving on some of the urinal stones and on the *makara* wingstones of Monastery B can safely be assigned to the latter half of Phase IV, i.e. 9th-10th Centuries.



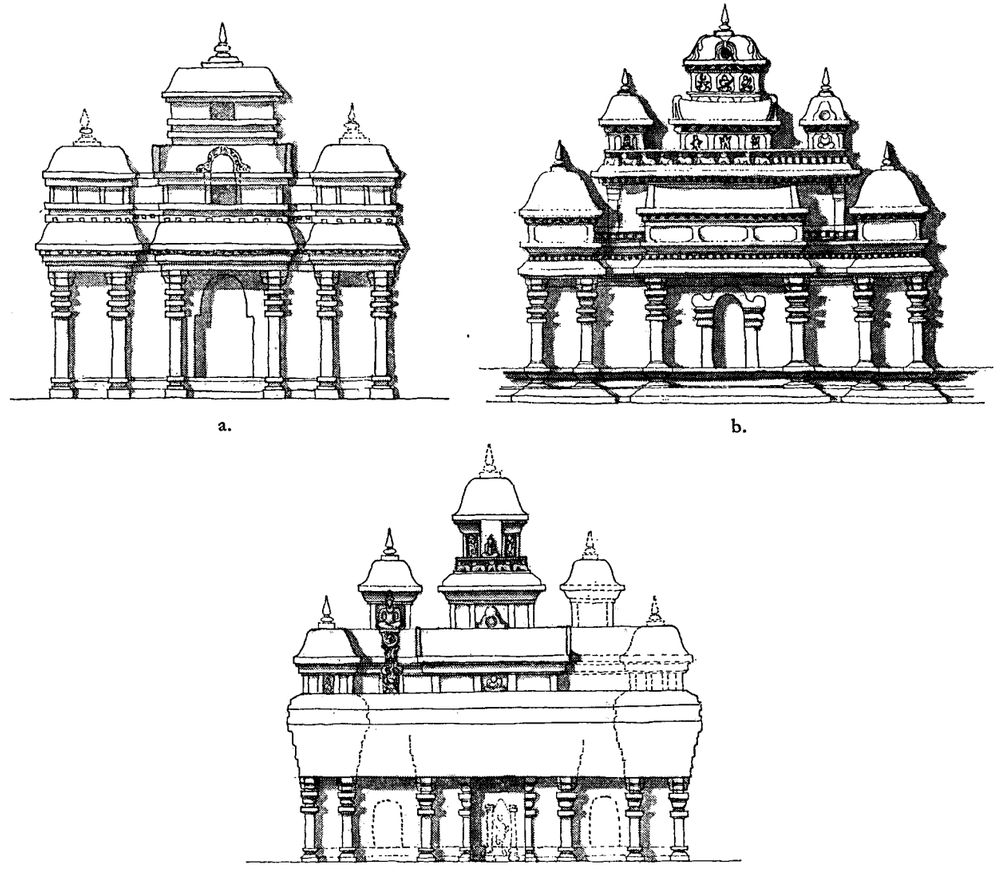
a. b. c. d.

a. Thūpārāma Temple; b. Laṅkātilaka Temple; c. Tivaṅka Temple; d. Tivaṅka Temple

Fig. 153. Single-domed miniature relief shrines from Polonnaruva temples

At a certain point in the development of the miniature shrines themselves there is no clear demarcation between the style of Polonnaruva and that of the immediately preceding phase at

[1] The Thūpārāma Temple has not been firmly dated but there is little doubt that it is not more than a century earlier than the Parākramabāhu period, and probably much less, if it is not actually of that period itself. The Potgulvehera shrine is known from inscriptional evidence to have been built in the reign of Parākramabāhu.



a. b. c.

a. Thūpārāma Temple b. Laṅkātilaka Temple c. Tivaṅka Temple

Fig. 154. Multi-domed miniature relief shrines from Polonnaruva temples

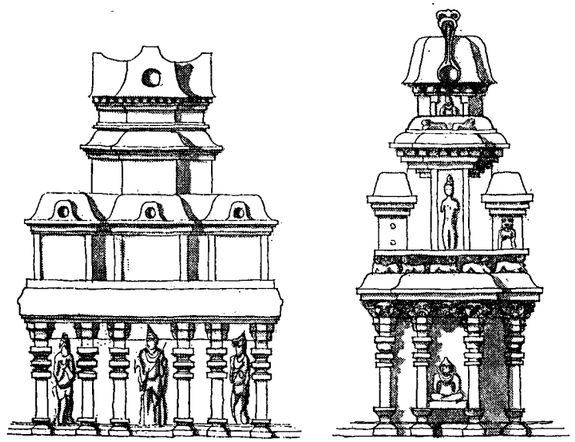


Fig. 155. Multi-domed miniature relief shrines, Tivaṅka Temple, Polonnaruva

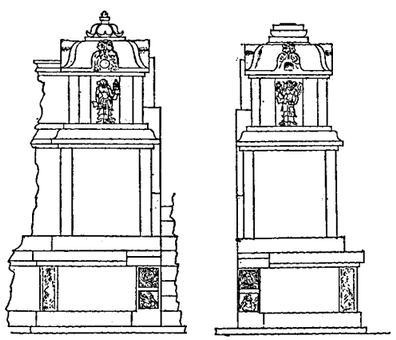


Fig. 156. Miniature shrines on staircase, Yāpahuva

Anurādhapura. Some of the simpler shrines from Anurādhapura may, of course, date from the 7th/8th Century, but to place them any earlier would be to go beyond the bounds of justified conjecture. Stylistically, the Anurādhapura shrines are fairly closely related to each other and, unlike the Polonnaruva examples, show no great progression. Their affinities to similar miniature shrines in South Indian architecture from the 7th Century onwards give us a lower limit for these Anurādhapura examples.

The single-domed relief shrines, such as the familiar examples from Māmallapuram,[1] are known in South Indian architecture from about the 7th Century.[2] They appear in the form of little pavilions or *kūṭās* along the periphery of the tiered roof not only in Pallava, but also in Cāḷukya and early Coḷa architecture and in the buildings of related South Indian dynasties.

These miniature shrines contain no less than the germinal design of the *Drāviḍa* style. However, the sanctuaries they represent have a classic pedigree going back to early Buddhist and Brahmanical architecture and beyond that to a type of simple structure in rural Indian architecture, both religious and secular. In his study of the Buddhist architecture of *Gandhāra*, Foucher suggests that there was a connection between the early Buddhist domed temple, such as the chapels around the *stūpa*-court at Takht-i-Bāhai, and the primitive anchorite huts featured in contemporary art.[3] Similar huts as well as domed sanctuaries enshrining various cult objects are known to us from an early period in reliefs from Sāñcī, Mathurā and Āndradeśa.[4] A version of this simple *kuṭī* form is preserved in the Draupadī *ratha* at Māmallapuram. A unique free-standing temple of the 'double-domed' Gandhāra type was discovered by Stein at Balō in Swāt.[5] Structural equivalents of the South Indian miniature shrines can be found in the two temples at Vizhinjam in Kerala, built of brick masonry with stone base-mouldings, cornices, pilasters and pillars,[6] and some of the simpler Coḷa buildings, entirely constructed of stone, in Puḍukoṭṭai.[7] All these have been assigned to the 9th or 10th Century.

The Vizhinjam temples are particularly interesting. Vizhinjam itself is associated with a famous battle between the Pallavas and the Ceras in the 7th Century, and the unfinished sculpture in the rock-cut temple here shows strong Pallava influences, as do many other early Kerala sculptures.[8] The temples consist of a single *cella* surmounted by a solid, four-faceted dome of brick masonry which rests on a square 'tower' or upper temple. These upper sections and the domes themselves are decorated with a single niche in the centre of each face. The larger of the two temples has a pillared porch at its entrance and the *kapota* of the main shrine continues along the edge of the porch roof. The superstructure and the walls are of brick masonry supported internally by stone pillars. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, the *kapota*, the pillars of the porch and the voluted wingstones flanking the entrance are also in stone. This use of brick masonry with stone supports and edgings is reminiscent of Anurādhapura and the general pattern of the Vizhinjam shrines recalls in principle the much larger and more complex Thūpārāma Temple

[1] Srinivasan, K. R., 1958, pl. XLVII.
[2] Similar shrines form the facades of a series of rock-cut sanctuaries at Undavalli, ascribed to one of the lesser dynasties coeval with the Pallavas (Longhurst, A. H., 1924, pp. 5, 30, pl. XIII; see also Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., 1917, pp. 31-33, *IAR* 1956-57, pp. 69-70). Another series of miniature shrines is represented on a set of stone slabs lying in the courtyard of the Kapoteśvara Temple at Chezārla, a site with certain Pallava connections (Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1965, pp. 77-78, pl. XXXV, fig. 147).
[3] Foucher, A., 1905, pp. 120-132.
[4] Foucher, A., 1905, pp. 120-132; see also Brown, P., 1959, pl. XVIII.
[5] Stein, A., 1930, pp. 12-13, figs. 6-7, pl. 4.
[6] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 6-7, pl. 1; see also *Trav. AR* 1113 M.E., p. 11.
[7] Raju, V., 1937, pp. 88-90.
[8] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 26-28.

at Polonnaruva. If there were Sinhalese image-houses of the single-domed type as depicted in the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva miniature shrines, then any attempt at reconstructing these must take into account the Vizhinjam and Puḍukoṭṭai temples.

The multi-domed Ceylonese miniature shrines feature a more complex architectural form. The basic unit still remains the *kuṭī*, multiplied both vertically and horizontally and sometimes supplemented by other architectural elements such as the *śālā*, as in the miniature shrines on the walls of the Polonnaruva temples (see fig. 154). As far as I know, this type of multi-domed miniature shrine, depicted in relief, is not found in India, although the string of *kuṭās* and *śālās* above the facades of Pallava cave-temples, such as the Trimūrti Temple at Māmallapuram, when taken together with the rest of their facades, have ultimately the same sort of effect.[1] However, examples of such shrines are represented in Javanese reliefs, especially on the terraces of Barabaḍur dating from the early 9th Century. A special study of the buildings depicted in these reliefs has been made by Parmentier.[2] The close parallels between the early Javanese masonry tradition and that of South India have often been recognised.

The structural equivalents of the multi-domed relief shrines are obviously to be found in temples such as the Thūpārāma in Polonnaruva and the classic *śikhara* temples of the *Drāviḍa* and Javanese traditions. In the relief representations studied by Parmentier we find a variant form of the multi-domed relief shrine applied not to the conventional square or *gandhakuṭī* temple, but to the rectangular or *śālā* form.[3] These obviously relate to structures, such as Caṇḍi Sāri and Caṇḍi Plaosan Lor, in which the wagon-roof is surmounted by a series of large *stūpi* or *āmalakas*. Once again, the *śālā* or *pāsāda* concept, as displayed in these Javanese monuments, has its parallels in India, particularly in the Bhīma and Gaṇeśa Rathas at Māmallapuram and in the *śālā śikharas* of temples like the Geḍigē at Nālanda.

Thus, the focus of discussion of these miniature shrines, of both the single-and multi-domed type, continually shifts back to the beginnings of South Indian architecture in stone under the Pallavas and Cāḷukyas and beyond that to the early Buddhist architecture of India. The evidence with regard to the superstructure of Buddhist monastic buildings, especially of the more complex types, is insufficient to determine the precise extent to which the Pallava *rathas* preserve the original Buddhist designs. Nor does it allow us to decide whether the Sinhalese miniature shrines are directly derived from the early Indian Buddhist tradition, from a South Indian Brahmanical tradition or whether they are the result of an overlay of South Indian design on existing Sinhalese Buddhist forms. The strength and dynamism of the evolving Pallava style and the extent of its influence on Sinhalese art from about the 7th-8th Century seem to indicate one of the two latter possibilities.

An early relief depicting domed huts or shrines can be seen in a fragment of a stone stele, now in the Colombo Museum but originally from one of the *vāhalkaḍas* of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* (see Pl. XXXV). Literary, as well as other evidence, indicates that these *vāhalkaḍas* date between the 2nd and 4th Centuries A.D. Stylistically this early school of Sinhalese sculpture shows influence from Āndhradeśa as well as Sāñcī and Mathurā.[4] The small buildings seen in these reliefs seem to have thatched roofs of a domical or semi-domical shape. They clearly relate to the shrines and anchorite huts of the early Indian reliefs mentioned above. It is scarcely possible to determine whether they were a prototype of the Ceylonese miniature

[1] Srinivasan, K. R., 1958, pp. 128-129, pl. XLVI.
[2] Parmentier, H., 1907.
[3] Parmentier, H., 1907, esp. pl. III, figs. 51, 52, 53, 58; also pl. II, figs. 25, 27.
[4] *UHC* pp. 261-262, 264-266.

relief shrines of the later period. What is clear in both the Early and the Late Anurādhapura Period examples of miniature relief shrines is that the Ceylonese representations correspond to similar and earlier—or contemporary—forms in India, indicating that these motifs have been inspired by, if not directly borrowed from, the subcontinent.

It is necessary to recognise, in our discussion of miniature relief shrines in general, that they have a dual character. In the earlier or simpler versions they seem to depict actual structural forms. Later, they serve not only as representations of certain building types, but also as architectural motifs, obviously preserving some element of structural design but performing a purely decorative role. This is well demonstrated in the reliefs from the temples at Polonnaruva. On the one hand, at the Thūpārāma there are both single- and multi-domed shrines, with only the latter bearing a *direct* relation to the actual temple itself (see figs. 150, 153a, 154a). On the other hand, at the Laṅkātilaka (see fig. 154b, and Pl. XXXVII) and the Tivaṅka (see figs. 154c, 155), the multi-domed shrines, while showing a progressive development from those of the Thūpārāma, bear little direct reference to the temples themselves.

This last observation can also be applied to other instances where these 'models' are displayed—the urinal stones, the wingstones at Mahāvihāra Monastery B, the circular shrine at the Potgulvehera and the staircase at Yāpahuva (see fig. 156). In all these, the miniature shrines obviously serve a purely ornamental purpose. It is only at the Uttarārāma, where there was an image-house, apparently of the *gedigē* type, built against the rock, that the shrines may have corresponded, at least in their basic design, to the structure with which they were associated. We may underline this point by referring to architectural designs represented in murals from the Kandyan Period, which often depict structures with curvilinear roofs, or roofs with curvilinear elements, even though such roof forms are unknown in the structural architecture of that period.[1]

Thus, in interpreting the original character of contemporary Sinhalese building, the evidence from the miniature shrines has to be approached with circumspection. That this applies to certain building types, or at least to certain architectural *concepts*, is clear. What is not apparent is how far it relates to the brick-and-timber tradition of Sinhalese monastic buildings.

What is common to the miniature shrines and the three structural temples that we have mentioned in this connection—viz., the monuments at Nālanda, Devundara and the Thūpārāma Temple at Polonnaruva—is that they all have roofs which are essentially curvilinear in form.[2] At the same time we have seen that the miniature shrines as well as the structural temples exist in a milieu of solid masonry superstructures and show a predominantly, if not wholly 'imported', South Indian influence. The question that must be asked is whether this curvilinear roof shape can be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, in our attempts to visualise the original superstructures of the monastic buildings of Anurādhapura. The answer is obviously in the negative but it requires further analysis and discussion.

The curvilinear roof, in its three variations—the *śālā* or wagon-roof, the apsidal-ended roof and the dome—is widely prevalent in early Indian architecture. It is, as far as we can judge, the classic Indian roof shape. In developed Brahmanical architecture, the dome predominates in its square, octagonal and round forms. This curvilinear roof is not unknown in Ceylon. Apart from the solid domes of the Sinhalese *stūpas* which, can scarcely be described as 'roofs', the *śālā śikhara* of the Nālanda Gedigē and the four-faceted dome of the Thūpārāma

[1] See below, pp. 369-371.
[2] Admittedly, the existence of a dome in the Upulvan shrine at Devundara is only conjectural.

Temple at Polonnaruva, there are a few examples of domed temples from the post-Polonnaruva epoch. These include the main shrine at Gaḍalādeṇiya, and the Nāthadēvālē at Kandy,[1] the Śiva Temple at Tirukkōvil[2] and a number of old Brahmanical shrines such as the Tiruketīśvaram at Pālāvi, the Skanda Temple at Māviddapuram and the Īśvari Temple at Munneśvaram.[3] All these, however, are typical South Indian *śikhara* temples bearing no relation to local architecture. While we have no actual remains of a curvilinear *roof* from the Anurādhapura Period, with the exception of the Nālanda Gedigē, there is evidence of vaulted masonry *ceilings* in a few *gedigēs* at Anurādhapura and elsewhere. In addition, a well-preserved vault of the 8th Century was discovered in the relic-chamber of the *stūpa* at Pidurāgala.[4] This leaves us in no doubt that the curvilinear roof in either its domical or wagon-roof shape was not beyond the technical capacity of the Sinhalese architects of Anurādhapura who, on the contrary, quite ably handled the curvilinear form in brick masonry.

At the same time we must not go too far in our assumptions. The existence of vaults and domes in the internal structure of a building does not necessarily imply that the outer form of its roof adhered to the curvilinear shape. In Kashmir, for instance, there exists a tradition of rectilinear masonry roofs supported internally by corbelled ceilings, sometimes—as in the temples at Vāngath—fashioned inside so as to simulate a domical form.[5] Consequently, those rare monuments of the Anurādhapura Period which are built entirely of brick masonry, i.e. the *gedigēs* or *giñjakāvasathas*, need not necessarily have had curvilinear roofs even though their ceilings were internally domed.[6] In the end, the arguments for the existence of curvilinear roofs must rest on the evidence of the miniature shrines and the only domed building in brick from the early periods of Sinhalese architecture, the Thūpārāma Temple at Polonnaruva.

Paranavitana has argued, in the context of the *gedigēs* and the masonry monuments of Polonnaruva, that any similarity between the Ceylonese buildings and those of the *Drāviḍa* or any other related traditions is due to their derivation from a common source, presumably in the early Buddhist architecture of India.[7] While this is at least partly true of some aspects of Sinhalese art and architecture, it is least applicable, as we have seen, to such forms as the miniature shrines and the Thūpārāma Temple. These, undoubtedly, owe a great deal to the South Indian tradition, particularly with regard to their superstructures.

On the other hand, it is scarcely possible to say what role this *Drāviḍa* tradition played in the formation of the superstructure of the Anurādhapura *gedigēs*. If we look for Indian parallels in order to visualise the original design of these ruined structures we have to consider not only the South Indian tradition but also the brick tower temples of the Gangetic plain, such as the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodhgayā, the shrine at Bhītārgāoṅ and the largely lost Pāla architecture of Eastern India, exemplified in such monuments as the temple at Pahāṛpur, as well as the distinctive stone buildings of Kashmir. While the Ceylonese miniature shrines are clearly

[1] Mudiyanse, N., (n.d.), pp. 33, 58-60, plan no. 3; see also pp. 16, 60-61, plan no. 4.
[2] *CJSG* II, pp. 160-161, pl. LXXXVII.
[3] Cartman, J., 1957, pp. 88-91, etc.
[4] *ASCAR* 1957, pp. 24-26.
[5] Kak, R. C., 1933, pp. 66-67, 166-167.
[6] It is significant that while Paranavitana renders *giñjakā* as 'brick', Geiger translates it as 'tile' (Paranavitana, S., 1945; Geiger, W., 1960, p. 93). It is clear, however, from Geiger's own renderings that no real distinction was made in the literature between bricks and tiles, both being made by the same process and with the same materials. Thus, terms such as *giñjakā* and *iṭṭhakā* and *iṭṭhikā* were used for bricks and tiles alike. It is not impossible that monuments which were substantially of brick masonry still preserved the conventional tiled roofs over vaulted, brick ceilings.
[7] Paranavitana, S., 1954 (1), pp. 24-26.

related to the *Drāviḍa* school, the ruined *geḍigēs* of Anurādhapura bear a much closer affinity—if we need to look for parallels elsewhere—with the brick architecture of northern India. At the same time the rectilinear masonry roofs of Kashmir are much closer in form and feeling to the general architectural character of the Sinhalese tradition than either the brick tower-temples or the *Drāviḍa* monuments.

To say this, however, is only to emphasis the ambiguous nature of the evidence for the existence of curvilinear roofs in the masonry buildings of Anurādhapura. What we have been able to establish so far is that: i. the curvilinear roof in Ceylonese architecture is predominantly an imported concept; ii. it is not certain that the *geḍigēs* were domed buildings.

If these conclusions are merely of a negative kind, with little bearing on the timbered superstructures of the Anurādhapura Period, we then have to ask ourselves whether there is any positive evidence to establish the existence of the rectilinear, or pent roof in classic Sinhalese architecture.

We have already paid some attention to this problem in our discussion of the building types, particularly in connection with the *cetiyaghara* and the *pāsāda*.[1] The conclusions arrived at there were largely conjectural and, at best, dependent upon comparative data. In several cases, we have also drawn attention to the close relationship between the existing indigenous architecture of Ceylon and the formal, monastic buildings of Anurādhapura.[2] This remains, in fact, the most obvious source of evidence for reconstructing the original character of the ancient monuments.

The rectilinear, sloping roofs of Sinhalese architecture as they exist today in the organic, rural buildings as well as in the more sophisticated architecture of the Kandyan Period, provide the most substantial evidence for the prevalence of the angular roof as the classic form. The primitive rural architecture consistently eschews the curvilinear shape. In more formal structures, the roof is often rendered in relatively elaborate versions of the usual double-pitched or pent type. This takes the form of various combinations of the pyramidal and hipped roof, sometimes multi-tiered and, invariably, tiled (see Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL, XLI, XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVI, XLVIII, LI). At its best we find this in the buildings of the Kandyan Period. The fact that these Kandyan forms manifest themselves at a point when the tradition is weakening indicates that they are the product of long established conventions.

These complex and highly-developed roofs of Kandyan architecture[3]—not confined to the highlands, but best preserved in that area—are rarely linked in the archaeological mind's-eye with the masonry bases and stone pillars of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva buildings.[4] The general tendency, at least in recent times, has been to visualise the domed superstructures of the miniature shrines as being the appropriate roof forms for most buildings of the classic period.[5]

The masses of brick masonry, stone pillars and carved or moulded substructures which still survive in the Anurādhapura monasteries tend to obscure the fact that Sinhalese architecture was, and in fact still is, essentially a mixed architecture of brick masonry and timbered superstructures. Entirely brick-built monuments like the *geḍigēs* are certainly the exception rather

[1] See above, pp. 152-154, 274-277.
[2] See above, pp. 11 ff., 271-273.
[3] For the two most comprehensive accounts of Kandyan architecture see Lewis, J. P., 1908; Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1956 (1), pp. 114-136. For a brief account of tiling and roof construction, see Karunaratne, L. K., 1971, pp. 124-125.
[4] See below, pp. 363-365.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 21; Godakumbura, C. E., 1965, p. 166.

than the rule. Massive edifices such as the great *uposathagharas*, impressive even in their completely denuded state, were buildings constructed substantially of timber. Their brick walls could not have stood to any great height and their present stone basal platforms and pillars are only later replacements of their original brick substructures and wooden pillars. As in the buildings of the Kandyan Period, this mixed architecture takes very naturally to the rectilinear, tiled roof. The curvilinear roof, on the other hand, can be easily rendered in thatch or masonry, but is clearly unsuitable for tiles.

From about the beginnings of Phase II of the Anurādhapura Period, the developed constructional techniques of Sinhalese architecture must have demanded—initially, at least, in the more important buildings—a more sophisticated roof than one of simple thatch. There is little evidence to suggest that thatching in Ceylon ever went beyond the most rudimentary stages. It merely remains a basic roofing method applied to the simplest buildings and it never displays curvilinear forms. Sinhalese tiling, on the other hand, even at the lowest ebb of the Kandyan tradition, shows an elegance which matches the intricacy of its greater and more self-conscious designs and displays a fluency in this medium which can only be the result of a long-standing tradition.[1]

There can be little doubt that tiled roofs were used extensively, if not exclusively, in the buildings of Anurādhapura. This is amply borne out by the numerous fragments of tiles found at every ancient site. Occasionally, complete tiles, pottery finials and the iron nails, bolts and clamps used in the wooden superstructures have been discovered.[2] The earliest dateable evidence of the use of tiles comes from the remains on the summit of the rock at Sīgiriya, where Bell observed that the "roofing was timbered and flat-tiled".[3] Tiles have been found even in such monumental buildings as the Baddhasīmāpāsāda at Polonnaruva, despite the fact that it is substantially constructed of brick masonry.[4] A comparison of the tiles of the Anurādhapura Period, e.g. from Pankuliya and the Western Monasteries, with those used in Kandyan architecture shows how closely the latter have preserved the forms of the classic epoch (see fig. 157). The existence of glazed and enamelled tiles at Anurādhapura—apparently unknown in the Kandyan Period—is also documented by actual finds,[5] while literature records copper and bronze roofing, best known to us from the name 'Lohapāsāda'.[6]

One of the first scholars to hint at the possibility of 'pagoda' roofs at Anurādhapura was Burrows, who suggested this as an alternative to a domed roof, in connection with one particular building.[7] Bell was more concerned with documenting the excavated material than interpreting or analysing it. He too, either implicitly or explicitly, visualised sloping or angular roofs on buildings of the Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva Period, though only in a few in-

[1] Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1956 (1), pp. 223-224. This applies with equal validity to the elaborate woodwork of the beams, rafters, pillars, doorways, etc., of Kandyan buildings, both in their constructional techniques and their ornamental details [see Coomaraswamy, A. K., 1956 (1), pp. 129-136].
[2] *PPAR* 1892 (*Eighth Report*), pls. XX-XXII; Ievers, R. W., 1899, p. 232; *ASCM* I, pl. 63, figs. 182-185, pl. 64, fig. 184, pl. 66, figs. 191-197; *ASCM* II, pl. LXXVIII, figs. 99, 100.
[3] *ASCAR* 1897, p. 14.
[4] *ASCAR* 1911-12, p. 83.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1957 (1), p. 21; see also, Burrows, S. M., in Ievers, R. W., 1899, p. 232; Paranavitana, S., 1936, pp. 4-5.
[6] *Mhv.* 27.42, 49.65.
[7] Burrows says: "three rows of beautiful monolithic pillars with delicately carved capitals run from east to west along the two sides of the platform, leaving a blank space in the middle, and I have little doubt that they supported a pagoda, or dome-shaped roof, and represent the only instance of this kind of roof at present discovered at Anurādhapura" (see Ievers, R. W., 1899, p. 232).

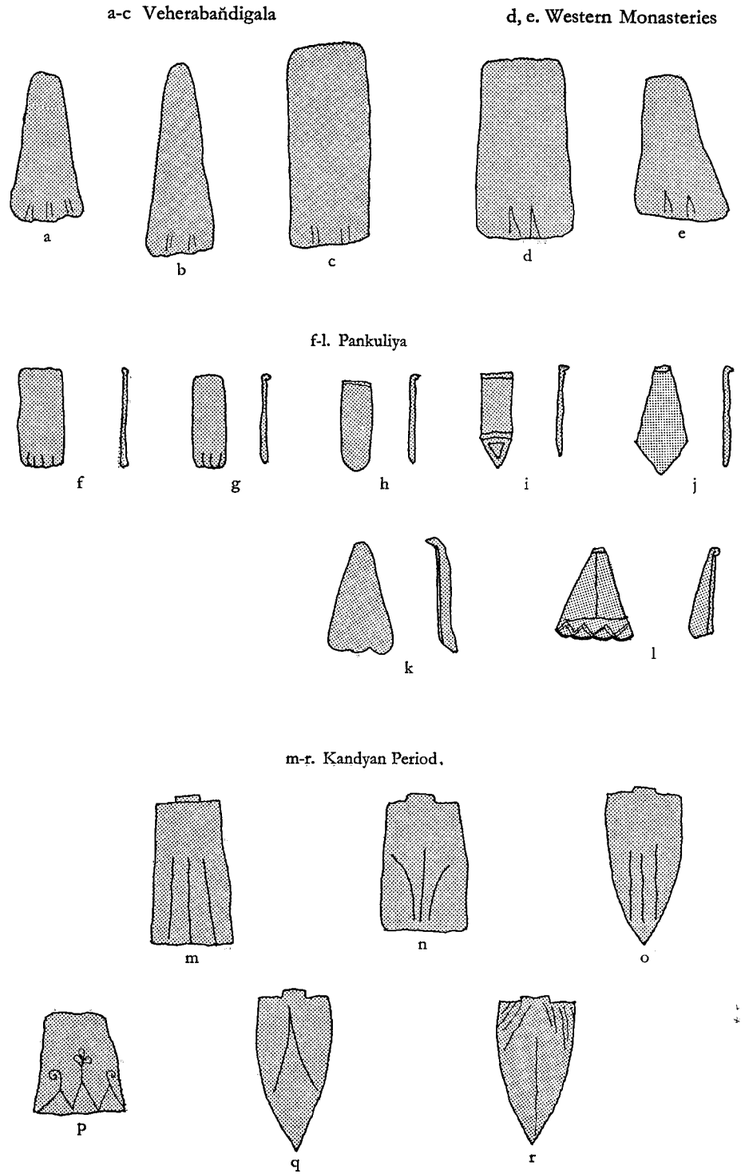


Fig. 157. Comparison of Anurādhapura Period and Kandyan Period tiles

stances where the actual remains themselves pointed to such a conclusion.[1] In one of his earliest reports, however, Bell outlines the hypothetical reconstruction of the superstructure of a conventional, stone-pillared *pāsāda* in the following terms: "wall-plates of wood rested on square abaci, and the roof may have risen thence in picturesque Kandyan pagoda style".[2]

Hocart was the first to propose a substantial link between the architecture of Anurādhapura and that of the Kandyan Period.[3] He maintained "that the Kandyan roof was already in existence between the tenth and twelfth centuries".[4] At the same time, he insisted that the roofs of the *vaṭaḍāgēs* could not have been conical but of an 'inverted cyma type', i.e. domical, as in the miniature shrines on the urinal stone reliefs.[5] However, this left him with the problem of how flat tiles could have been used on a curvilinear roof and he admitted that it was difficult to visualise how such a domed roof could have been tiled: "The method of tiling must remain a mystery for the present".[6]

Previously, Ayrton had put forward a reasoned argument for the existence of pent roofs in the *padhānaghara pariveṇas*, on the basis of the material remains:

> On the pillars rested wooden beams supporting a tiled roof. Numbers of these tiles were found round these second platforms [i.e. the rear platform or *pāsāda* of the double-platformed structure] in the débris. They are quite flat and grooved at the ends and at the sides a shallow groove fits the sharper edge of the next tile. They can only have been used on a pent roof, in fact such a roof as is shown in the small graffits hammered on the rock near group A [of the Western Monasteries], though the roof may have approached the Kandyan type in style. Solid or hollow pottery pinnacles seemed to have capped the corners of the roof ridge.[7]

Ayrton's reference to pent-roofed 'graffits' is a very important piece of evidence which, unfortunately, has never been illustrated and which careful searches have failed to retrace. Judging from Ayrton's description they seem to have displayed a simple version of the Kandyan roof. It is also possible that they were representations of miniature relief shrines with rectilinear, sloping roofs rather than domes, thereby manifesting a greater fidelity to the indigenous Sinhalese roof than to the *Drāviḍa* style. Assuming that they were contemporary with the monuments of Group A, they must date from the Anurādhapura Period.

A drip-ledge, obviously preserving the outline of a large, pent-roofed structure built against the rock, can be seen in an old photograph of Isurumuṇiya.[8] Again, there is no certain indication of date, but presuming that the roof was of the same period as the rock-cut shrine, which Paranavitana assigns to 'the tenth century or later',[9] this also gives us evidence of rectilinear roof forms in the Late Anurādhapura or Polonnaruva Period.

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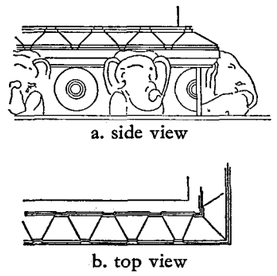
[1] *ASCAR* 1893, p. 2; 1901, p. 3; 1911-12, p. 82.
[2] *ASC Second (Prog.) Rep.*, p. 4.
[3] Hocart, A. M., 1931, preface.
[4] *CJSG* I, p. 145.
[5] *CJSG* II, pp. 15-16.
[6] *CJSG* II, p. 16.
[7] *ASCM* I, p. 23.
[8] Trautz, F. M., 1926, pl. 83. The pent roof covers the large hall or vestibule in front of the main image-house. The greater part of the roof is angular, except for the roof-ridge which is slightly curved. Holes for the beams and rafters which supported the roof are cut in the rock-face below the roof. Adjoining this image-house is another set of double grooves or drip-ledges which are incised in two parallel lines and clearly indicate the point at which a sloping, lean-to roof was fitted to the rock-face. We cannot, of course, ignore the possibility that these roofs were from a much later period than the rock-cut image-house at this site.
[9] Paranavitana, S., 1953 (2), p. 173.

Definite confirmation of the existence of angular roofs supported on wooden beams comes from the *bodhighara* at Nillakgama. The underside of the projecting stone coping of the inner sanctum simulates the beam-ends of a tiled roof as is commonly found in Kandyan architecture. We have seen that this *bodhighara* dates from the 8th or 9th Century. Prematilleke uses the evidence of these sculptured details, together with the structural remains of the *bodhighara* itself, to show that the covered ambulatory around the *bodhi* had a slanting, tiled roof.[1] Equally interesting, though less positive, evidence this time from the Early Anurādhapura Period is preserved in a decorative motif employed in the *vāhalkaḍas* of the major *stūpas*. This consists of a continuous geometrical design carved in three dimension on the slanted projection above the elephant friezes, in the form of a succession of pent roofs (see fig. 158). This architectural motif clearly preserves the form of a simple, angular roof.



a. side view

b. top view

Fig. 158. 'Pent roof' motif from east vāhalkaḍa of Abhayagiri stūpa

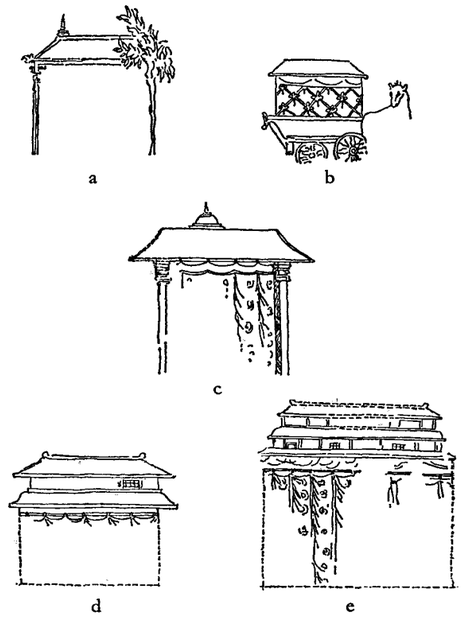
Although much of this evidence is circumstantial and the most positive data are largely indirect, its cumulative effect is convincing enough to allow a definitive conclusion regarding the character of the roof in the mixed brick-and-timber architecture of Anurādhapura.

The picture which emerges from the Polonnaruva Period is not very different. The monumental style of Polonnaruva, best known to us from a number of substantial masonry structures, still appears to be largely a mixed brick-and-timber tradition. With the exception of the Thūpārāma Temple and the Śiva Dēvālē No. 2, which is a wholly *Drāviḍa* structure, none of the buildings at Polonnaruva survives with its roof intact, despite the fact that the walls in many of them still stand to a considerable height. One obvious reason for this is that most of the Polonnaruva buildings had timbered superstructures. In major edifices, such as the Hāṭadāgē—i.e. Niśśaṅkamalla's Tooth-Relic Temple, with its elaborate stone-faced walls—the famous Vaṭadāgē nearby and the colossal Baddhasīmāpāsāda, we have positive evidence of the existence of timbered superstructures and tiled roofs. Even in the few monuments—the Thūpārāma excepted—which seem to have been constructed entirely of brick masonry, e.g. the Laṅkātilaka (see Pl. XXXVII), the Tivaṅka and the circular shrine at the Potgulvehera, there is room to doubt the hitherto accepted views that the roofs were domical. We have already seen that Bell believed the interior of the Potgulvehera to have been originally 'conical' in shape.[2] In our earlier study we suggested that the Laṅkātilaka and the Tivaṅka were both

[1] Devendra, D. T., 1958 (1), fig. 69; Prematilleke, L., 1964, p. 97. Prematilleke also visualises angular roofs over the so-called *āsanagharas* in contrast to Godakumbura's suggestion that they were domical, but he accepts Paranavitana's idea that the main roof over the *cetiyagharas* was a dome (pp. 99, 115).

[2] See above, p. 157.

structures of the Thūpārāma type.[1] Both Hocart's and Brown's conjectural reconstructions of the Laṅkātilaka present it with a flat roof surmounted by a dome exactly as in the Thūpārāma.[2] While there is still no sound basis for suggesting a definite alternative to these hypotheses ,it seems permissible to entertain some doubt on this matter in the light of our observations above. At best, we can say that it is not inconceivable that high temples like the Laṅkātilaka and the Tivaṅka, had tiled roofs above their substantially masonry walls.[3] All this, however, remains for the time being almost purely speculative.



a b c d e

Fig. 159. Buildings from the Tivaṅka murals

More substantial evidence of the existence of the rectilinear roof in classic Sinhalese architecture can be found in a series of buildings represented in the murals at the Tivaṅka Temple (see figs. 159, 160). The paintings in question are those on the walls of the vestibule and the side entrance, depicting scenes from the *Jātakas* and probably dating from the 13th Century.[4]

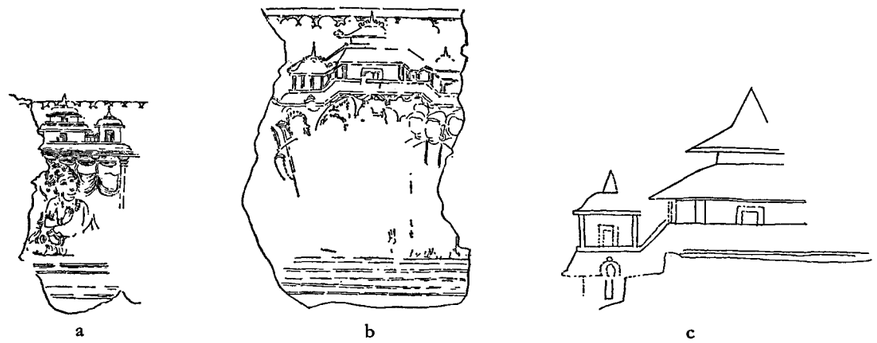
[1] Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965, pp. 118-119, 128-129, 138-139, 143-145.

[2] *ASCM* II, fig. fac. p. 13; Brown, P., 1959, pl. CLI.

[3] At least in the Laṅkātilaka, this may have been necessary as it would have been impracticable to carry corbelled vaults to a height of about 90 ft. The presence of wooden beams supporting platforms or ambulatories halfway up the walls inside the sanctum, gives some credence to the possibility of a timbered ceiling rather than a vault. The small section of corbelling which remains high above the main entrance may have been merely an attempt to narrow the wide space between the walls. The combination of masonry walls with a roof of timber and tiles is common in domestic Sinhalese houses. In more formal architecture it can also be seen in the shrines at Mūḍābidri in South Kannaḍa (see below, p. 373).

[4] Bandaranayake, S. D., 1965; see also Godakumbura, C. E., 1969, p. 14. Since these murals were exposed at the end of the 19th Century, they have unfortunately faded almost beyond recognition and we have to

The structures represented in these murals are religious or royal buildings often with rectilinear, sloping roofs. They include what seem to be open *maṇḍapas* (see figs. 159a, c), sometimes screened off by curtains and in one example a similar form used as the roof of a covered wagon (see fig. 159b). These *maṇḍapas* are covered by pent roofs, possibly of the double-pitched type, with small *stūpas* mounted either in the centre or at each end of the ridge. In each instance, the sole occupant of the building in question is the Bodhisattva in one of his former births. The nature of the structures is obviously determined by the requirements of the stories for wherever a *maṇḍapa*—as opposed to a formal structure such as a palace—is depicted, the particular section of the story is, in fact, located in a rural setting.



a b c

a. (after Godakumbura and Seneviratna); b. (after Godakumbura and Seneviratna); c. detail from b. (redrawn from photograph)

Fig. 160. Buildings from the Tivaṅka murals (side entrance)

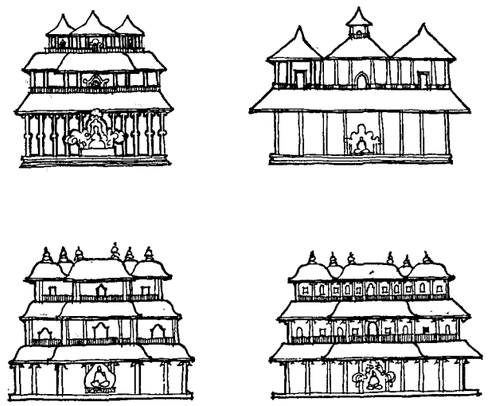
More substantial buildings, however, with windows, pilasters and tiers of subsidiary roofs or cornice-mouldings can be seen in a palace scene from the *Guttila Jātaka* (figs. 159d, e). This panel has now almost entirely disappeared and we have to depend on the line-drawings published by Bell. The lower roofs or projecting cornices seem to preserve the characteristic *ovolo* or roll-moulding of the Sinhalese *kapota*. The main roof, however, in at least one of the buildings, is rectilinear (see fig. 159d). The main roof of the other building (see fig. 159e) can only be conjecturally reconstructed by analogy. It has either been defaced, or it lay beyond the frame of the picture. Bell's original draughtsman presents a small, projecting section of it as a curve or *kapota*, but the line is uncertain and indefinite and in our drawing we have conjecturally restored it as a wholly rectilinear roof.

Two fragments of painting remain on either side of the passage which leads into the vestibule from the side entrance. Significantly, they depict buildings with superstructures which resemble the multi-domed relief shrines discussed above (see figs. 151, 154, 160). One of them (fig. 160a) clearly shows several curvilinear or domical roofs. In the other (figs. 160b, c), at least the central, two-tiered roof is rectilinear, while that of the smaller 'dome' on the left is ambiguous, being either curvilinear or rectilinear.[1]

depend on line drawings published nearly 60 years ago (*ASCAR* 1909, pls. A, C, D, E, I, J), as well as on a recent attempt to 'decipher' the surviving pictures (Godakumbura, C. E., 1969, figs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 10, 12, 13).

[1] Seneviratna's drawing of this building, as published by Godakumbura (see fig. 160b), differs from our own interpretation (see fig. 160c)

There can be little doubt that the structures depicted in the Tivaṅka murals display greater fidelity to contemporary architecture than the conventionalised—and perhaps 'imported'—miniature relief shrines, and that they are, by and large, an attempt to represent actual buildings. The evidence of these paintings could conceivably be objected to on the grounds that they are from the very end of the Polonnaruva Period, dating about a century after the great building phase here and even further removed in time from the Anurādhapura epoch. It is clear, however, from the architectural character of the buildings as well as from the structural



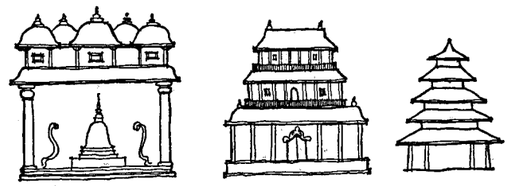


Fig. 161. Buildings from the Daṁbulla murals

and ornamental details that these paintings reproduce edifices which are substantially a continuation of the architecture of the classic period. The chief significance of these representations lies in the fact that they depict contemporary structures dating from a time when the classic tradition still survived. Although the data they provide is fragmentary it supplies an important link in the chain of evidence which we have tried to establish here.

Closely related to these buildings in the Tivaṅka murals are an extraordinary series of multi-storeyed edifices depicted on the ceilings of the temples at Daṁbulla (see fig. 161). These have to be studied more closely than the available material permits. A few of these buildings were published by de Beylié in 1907.[1] Although these paintings date from the 18th or 19th Century, many of the elaborate, multi-storeyed buildings recall, at least in principle, both the

[1] de Beylié, L., 1907, pp. 375-378, figs. 349-350.

single- and multi-domed relief shrines of the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods, while the general style of the paintings is not unlike that of the Tivaṅka murals. Again, as in the Tivaṅka murals, we see the curvilinear and rectilinear roof forms in one and the same building. The curvilinear roof is, however, quite unknown to Kandyan architecture. This shows quite clearly that the use of the curvilinear roof, at least in the pictorial representations of architecture in the Kandyan Period, was a purely artistic conceit.[1]

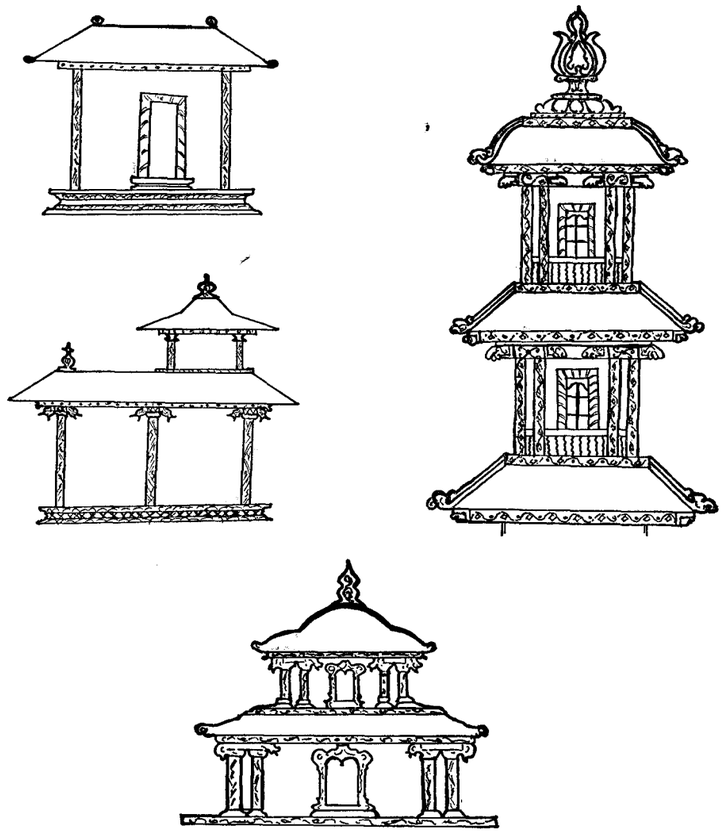


Fig. 162. Buildings from Kandyan Period murals

Structures of a similar type, but less ambitious than those in the Daṁbulla murals, can be seen in a number of wall-paintings from both the Kandyan and the coastal areas. Here, too, the alternative use in one and the same building—or in two similar structures—of the rectilinear and the curvilinear roof is common. What is interesting in the latter type is that, although the roof is sometimes curvilinear in outline, in its essential form it preserves the double-pitched shape of the conventional Kandyan superstructure (see fig. 162). This confirms our suggestion that this curvilinear rendering is merely a stylistic device.

[1] This 'baroque' depiction of curvilinear roof forms or domes in a purely rectilinear architectural milieu may not have been merely an invention or fancy of the Kandyan Period painters but a continuation of a motif or convention which goes back to the Anurādhapura and Polonnaruva Periods.

The most substantial buildings which remain today from the post-Polonnaruva epoch are two 14th Century temples near Kandy, the Laṅkātilaka Temple at Uḍunuvara and the shrine at Gaḍalādeṇiya. The Laṅkātilaka Temple is one of the great Ceylonese architectural monuments from an early period which has been substantially preserved, though not entirely in its original form (see Pl. XXXVIII).[1] Although much of its external detail shows a preponderant Indian influence, its multi-tiered, rectilinear, tiled roof so dominates its overall design that the temple takes its place very naturally in the Sinhalese architectural tradition. However, on the basis of a comparison with the Thūpārāma Temple at Polonnaruva and a Kandyan Period drawing said to be a representation of the Laṅkātilaka itself, Hocart thought that the original superstructure of the temple was completed by a masonry dome.[2] Considering the extent of *Drāviḍa* influence in the design of the present edifice, this may well be true. Certainly, the present roof, which is an elaborate structure resting on rather clumsy masonry supports, is a fairly recent restoration. However, so little is left of the original upper storeys of the shrine that it is difficult to decide whether the present roofs preserve an original design or not. The evidence of the old drawing published by Hocart is inconclusive. The uppermost feature of the superstructure as depicted in the drawing is similar to the curvilinear roofs seen in Kandyan Period murals, which, as we have seen, do not represent actual structural features. Thus, the drawing does not necessarily indicate that the temple was formerly domed. Judging by its style and the fact that it is apparently on paper, the drawing is probably from the 19th Century, by which time the temple already displayed its present roof.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the significant fact which emerges is that the Laṅkātilaka Temple at Uḍunuvara provides us with an example of a rectilinear, sloping roof of tiles placed upon a substantial brick masonry structure, in a design which takes its place convincingly in the spirit of Sinhalese architecture.

This observation would have applied equally well to its sister-shrine at Gaḍalādeṇiya as it appeared before the recent uncovering of its Kandyan Period roof,[3] but with one significant difference for unlike the Laṅkātilaka Temple, this is an entirely stone edifice. Thus, applying the principles we enunciated above concerning the different degrees of foreign influence on brick and stone masonry, we can say that this is a wholly imported structure.[4] Designed by a South Indian architect, it is a monument in the *Drāviḍa* style incorporating a Buddhist image-house and a subsidiary *dēvālē* or deity shrine, with domical *śikharas* over each sanctum. Sometime after its original construction, and probably in the 18th or 19th Century, if not earlier, a characteristically Sinhalese roof, multi-tiered and tiled, resting on brick piers and wooden pillars, was added to the temple concealing both the flat roof and the two domes. As Paranavitana has suggested this may well have been to prevent the seepage of water into the building. That this was a very real problem is proved by the repeated attempts of the Archaeological Department to make the domes watertight once the tiled roofs had been removed.[5] These

[1] *ASCM* II, pp. 18-20.
[2] *ASCM* II, p. 20, pl. LXI, fig. facing p. 20.
[3] *ASCAR* 1953, pp. 19-20, pls. VII-VIII; see also *EZ* IV, pp. 90-110.
[4] See above, pp. 353-354.
[5] *ASCAR* 1955, p. 9; 1961-62, p. 70; 1962-63, p. 67.

difficulties may harbour a significant irony; it may well be that the latter-day Sinhalese builders, in their disregard for the original design, were making not so much a fashionable reconstruction but rather a pointed criticism of an imported architectural form which was basically unsuitable for local climatic conditions.

This brings us to one of the most relevant considerations in our attempt to assess the circumstantial evidence for the existence of rectilinear, sloping roofs in ancient Sinhalese architecture; that is, the relationship between the so-called Kandyan roof and the environment it was designed to combat, on the one hand, and a parallel situation in certain peripheral regions in India and in the countries of South-East Asia, on the other.

The domical and other curvilinear roof forms of India, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, were developed in areas—Central India, the Deccan, the North-West, the South-East, etc.—where, generally speaking, there was a low precipitation or a long dry season. Of course, the force of tradition and the ingenuity of constructional techniques meant that these architectural forms and their derivations were not restricted to those regions where they were quite appropriate to the environment, nor was their development itself strictly confined to the areas where these conditions prevailed. The characteristically curvilinear forms of the great *Drāviḍa* tradition were for instance imported into zones of high rainfall such as Kerala and Ceylon. On the other hand, specialised constructional techniques enabled the curvilinear timber-and-thatch *bangla* roofs of Bengal, also a relatively wet region, to be translated into masonry forms.[1]

There are, however, two areas of the Indian sub-continent where climatic conditions led to the development of a sophisticated architectural tradition which followed a very different course from that of the classic *śikhara* temples of India. These consist of Kerala and South Kannaḍa, and the various states of the Himālayan foothills such as Kashmir, Chamba, Kulu and Nepal. The distinctive feature of this architecture is its multi-tiered, rectilinear, sloping roofs. Moreover, in each area there is an intimate connection between the architectural form, the indigenous building tradition and the prevailing climatic conditions. The south-western coast of India has a higher rainfall than any other region of the sub-continent, with the exception of Assam and Bengal, while the Himālayan foothills suffer from heavy snowfalls. The flat roof, indigenous to the plains of North India and the Deccan plateau, and the curvilinear towers and domes of the *śikhara* temples are clearly not the most suitable architectural forms for these areas.[2] The same can be said of Ceylon and South-East Asia and, in fact, of that whole region which we characterised in our Introduction as the rice-growing belt which lies at the heart of Monsoon Asia. In the course of our analysis of the Anurādhapura monasteries we have, on several occasions, drawn attention to the parallel architectural traditions and building forms of this zone and to its ecological and cultural homogeneity.

Of all the buildings of India with predominantly rectilinear roofs it is those of Kerala which can best be compared with the classic architecture of Ceylon. Not only is this western coastal plain one of the areas of India which is geographically closest to Ceylon, but, in addition, its climate and vegetation resemble that of a large part of the island, more so than any other sub-continental region. The historical and cultural connections between Ceylon and Kerala require a more extensive treatment than can be attempted here. It is sufficient to note that there exists

[1] Brown, P., 1959, pp. 150-151.

[2] *Trav. AR* 1105 M.E., p. 3; Goetz, H., 1952, pp. 78 n.; 80; see also Vogel, J. Ph., 1946. The wooden *chattras* often placed above the masonry towers of *śikhara* temples in the Himālayan region are analogous to the imposition of a Kandyan roof over the dome of the temple at Gaḍalādeṇiya. Both emphasise the unsuitability of the imported form to local climatic conditions.

in this region both an indigenous building tradition very similar to that of Ceylon and a more sophisticated religious and royal architecture which, in some important aspects of its structure and design, relates to Sinhalese building.

There are, of course, two, parallel traditions in Kerala, the one an indigenous mode, characterised by its rectilinear roofs and its largely timbered superstructures, the other a version of the classic *Drāviḍa* style. Ironically it is the latter, the obviously more recent and imported form, which is preserved from an earlier period.[1] These are highly significant factors to be kept in mind when considering Sinhalese architecture, especially the lost superstructures of Anurādhapura and the indigenous forms of the Kandyan Period. Kramrisch's observations on the dual traditions of Travancore are very pertinent:

> ... two forms of architecture exist simultaneously in Travancore. They serve the same Gods and forms of worship, but do not represent equal stages of architectural form such as had been represented by the coexistence of North and South Indian styles in Aihole, Mahākūṭeshvar, Pattadakal, and also in Alampur, in the Deccan. The Kerala type of building in Travancore is homely and almost dateless; the Drāviḍa buildings are more stately and are subject to all the changes of style which the development of a school of architecture implies.
>
> Thus two well defined types of form co-exist; the one unaging, the other full of possibilities which mature in the course of centuries and finally disintegrate. That two such forms of art may be used by the same people at the same time has been seen elsewhere in the history of Indian art.[2]

Of course, the powerful traditions of the imported architecture exert a certain amount of influence on the indigenous buildings but, as Kramrisch points out, this seems to be marginal:

> ... certain motives of coeval Drāviḍa architecture are employed discreetly and altogether subservient to the indigenous form.[3]

The *Kerala* type of superstructure has been applied to buildings on circular, square and rectangular plans. The roofs exhibit a variety of ingenious conical, pyramidal and gabled forms in one or more tiers and are invariably tiled and consistently adhere to the sloping, rectilinear shape (see Pls. LII-LIV). This indigenous tradition is essentially a mixed architecture of laterite, brick and timber, in contrast to the surviving *Drāviḍa* structures which are entirely of stone and brick masonry. The correspondences with the Ceylonese tradition are again apparent in such structural features as the mixed brick-and-timber architecture, the combination of brick masonry with stone mouldings, and the use of stone pillars, probably replacing wooden ones. The laterite frequently used in the later Kerala buildings was a material employed in Sinhalese architecture during the Kōṭṭe Period, perhaps even more extensively than the present remains allow us to judge.[4] Closely related to the Kerala monuments are a series of Jain shrines at Mūḍābidri.[5] In these, the substructure, the columniation and the walls are invariably of stone masonry but the roof is always timber-framed and tiled.

We have already observed the relevances of existing Kerala building types to those of Sinhalese architecture.[6] The circular *śrīkoil* of Kerala, with its dominating, conical roof, usually

[1] Kramrisch, S., 1953, p. 6.
[2] Kramrisch, S., 1953, p. 19.
[3] Kramrisch, S., 1953, p. 19.
[4] *ASCAR* 1951, p. 43; 1952, pp. 21-22.
[5] Fergusson, J., 1910, pp. 75-78; Brown, P., 1959, p. 132.
[6] See above, pp. 154, 275.

in a single but occasionally in a double tier (see Pl. LIV), is clearly an ancient form. Several examples of such *śrīkoils* still exist in Kerala and, though their superstructures have been rebuilt, they retain their original form. Their stone bases pre-date their superstructures by several centuries, two of the earliest being the 11th Century *śrīkoil* at Trikothithanam and the 13th Century *śrīkoil* at Tirunandikkara.[1] A small ruined shrine at Nārānattukāvu, Perumpazhutur represents an early version of this building type.[2] Its circular stone base, the remains of the square *garbhagṛha*, the stone pillars which once supported the superstructure and the entrance consisting of stone steps flanked by voluted wingstones are all that is left. The original shrine probably had brick walls and a tiled conical roof on a timber framework. Another partly ruined shrine, dating from the 14th Century, is the monument at Niramankara, which must have had a similar roof.[3] The stone pillars which supported this superstructure are still in place and their tenoned ends indicate how the wooden beams of the roof fitted over them. These pillars encircle a square sanctum which is surmounted by an octagonal, *Drāviḍa* dome.

The correspondences between these circular *śrīkoils* and the Sinhalese *vaṭadāgēs* are immediately apparent, particularly with regard to their constructional methods, external form and superstructure. A more detailed study of the circular Kerala shrines and especially of their roof construction may well help us to understand the lost structural features of similar Sinhalese temples.

This last observation is also applicable to other building types. The characteristic elongated *pāsāda* of classic Sinhalese architecture has its corresponding shape in the *gopurams* of the more important Kerala temples (see Pl. LII). Here we have multi-tiered roofs with projecting gables, etc., and a kind of porch over the entrance, dramatically emphasised by the formation of the roof. A similar feature may well have stood over the elaborate entrance of the *pāsādas* of Anurādhapura. In the same way, the image-house of the *gandhakuṭī* type has its equivalent form—with the appropriate rectilinear roofs—in certain Kerala temples such as that at Panayannarkavu[4] or the shrine reproduced in Pl. LIII. That this type is not altogether lost to Sinhalese architecture today can be seen in a number of small Kandyan buildings, many of them of fairly recent date but preserving the essential character of the ancient image-house (see Pls. XLII, XLIII). The line of the roof in the Kerala temples is interrupted by projecting gables, often formed by the continuation of the roof ridge, in a manner characteristic of this regional style. The roof over the main body of the building consists of two tiers as opposed to the single tier over the vestibule. In the Sinhalese tradition, this last feature is found in very pronounced form in the Laṅkātilaka Temple at Uḍunuvara as well as in the former Kandyan superstructure of the temple at Gaḍāladeṇiya, and is implicit even in the simple Kandyan shrines.

The distinctive roof forms of the Kerala and the Sinhalese buildings have their parallels in the architecture of South-East Asia which in turn has its roots in indigenous architectural traditions and environmental conditions similar to those of Ceylon and the south-west Indian littoral. Of these traditions, the one which probably bears the closest correspondence to the Sinhalese is that of Burma. The relevance of the Burmese monasteries of both the Pagān and the Amarapura-Mandalay Periods has been mentioned earlier.[5] In the latter monasteries, the

[1] Kramrisch, S., 1953, p. 13, pls. 8-9.
[2] *Trav. AR* 1110 M.E., p. 5, pl. facing p. 5; see also Kramrisch, S., Cousins, J. H., and Poduval, R. V., 1948, p. 9, pl. X.
[3] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 10-11, pl. 5.
[4] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pl. 13.
[5] See above, pp. 233, 269-270, 312-313.

principle of the multi-tiered roof has been applied in the most intricate forms to monastic buildings of a rectangular or *pāsāda* shape.[1] A wholly masonry structure displaying these essentially timber forms is the Ōkkyaung at Ava[2] and, from a somewhat earlier time, the Upālithein or Upālisīma.[3] We may notice other types of structure with similar roofs in the *ho trais* or libraries attached to several Thai monasteries, in particular the library in the Wat P'ra Sing Luong at Chiengmai.[4] This last monument has a *gandhakuṭī* ground plan and stands on a high masonry base which follows the lines of the main 'sanctuary' and the projecting vestibule. The entrance has curvilinear wingstones flanking the steps, reminiscent of the classic Sinhalese entrance. The superstructure consists of decorated timber with tiled, sloping roofs. These roofs are superimposed in two high tiers over the main part of the building and in two lower tiers over the vestibule and the rear.

The masonry temples of Indonesia, Cambodia, Vietnam (Campā), Burma and the Thai-Khmer monuments in Thailand are, generally speaking, *śikhara* shrines with solid superstructures and a building style closely related to that of classic Indian architecture. The pent-roofed structures of the purely indigenous traditions of South-East Asia often exist side by side with the masonry monuments though they usually date from a somewhat later period. Again, as in Ceylon and Kerala, we see a marked distinction between the 'imported' masonry conceptions and the more formal architecture based on the local traditions, with their mixed timber-and-masonry construction.

The co-existence of these dual tendencies has a long history, not only in Kerala, Ceylon and South-East Asia, but also in the Indian subcontinent itself. Domestic, rural architecture in India is rich and varied in the forms it adopts. To this day it displays three basic roof types: the rectilinear roof, the curvilinear roof and the flat roof. These variations have their counterparts in the early religious architecture of India. The relationship of rectilinear and curvilinear roof forms in domestic building to their counterparts in formal architecture is clear—at least, in the pent roofs of Kerala and the familiar domed or wagon-roofed structures of early Indian architecture. The flat roof, though common in *maṇḍapas* and other subsidiary temple buildings, has its main historical significance in that it is the essential prerequisite for the *śikhara* or towered superstructure.

The rectilinear, pent roof is not generally associated with the classical Indian tradition. Where it has been noticed, in such peripheral regions as Kerala and the Himālayan foothills, it is usually of mixed timber-and-masonry construction. In contrast, what is generally considered to be classic Indian architecture is exclusively constructed of masonry. In the context of our present study, however, it is interesting to note that pent-roofed buildings of considerable formal sophistication are known in India from an early period and that some of these are of wholly masonry construction.

The earliest evidence of the existence of structures with rectilinear, sloping roofs can be found in the representations of buildings in certain Gandhāra reliefs. An embryonic version of this, representing either a local structural form or an imported Hellenistic motif, is carved out on the Shrine of the Double-Headed Eagle at Taxila.[5] Another well-known example, from a slightly later period, is the elaborate structure resembling a Chinese or Japanese Buddha hall,

[1] *ASIAR* 1902-03, pl. XX; 1914-15, pls. XXXVI, XLII.
[2] *ASIAR* 1906-07, pl. XL(a).
[3] *ASIAR* 1935-36, pl. XXXII(c).
[4] Claeys, J. Y., 1931, pl. XCI.
[5] Marshall, J., 1951, Vol. I, p. 163, Vol. III, pls. 28, 30a.

depicted in Cave 16 at Ajaṇṭā (see fig. 99a). Undoubtedly, all these are representations of timber or mixed timber-and-masonry edifices.

The earliest surviving structural versions of monuments with pent roofs are buildings constructed of stone masonry. The chapels around the *stūpa* at Takht-i-Bāhai have alternating curvilinear and rectilinear roofs. Foucher has designated the smaller, pent-roofed type the 'vihāra à toit anguleux'.[1] The rarity of the angular, i.e. rectilinear, roof in later Indian architecture and the subordinate position it occupies in relation to the domed structures at Takht-i-Bāhai suggest that the rectilinear roof type was not a dominant form even at this early date, although its importance in Gandhāran and other early Indian traditions should not be underestimated.

Almost at the very beginnings of Brahmanical architecture in stone, there already exists a fully evolved architectural tradition characterised by rectilinear, pyramidal roofs—the early, 'mediaeval' temples of Kashmir. Dating from at least the 8th Century onwards and usually built of enormous blocks of limestone, the roofs and ceilings of these temples imitate methods of wooden construction.

Although the principle of the sloping roof was well established in Gandhāra, Goetz suggests—in a closely argued article which insists on the Gupta rather than the Gandhāra 'origins' of Kashmiri art and architecture—that the pyramidal, tiered roofs of the Kashmiri temples are a continuation or a development of a provincial Gupta tradition, found elsewhere in the pre-Solaṅkī temples of Kathiawad such as the Maitraka temple at Gop.[2] Whether Kashmiri art and architecture owe more to Gupta or Gandhāra ideas is beyond the scope of our enquiry. It seems more likely, however, that these provincial traditions have their roots in local conditions and indigenous forms and concepts, as in Ceylon.[3] Goetz's opinion that this type of sloping roof has its origins in a Gupta tradition is an example of the tendency to explain all development in terms of major schools of art and architecture.

As in other South Asian traditions, we encounter miniature relief shrines represented on the walls of monuments in Kashmir. These are modelled on similar lines to the single-domed miniature relief shrines of South Indian and Ceylonese architecture, though entirely translated into the Kashmiri stylistic conventions. A good example of this can be seen in the entrance to the cemetery of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidīn in Srīnagar.[4] The essential design of Kashmiri architecture is clearly featured in this model which Goetz has attributed, as he does all the earliest Kashmiri temples, to the reign of Lalitāditya in the mid-8th Century. Free-standing versions of this type of shrine are the Śiva temple at Pāyar, that 'most perfect specimen of the Kashmiri Hindu style',[5] and the miniature temple at Pāṭan.[6] In these monuments we have clear examples of the principles of repetition or reduplication of roofs translated into terms relevant to the pyramidal Kashmiri form.

One aspect of this repetition that is of particular interest to our study is the way in which the upper roof is superimposed above, and interrupts midway, the lower roof while at the same time it diminishes in size so that the lower roof finally appears to be no more than greatly extended eaves. (The equivalent of this in the curvilinear form is the double-domed shrine.)

[1] Foucher, A., 1905, pp. 132 ff.
[2] Goetz, H., 1952, pp. 63 ff., esp. pp. 79-80, 93-94.
[3] See *ASIAR* 1915-16, p. 53.
[4] Cole, H. H., 1869, pl. 5 '68; see also Goetz, H., 1969, pl. XX-bottom right.
[5] Sahni, D. R., 1918, pp. 75-76, pls. XXXIX, XLVI; see also Kak, R. C., 1933, pp. 126-128, pl. LI, LXIII.
[6] Kak, R. C., 1933, p. 152, pl. LVII.

This superimposition exists in other temples of the Himālayan region, especially in Kulu[1] and of course in Nepal. It is also found in Kerala and in Ceylon, in fact in many architectural traditions including those of East Asia, where the sloping roof especially in its multi-tiered form is the characteristic superstructure. Quite apart from the dramatic effects of these complex vertical rhythms, this reduplication of the roof contains—as Kramrisch has noted in Kerala—a meaningful symbolism in its correspondence to sacred mountain peaks and provides at the same time an area for the display of 'a wider range of images'.[2] It is also a useful structural feature often permitting a wider spread of the roof than would otherwise be possible with the limited length and loadbearing qualities of timber. At the same time, it allows for internal storeys or openings for light and ventilation. In Ceylon this vertical area between the multiple roofs is often an actual storey, as in the buildings depicted in the Tivaṅka and Daṁbulla murals as well as in existing structural monuments such as the Samandēvālē at Ratnapura (see Pl. XXXIX).

The temples in Kulu are rudely built, primitive structures of purely local origin and character, but they display elements of architectural design which are sophisticated and complex and which seem to go back to a long established tradition. The antiquity of this tradition is corroborated by the elements of Gupta influence that have been noticed in the temples of neighbouring Chamba which must have been very similar at one time. These wooden shrines of Chamba have been studied in detail by Goetz, who demonstrates that they go back to a period even earlier than that of the Kashmiri monuments and who maintains that they have their origins predominantly in Gupta tradition.[3] He believes that the Chamba shrines once had 'pagoda' roofs like those in Kulu, and goes as far as to suggest that the Nepalese and Kerala temples, the Balinese *merus* and the Far Eastern *pagodas* must be linked with the wooden structures of Kulu and Chamba, all representing 'a last remnant of Gupta tradition'.[4] Such views represent an extreme form of the diffusionist approach applied to a highly complex question. We have discussed this matter at some length in various contexts above and it requires little further comment. However, what is most valuable in Goetz's arguments is that he draws our attention to the fact that the rectilinear, sloping roof was far more widely prevalent in Indian architecture during the 'Gupta' Period than has hitherto been suggested.

Evidence for the antiquity of this type of roof also comes from regions outside Kerala, Kashmir, Kulu and Chamba—for instance, from several ancient and modern monuments in Western India. These include the Maitraka temple at Gop and a number of other shrines based on square, rectangular and oblong ground plans.[5] In these shrines we find the same principle of the superimposition of the roofs as in the Kashmiri buildings. In the later versions of these Western Indian temples, the pyramidal roofs are either merged with the *śikhara* or confined to accessory buildings such as the *maṇḍapas*. This latter convention is found in many different parts of India, most conspicuously in the architecture of the Early Western Cāḷukyas at Aihole, Bādāmī, etc., and in the *pida* or pyramidal superstructure above the *jagamohanas* and *maṇḍirs*

[1] Longhurst, A. H., 1936, pls. 37-40; Vogel, J. Ph., 1946, pp. 26 ff., pls. II-III; see also Longhurst, A. H., 1930.
[2] Kramrisch, S., 1953, pp. 16-17.
[3] Goetz, H., 1955 (1), pp. 73, 101 ff.
[4] The view that the multi-tiered "pagoda" roof both in India and elsewhere in Asia was of Indian and not Chinese or Japanese origin was first expressed by Longhurst (Longhurst, A. H., 1936, p. 40).
[5] Cousens, H., 1931, pls. XXVII, XXIX-XXXIII, XLIII-XLIV, XLVIII.

of the Orissan temples, as well as in isolated instances such as the minor shrines amongst the Maniyan Group at Dvārahāt, Kumaon.[1]

The progressive suppression of the sloping roof which accompanied the development of the *śikhara* is best seen in the Early Western Cāḷukya temples. The early traditions in this area are preserved in a number of shrines and *maṇḍapas* with gently sloping roofs constructed of flat slabs of stone. The most famous of these are the Lāḍ Khān, which represents a basic local type, and the Durgā temple, which recent opinion believes to have been an even purer version of the *caityaśāla* type than was hitherto realised.[2] With the evolution of the *śikhara*, the pyramidal roof, flattened at its apex, becomes the base from which the tower rises or is merely relegated either to a subsidiary structure or a *maṇḍapa* attached to the towered sanctuary, as in the Huchchīmallīguḍi temple and in Temple 9 at Aihoḷe, respectively.[3]

Thus, there is adequate evidence to show that prior to the development of the *śikhara* temple, the rectilinear, pent roof form was widely established in different areas of the subcontinent. To say this, of course, is not to imply that this roof has its origins in India alone but rather that it is a widespread type common to many regions of Monsoon Asia (i.e. South, South-East and Eastern Asia). Its development or decline in particular countries and traditions had more to do with environment, materials, technology and local architectural styles than with religion, aesthetics or foreign cultural influences. There are extraordinarily wide patterns of unity and diversity in the architectural forms and roof types in those traditions where the rectilinear, pent roof is the dominant and characteristic shape. That the classic Sinhalese roof had its own distinctive style, its own patterns of similarity and differentiation, is amply borne out by the evidence, both direct and indirect. The lack of any surviving monuments from the Anurādhapura Period, preserving even a semblance of the original superstructure, leaves a large gap in our attempt to reconstruct the architectural form in the monastic buildings of that period. As we have seen, this gap can only be filled by a careful interpretation of the surviving evidence, which itself is often only rendered meaningful by reference to the indigenous roots of the Sinhalese tradition, to the existing monuments of later periods and to parallel traditions elsewhere in Monsoon Asia. Such comparisons both fortify and refine our concept of the Sinhalese tradition and at the same time define its position within the larger spectrum of the Asian architectural experience. In historical terms, that specific definition is only valuable in so far as it contributes to a more precise characterisation of the cultural and historical unity of Monsoon Asia.

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[1] *ASIAR* 1922-23, pp. 13 ff., pl. VI(B).
[2] Cousens, H., 1926, pls. V, IX; *IAR* 1960-61, p. 76.
[3] Cousens, H., 1926, pls. XII-XIV, XVI.

APPENDICES

I

SENĀSANAS OR RESIDENCES SUITABLE FOR MONKS

In his study of the arts and crafts of ancient Ceylon, Fernando reproduces a list of *senāsanas* or residences suitable for monks, taken from the *Papancasūdanī* and the *Visuddhimagga*, which consists of the following types:

1. *Vihāra*
2. *Aḍḍhayoga*
3. *Pāsāda*
4. *Hammiya*
5. *Guhā*
6. *Leṇa*
7. *Kuṭī*
8. *Kūṭāgāra*
9. *Aṭṭa*
10. *Māla, mālaka*
11. *Uddanda*
12. *Upaṭṭhānasālā*[1]

A similar series, consisting of the first five types mentioned here and two others, *maṇḍapa* and *rukkhamūla*, taken from the *Samantapāsādikā*, is given by Rahula.[2] This is closer to the original list of *leṇāni* or abodes allowed to monks in the Pāli Canon than those in the other Commentaries[3] and in later Buddhist texts, which show some additions and omissions. Ancient commentators as well as modern scholars have offered various interpretations of these terms.[4]

It is not my purpose to discuss the history and significance of these words, although a literary and etymological study of these and of other architectural terms would be of great interest to archaeologists and historians. No such systematic and detailed study has yet been attempted. Fernando discusses briefly the twelve types of residence permitted to monks. His conclusions are largely based on the definitions and explanations found in the exigetical literature itself, including the Sinhalese commentary on the *Visuddhimagga*, the *Visuddhimārgāsanne*. He points out that *vihāra* and *upaṭṭhānasālā*, unlike the other types, are defined in terms of their functional purpose rather than on the basis of form or structure. *Guhā* and *leṇa* are familiar enough, the apparent distinction between the two being that the former was merely a rock cave while the latter was a cave with doors and windows.

Aḍḍhayoga, *hammiya* and *māla* seem to refer to large, square or rectangular structures, all basically of the same type. Fernando describes them as various types of *pāsāda*: *aḍḍhayoga* as an oblong *pāsāda* in the form of the wings of a *garuḍa*; *hammiya* as a *pāsāda* with projecting balconies and a roof that is not thatched but of some material such as wood or plaster, reinforced by wooden beams and rafters; *māla* as a four-sided *pāsāda* with a single ridge to its roof.

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[1] Fernando, P. E. E., 1953, pp. 114-123.
[2] Rahula, W., 1956, pp. 116-117.
[3] *Cullavagga* VI, 1.2; *Mahāvagga* I, 30.4.
[4] Acharya, P. K., 1925, pp. 234-244; Horner, I. B., 1940, pp. 16 n.-17 n., 1960, p. 75 n., 1952, p. 205 n.; Dutt, S., 1962, pp. 93-97.

Aḍḍhayoga is often spoken as a *supaṇṇavaṅkageha*, which Horner interprets thus: "It is possible that the curve refers only to the roof, curved upwards at the ends like some forms of domestic architecture in present-day India, and this is the reason for the *aḍḍha*, half: that in some respect the building is half and not entirely curved".[1] She also explains *māla* and *pāsāda* as "two different styles of houses, the one square, the other long" and *hammiya* as "a larger type of house".[2]

Kuṭī and *kūṭāgāra*, according to Fernando, belong to the same architectural type, whose distinctive characteristic was the use of one or, in the latter case, two *kaṇṇikas*, which Paranavitana has interpreted as circular rings or roof-plates holding the rafters together.[3] They were, no doubt, basic architectural types and are generally understood today to have been applied to the simple, single-chambered huts occupied by monks or hermits and to the later derivatives of these huts. Fernando explains *uddanda* as a simple structure with one door and no inner chambers, *aṭṭa* as a storeyed and fortified building with an attic or upper chamber.

None of these interpretations, however, goes very far in helping us to formulate a terminology applicable to monastic residences identifiable in the structural remains of the Indian or Ceylonese monasteries. Even the definitions and descriptions in the Commentaries are not unambiguous and it may well be that they were reproduced because they had canonical sanction rather than any specific relevance to existing structural types. In our present state of knowledge, the fine distinctions which must have existed between these terms are scarcely discernible, nor is it likely that they even preserved an architectural typology that was of relevance to the architects and builders of Anurādhapura.

Of those terms which are still meaningful, *pāsāda* and *kuṭī* refer to basic types and can be usefully applied in a study of Sinhalese architecture. *Upaṭṭhānasālā*, while open to interpretation, still serves a useful purpose in its general signification as a hall of assembly. On the other hand, *guhā* and *leṇa* have very specific meanings although, as far as the existing rock-cut monasteries are concerned, it is no longer possible to differentiate between the two in their present condition. Both words are in current use in Ceylon but as this study is confined to structural architecture only passing reference is made here to monuments of this type in general.

II

THE 'TOOTH-RELIC TEMPLE' AND THE PALACE OF THE ANURĀDHAPURA KINGS

The Daḷadāgē or 'Temple of the Tooth' in Anurādhapura was first identified by Ayrton. He based his hypothesis on the evidence of an inscription found on the brink of a pond just outside the main entrance to a group of ruined buildings situated in the south-west quarter of the Citadel (see fig. 163).[4] This complex and the remains of the Mahāpāḷī alms-hall adjoining it on the west were subsequently excavated by Paranavitana, who agreed with Ayrton that the former was the shrine dedicated to the Tooth-Relic, the palladium of Sinhalese royalty.[5]

[1] Horner, I. B., 1960, p. 75 n.
[2] Horner, I. B., 1940, p. 16 n.
[3] Paranavitana, S., 1946, p. 88.
[4] *ASCM* I, pp. 48-50.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1936, pp. 1-2, 14-21.

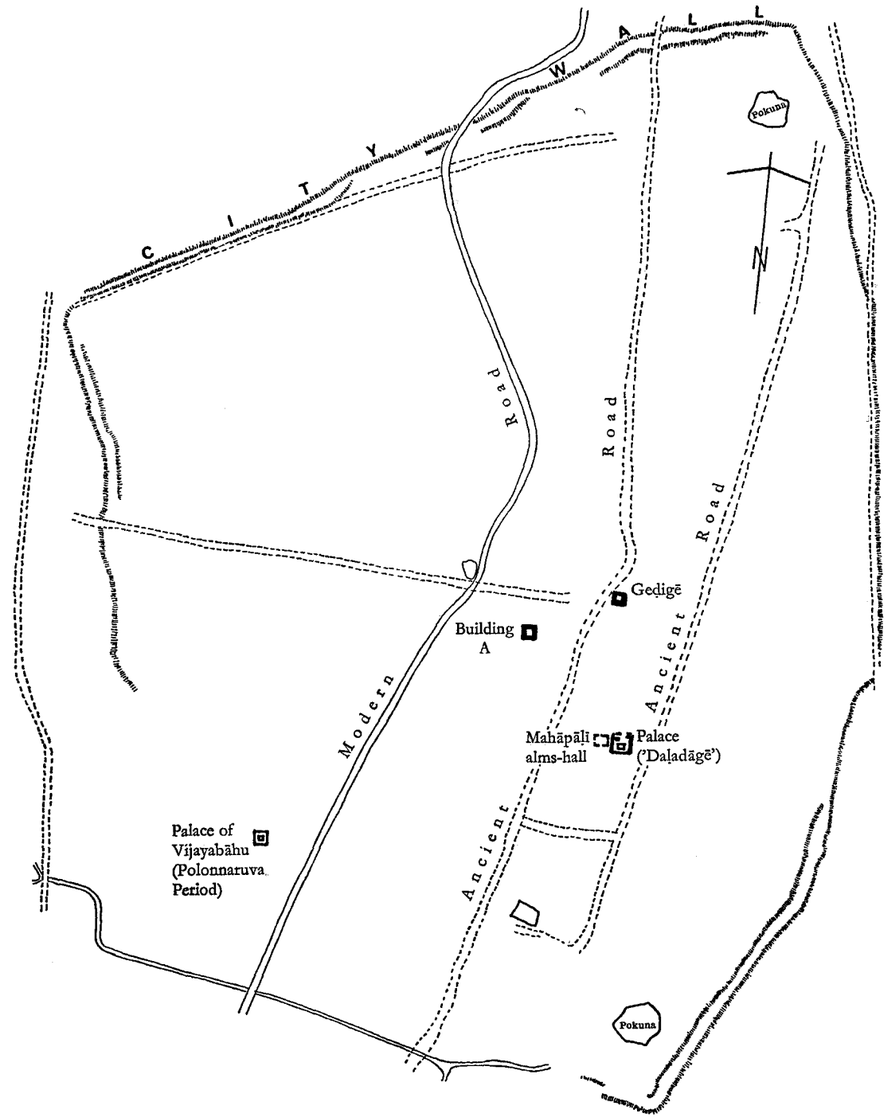

Fig. 163. Citadel, Anurādhapura

The remains of this so-called Tooth-Relic Temple stand within a quadrangular enclosure, 200 ft. by 214 ft. (see Pl. LV). The monuments inside this precinct consist of a large edifice with wide bays on three of its four sides and two smaller subsidiary buildings to the north-west and north-east, one of which has now almost completely disappeared.[1] The main entrance to the quadrangular enclosure lies in the centre of its northern side and the inscription in question stands near this entrance. The principal edifice measures 76 ft. 6 ins. by 45 ft. and its superstructure rested on what Bell described as "40 grand monolithic pillars".[2] Although there are traces of some other structures within the quadrangle, especially to the east and west, we can reasonably infer from the present remains that the major buildings within the enclosure were arranged in a semi-*pañcāyatana* group.

The identification of the central structure within this complex as the Tooth-Relic shrine or Daḷadāgē has now been generally accepted, but is, in our view, still very much open to question. Ayrton's original hypothesis—for it is no more than that—rests entirely on the inscription, which actually pertains to the administration of lands belonging to the royal household. It is a royal edict of Mahinda IV (956-972), the last of the great builders of Anurādhapura. Wickremasinghe describes the inscription as setting "forth the terms upon which grantees and tenants can hold lands, how the produce should be divided, what portion should be set apart for the upkeep of the temple of the Buddha's 'Tooth-relic', how disputes should be settled and fines be levied".[3] The Daḷadāgē is by no means the main subject of the text. At best, the record merely confirms that the temple was closely associated with the royal household. In fact, one would expect the inscription to be situated in or near the precincts of the palace, where no doubt the relic shrine itself was also situated.

In this context, we may compare two revealing observations by Paranavitana:

> From the time of its arrival in the reign of Śrīmeghavarṇṇa, the Tooth Relic was kept in the royal palace itself; and whenever, in later times, the kings of Ceylon moved to a new capital, they took this relic with them and built splendid edifices, within the precincts of their own palaces, or at least in the near vicinity, to house it. During the period we are considering [i.e. 9th-10th Centuries], the Temple of the Tooth was in Anurādhapura, as has already been proved by the late Mr. Ayrton on the authority of the slab inscription of Mahinda IV ... The slab inscription ... is concerned with certain rules enacted with regard to lands belonging to the royal household. As such it is natural to expect that it was set up within the precincts of the king's palace.[4]

> The inscription, which is much damaged, is concerned with rules and regulations regarding the fields belonging to the royal household and, towards the end, contains a fragmentary sentence which seems to say that certain rules should be written and set up in the Daḷadāgē. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the rules and regulations were themselves set up at the Daḷadāgē and that the reference is to the group of buildings at the entrance to which the slab is placed. This argument is of course not decisive ...[5]

From the underlying implications of these remarks alone, it seems quite natural to conclude that the inscription is somehow connected with the remains of the palace rather than the Daḷadāgē.

The relevant literary evidence from the Chronicles and the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims

[1] Paranavitana, S., 1936, plan 4.
[2] *ASCAR* 1897, p. 3.
[3] *EZ* I, p. 114.
[4] Paranavitana, S., 1930, p. 144.
[5] Paranavitana, S., 1936, pp. 19-20.

has been brought together by Ayrton and Paranavitana.[1] However, both authors tend to interpret this material so as to support their hypothesis. What the literary records do establish is that the palace, the Tooth-Relic Temple and the Mahāpāḷi were located within the Citadel and stood close to each other. Fa-hsien does *not* say, as Paranavitana suggests, that the Daḷadāgē "was by the side of the palace"—he merely observes that the temple was situated 'in the city'.[2] It is Huien-Tsiang—whose description of Anurādhapura may not have been based on first-hand observation but was certainly derived from accurate contemporary accounts[3]—who says that "By the side of the king's palace is the *vihāra* of Buddha's tooth, several hundred feet high" and "By the side of the king's palace there is built a large kitchen, in which daily is measured out food for eight thousand priests".[4] The *Mahāvaṁsa* presents a very similar picture. It suggests that the Tooth-Relic Temple and the Mahāpāḷī, which were both restored by Mahinda IV in the 10th Century, stood within the city and that the Mahāpāḷī was near the royal palace.[5] From this it is obvious that all three buildings in question were located near each other and within the Citadel.

Of the major monuments that have been excavated in this Citadel area (see fig. 163), the four most important structures are two almost identical image-houses, the Geḍigē and 'Building A' (see figs. 75, 76, Pls. XVIII, XIX),[6] the Mahāpāḷī alms-hall (see fig. 104) and the remains of the so-called Daḷadāgē (see Pl. LV). All four buildings stand within 50 yards of each other, the Geḍigē and Building A lying somewhat closer to each other than either monument is to the Mahāpāḷī or the so-called Daḷadāgē. The identity of the Mahāpāḷī has been established beyond doubt.[7] If the building closely adjoining it on the east (see fig. 163) was in reality the palace—as we believe it to have been—and not the Tooth-Relic Temple, we may then suggest that either one or both the image-houses were the shrines for the relic. There are certain special features in these two structures which may suggest that they actually did serve this purpose. The most significant indication is the large, square and centrally located *āsana* in Building A.[8] Although this could have been an image-pedestal, it may also have served as the altar for the Tooth-Relic. Moreover, with the exception of the monumental Geḍigē in the Jetavanavihāra,[9] these two temples are the only image-houses in Anurādhapura which were entirely constructed of brick masonry, while their bayed ground plans are unknown in other *paṭimāgharas* of this period.

If the question is asked why are there *two* Tooth-Relic shrines, an explanation readily presents itself if we compare them with the corresponding monuments at Polonnaruva. There, too, we have two almost identical shrines standing side by side, the one larger than the other but displaying similar ground plans. Paranavitana has identified these monuments, the so-called Aṭadāgē (or 'Vihāra No. 2') and the Hāṭadāgē (or 'Vihāra No. 3'), as the Tooth-Relic Temples of Vijayabāhu I and Niśśaṁkamalla, respectively.[10] Building A in the Anurādhapura Citadel has been dated, on the basis of inscriptional evidence, in the 8th/9th Century.[11] Parana-

[1] *ASCM* I, p. 50; Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 24.
[2] Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 2; Giles, H. A., 1923, pp. 69, 71.
[3] Watters, T., Vol. II, 1905, p. 233.
[4] Beal, S., Vol. II, 1906, pp. 248-250; see also Watters, T., Vol. II, 1905, p. 235.
[5] *Mhv.* 41.28, 44.11-12, 54.45-46.
[6] See above, pp. 205-206.
[7] Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 2.
[8] Paranavitana, S., 1936, pp. 6-7.
[9] See above, p. 206.
[10] *CJSG* II, pp. 162-164.
[11] Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 7.

vitana has assigned the Geḍigē to the same period, arguing that the two buildings are almost identical and built on the same level.[1] However, it seems much more likely that the Geḍigē, which is a much better-preserved structure, is a later duplication of Building A. On the analogy of Polonnaruva, we may speculate that when Mahinda IV 'restored' the Tooth-Relic Temple in the 10th Century, he in fact constructed another, identical temple replacing the older shrine which had been (partially) destroyed. Again, the location of the Tooth-Relic Temples at Polonnaruva, as well as that of the much later Daḷadāmāligāva in Kandy, is some distance away from the royal palace, while at Anurādhapura the two shrines are both about 50 yards away from the monument which we should like to identify as the palace of the Anurādhapura kings.

It seems that there can be little doubt about the identity of the monumental remains next to the Mahāpāḷī. If some vestiges of the alms-hall have been preserved through all these centuries, then we can reasonably expect that some remains of the palace—surely a more substantial building—should also have survived. The principle edifice of this palace complex recalls the grandest of the monastic *pāsādas*, rather than any ritual building of the Anurādhapura Period, and the semi-*pañcāyatana* arrangement is also reminiscent of the monastic residences. We know very little about the royal palaces of the Anurādhapura Period.[2] In Burma, however, the *pañcāyatana* or *pañcaprāsāda* concept is applied to royal and monastic residences and King Kyanzittha's *abhiṣeka* building and palace are both based on the quincunx principle.[3] The importance of the *pañcāyatana* in the architecture of the Late Anurādhapura Period is quite evident and it would only be logical if it had been adapted in its semi-*pañcāyatana* form to the plan of the palace. Paranavitana's excavations in the Citadel revealed that this palace site had been repeatedly built on for many centuries. He reports four distinct strata which he dates conjecturally between the 4th-5th and the 9th-10th Centuries A.D. These investigations also brought to light some material evidence relevant to our identification of the palace, such as "a limestone figure, in the round, of a seated lion found near the porch ... in its execution ... much more artistic than most lion figures which are so often found among the sculptures of Ceylon".[4] Moreover, the very large number of beads and other items of personal use unearthed during the three excavations in this area suggest a habitational site rather than a religious one.[5]

With regard to the location of the palace near the centre of the south-eastern quadrant of the Citadel (see fig. 163), there is general agreement amongst all scholars that the royal precinct must have been situated somewhere in this area. If our identification is correct, further excavations in the relatively uninvestigated Citadel may well reveal an inner citadel within the boundaries of the present fortifications, anticipating the layout at Polonnaruva.[6] There are

[1] Paraṇavitana, S., 1936, p. 7.

[2] The only palace from the Anurādhapura Period identified beyond doubt is the royal complex on the summit of the rock at Sīgiriya (see *ASCAR* 1895, p. 11; 1896, p. 10; 1897, pp. 13-14; 1898, p. 7; see also *PPAR* 1897, Sīgiri-gala–plan and "Bird's-eye-view"). Although the layout of this complex is well preserved it scarcely provides us with a clear picture of the plan of a royal palace, for obvious reasons of site and terrain. The only significant factor is that the 'innermost' chamber or hall, at the highest point in the north-western corner of the summit, is a rectangular structure or *pāsāda*. There are six royal residences from the Polonnaruva Period (*UHC* pp. 600-601). In all of these the innermost hall is rectangular and is placed at the back of the quadrangular precinct. Thus, in principle it is the same plan as that of the building in Anurādhapura which we should like to identify as the royal palace.

[3] Luce, G. H., Vol. I, 1969, pp. 65, 252.

[4] Paranavitana, S., 1936, p. 20.

[5] Paranavitana, S., 1936, pp. 10-13, 22-23, 34-36.

[6] *CJSG* I, pl. LXXIII; see also pp. 150 ff.

two ancient roads, running north-south, on either side of the Mahāpāḷī and palace complex at Anurādhapura, in addition to a cross-road connecting the two, to the south of the palace. Another ancient road, stretching east-west and almost bisecting the Citadel, meets the central north-south road near the Geḍigē and Building A. Thus, both these monuments would in effect have been situated at the very centre of the city, an appropriate location for the Temples of the Tooth-Relic. Much of this, however, remains speculation. Only a thoroughgoing excavation of the whole Citadel will enable us to determine the actual character of the remains in this area.[1] But given the data available at present, the so-called Daḷadāgē is much more likely to have been the original palace while the two image-houses or *geḍigēs* may have been the Tooth-Relic shrines.

[1] The trial excavations carried out in the Citadel recently were not directed at an investigation of the structural remains, but that the whole area is rich in monuments—mostly of brick masonry—is clear even from a superficial examination. The building levels go down to about 14 ft., the lowest stratum of which has been dated by Codrington to ca. 50 A.D. (Codrington, K. de B., 1969, pp. 32-33). Moreover, he has suggested that there were three building levels between this earliest stratum and the present surface. It would be interesting to investigate whether these three levels correspond with Phases II, III and IV of our periodisation of the Anurādhapura epoch.

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Figure and Plate references have also been omitted. However, the page references include material from the text figures. These are placed in brackets. Thus, *Fig. 30—Kapārārāma, Abhayagirivihāra* on *page 90* is indexed as *Kapārārāma* (*90*) and *Abhayagirivihāra* (*90*).

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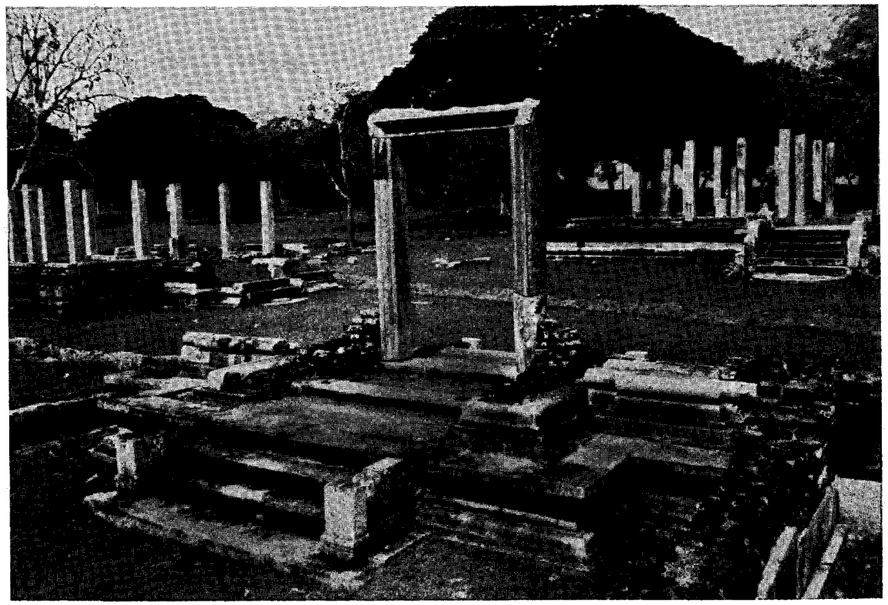
I. Mahasen's Pavilion Monastery, Abhayagirivihāra—from south-west



II. Monastery B, Thūpārāma—central precinct from north-east

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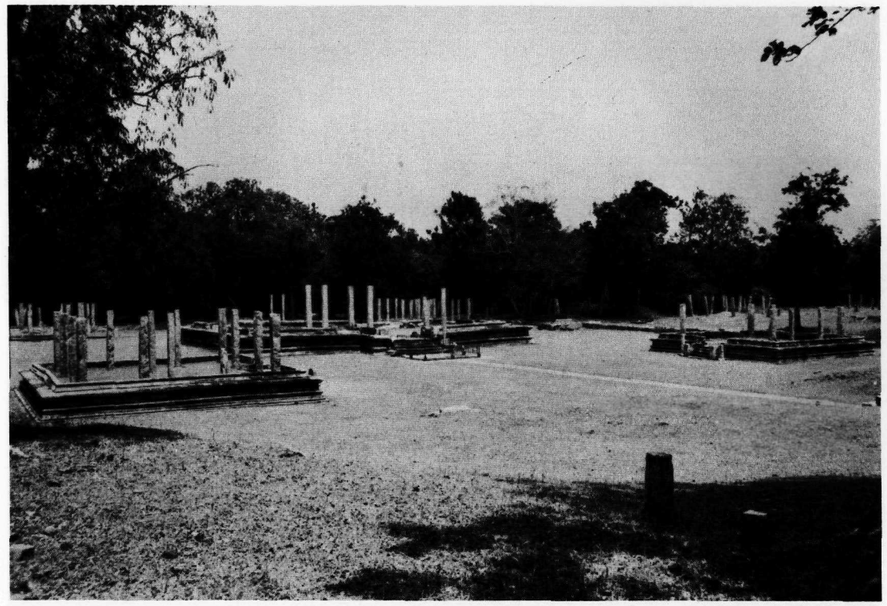
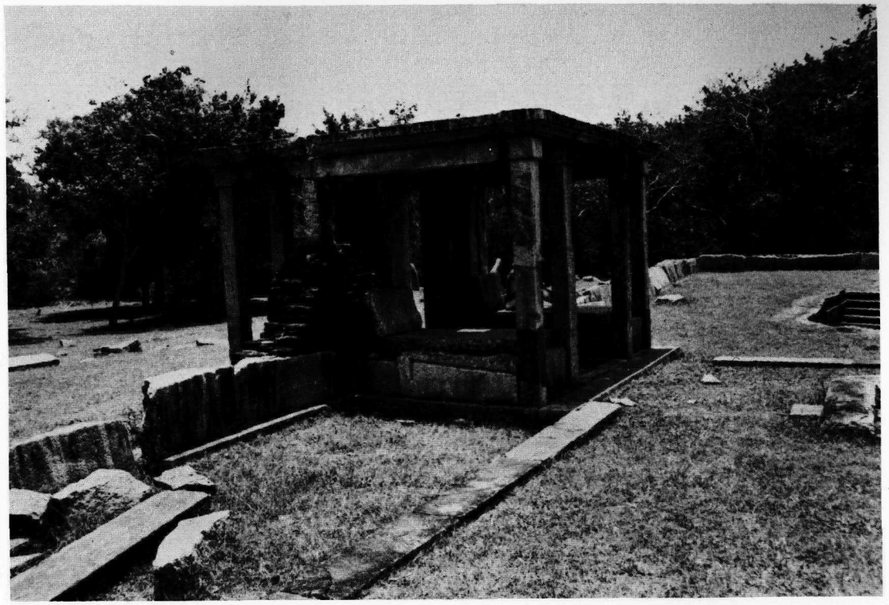


I. Mahasen's Pavilion Monastery, Abhayagirivihāra—from south-west

II. Monastery B, Thūpārāma—central precinct from north-east

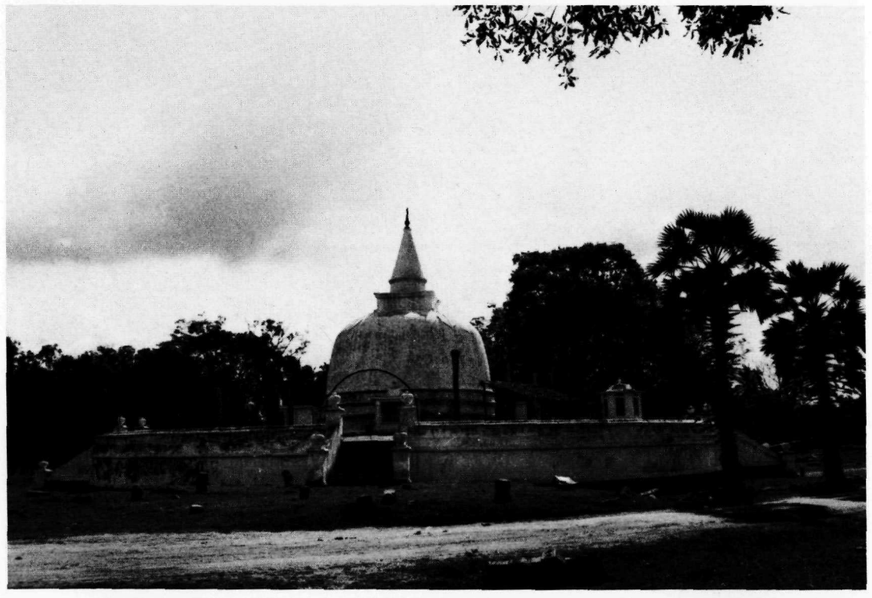
III. 'Monastery below Lion Bath', Mihintaḷē—from 'Monastery above Lion Bath'
(Lion Bath in right foreground)



IV. Western Monastery I—main entrance pavilion, from north

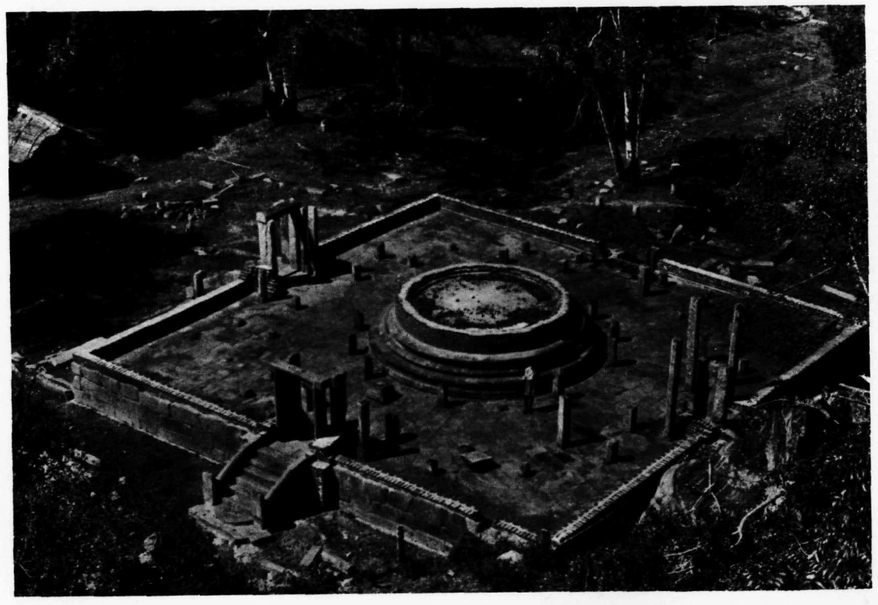
V. Western Monastery I—central precinct, from east

VI. Vaṭadāgē, Thūpārāma—view from south

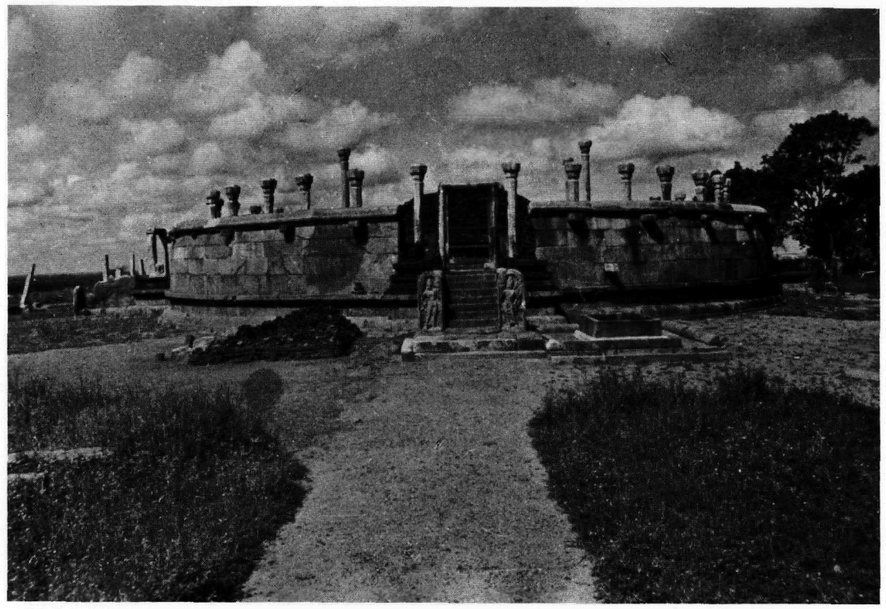


VII. Vaṭadāgē, Laṅkārāma—view from west

VIII. Silācetiya, Mihintaḷē—view from south-west

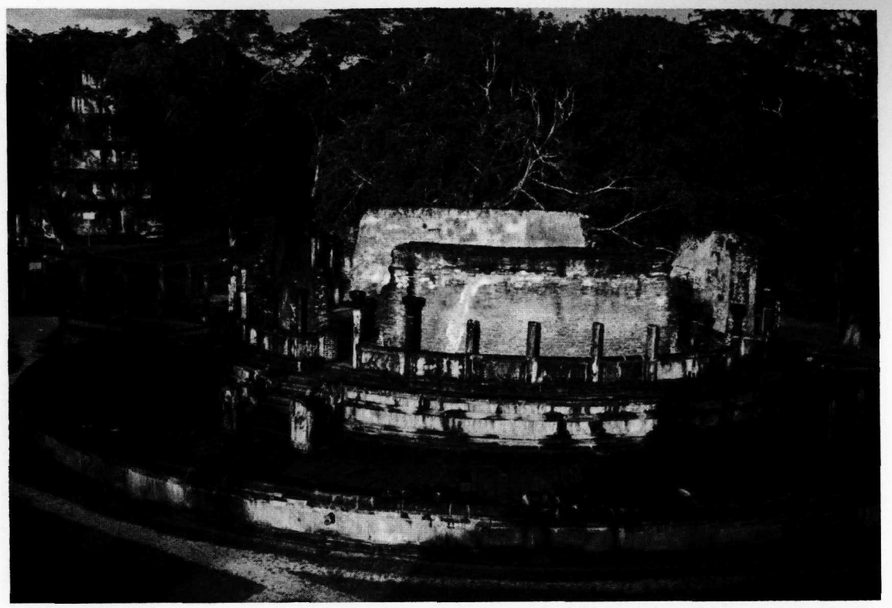


IX. Vaṭadāgē, Rājaṅganē—view from north-east



X. Vaṭadāgē, Tiriyāya—view from east

XI. Vaṭadāgē, Mādirigiriya—view from north



XII. Vaṭadāgē, Polonnaruva—view from south-west

XIII. Bodhighara, Nillakgama

XIV. Samādhi image shrine, Abhayagirivihāra—view from south-west

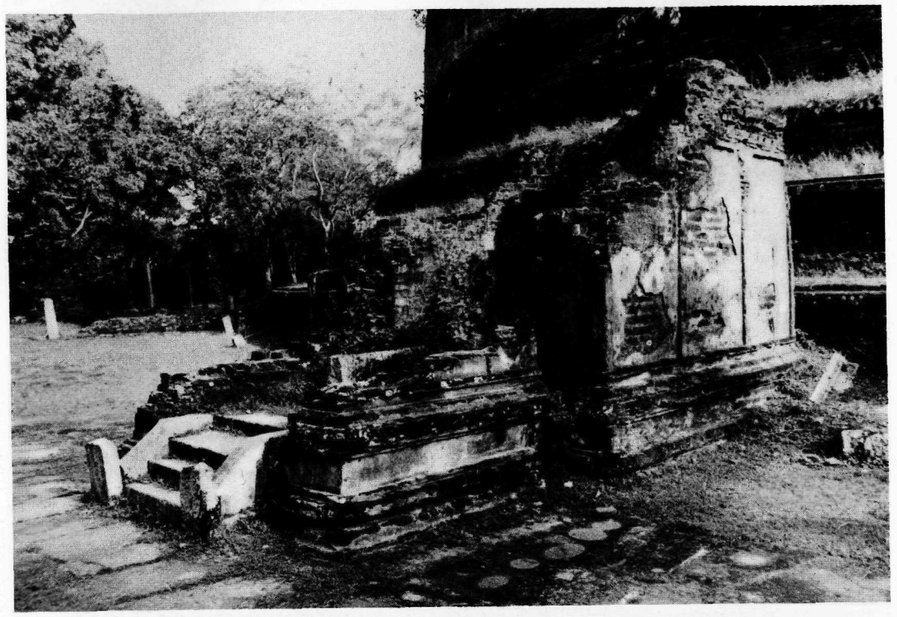
XV. Bodhighara, Māṇikdeṇa—view from south-west

XVI. Paṭimāghara, Pankuliya—view from south

XVII. Paṭimāghara, Mādirigiriya—view from south-east

XVIII. 'Building A', Citadel, Anurādhapura—view from north-east

XIX. Geḍigē, Citadel, Anurādhapura—view from east



XX. Paṭimāghara by the side of the northern vāhalkaḍa, Mirisavāṭi stūpa—view from north-west

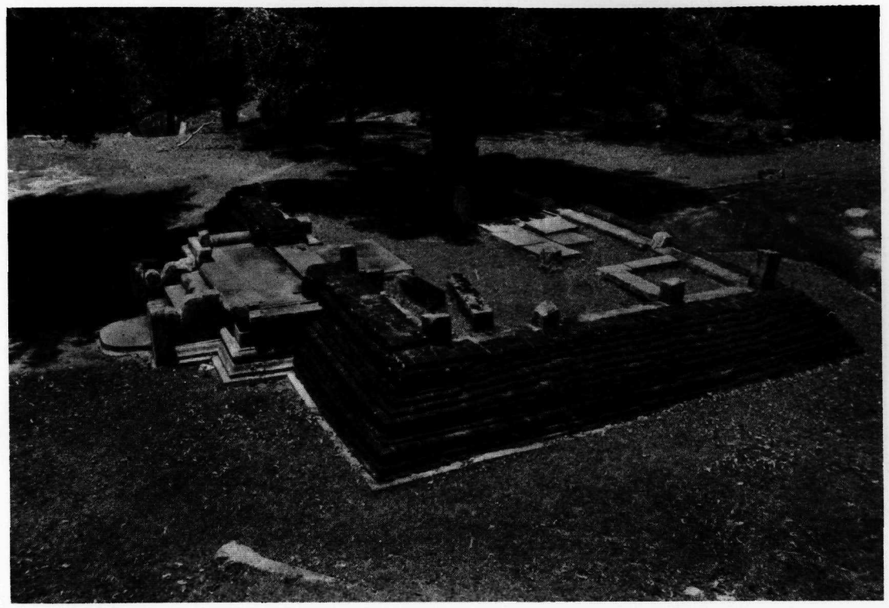
XXI. 'Monastery A', Mirisavāṭivihāra

XXII. 'Piriveṇa A', Thūpārāma

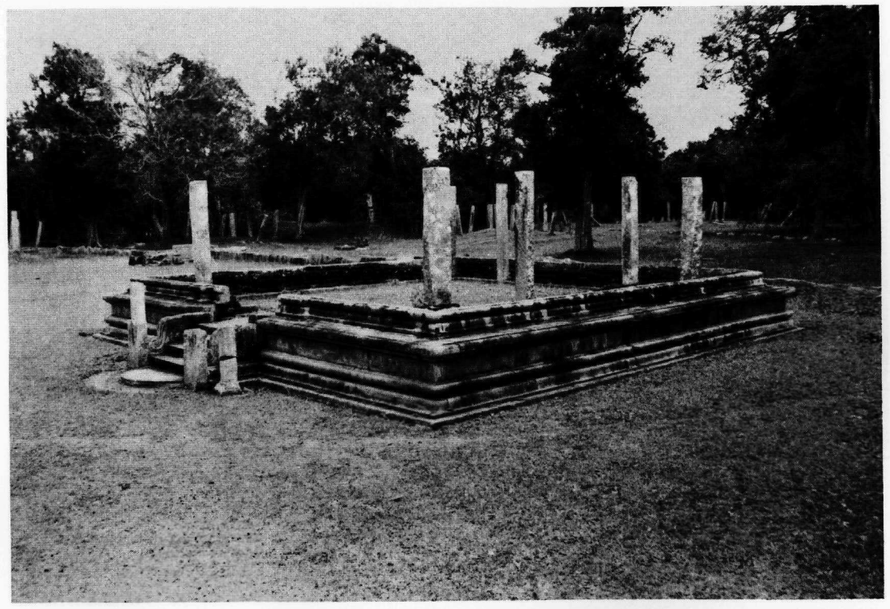
XXIII. 'Convocation Hall', Mihintaḷē

XXIV. Central pāsāda, 'Vihāra No. 1', Abhayagirivihāra Sector III—view from north-east

XXV. Central pāsāda, Monastery I, Mahāvihāra—view from north

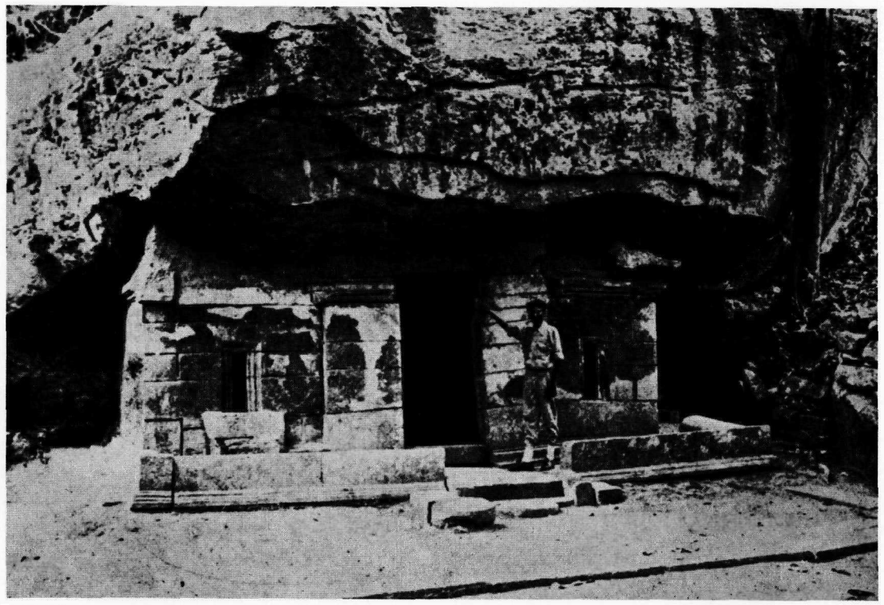


XXVI. Pāsāda, Kaḷudiya Pokuṇa, Mihintaḷē—view from west



XXVII. South-east kuṭī, Mahasen's Pavilion Monastery, Abhayagirivihāra—view from south-west

XXVIII. 'Cave pāsāda', Kaḷudiya Pokuṇa, Mihintaḷē



XXIX. 'Cave pāsāda', Araṅkālē

XXX. Bhojanasālā, Mirisavāṭivihāra—view from south-west

XXXI. Bhojanasālā, Mirisavāṭivihāra—rice-trough and sunken courtyard, view from south

XXXII. Bhojanasālā, Mihintaḷē—view from south

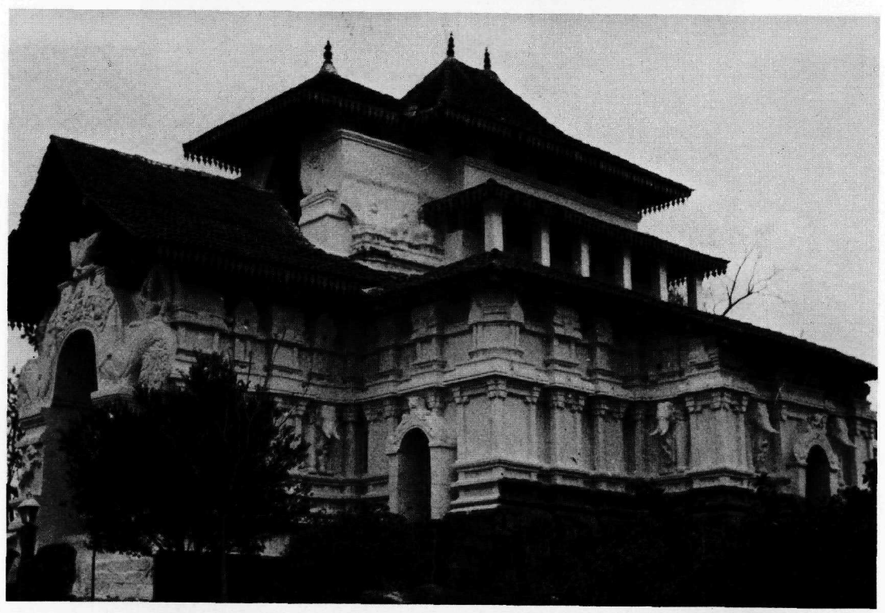
XXXIII. Entrance to Trident Temple, Thūpārāma—view from south

XXXIV. Facade of building from relief fragment (Archaeological Museum, Anurādhapura)

XXXV. Miniature relief shrines on a stele from the Abhayagiri stūpa (National Museum, Colombo)

XXXVI. Urinal stone with miniature relief shrines, Western Monastery F

XXXVII. Laṅkātilaka Temple, Polonnaruva—view from east



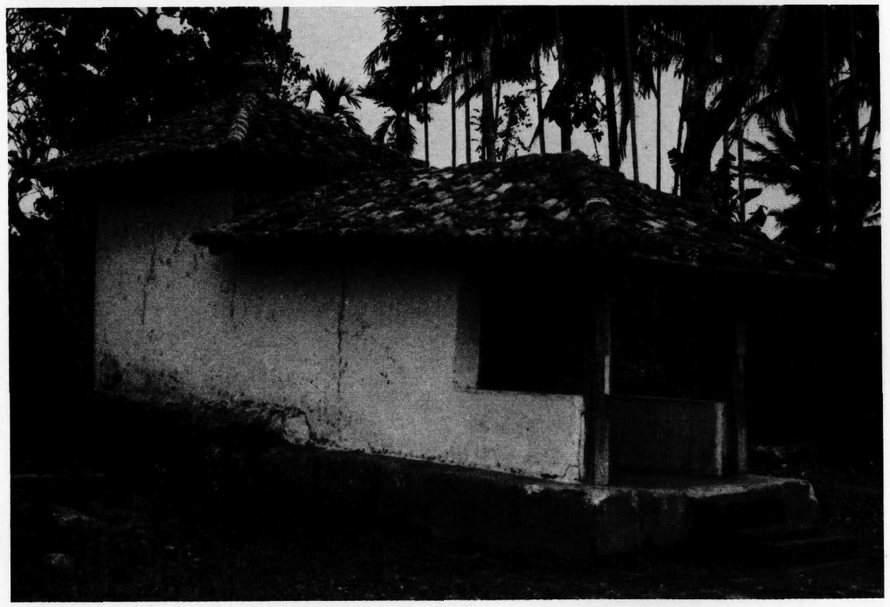
XXXVIII. Laṅkātilaka Temple, Uḍunuvara (near Kandy)— view from north-east

XXXIX. Samandēvālē, Ratnapura—main shrine, view from south-west

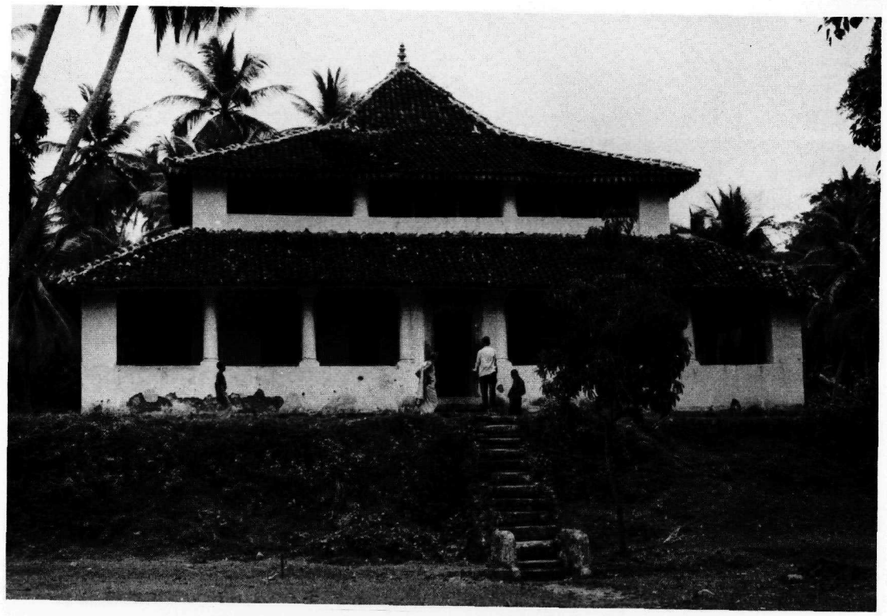
XL. Ṭämpiṭa vihāragē (image-house on pillars) Dorabāvila

XLI. Subsidiary shrine (Buddhist image-house) Samandēvālē, Ratnapura—view from south-west

XLII. Subsidiary shrine (Buddhist image-house) Gaṅgārāma, Kandy



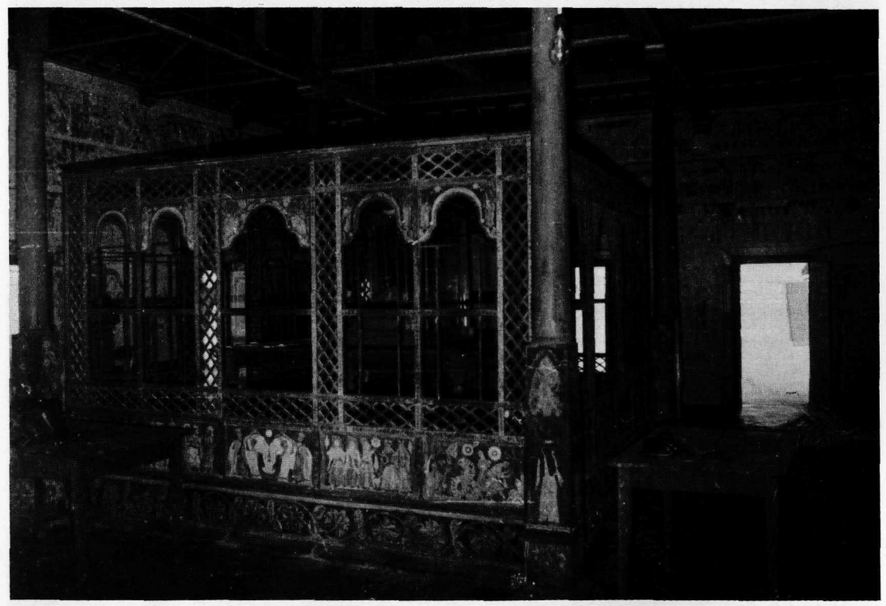
XLIII. Alutnuvara Devatābaṇḍāra shrine, Laṅkātilaka Temple, Uḍunuvara (near Kandy)



XLIV. Paṭimāghara and uposathaghara, Doḍantalē

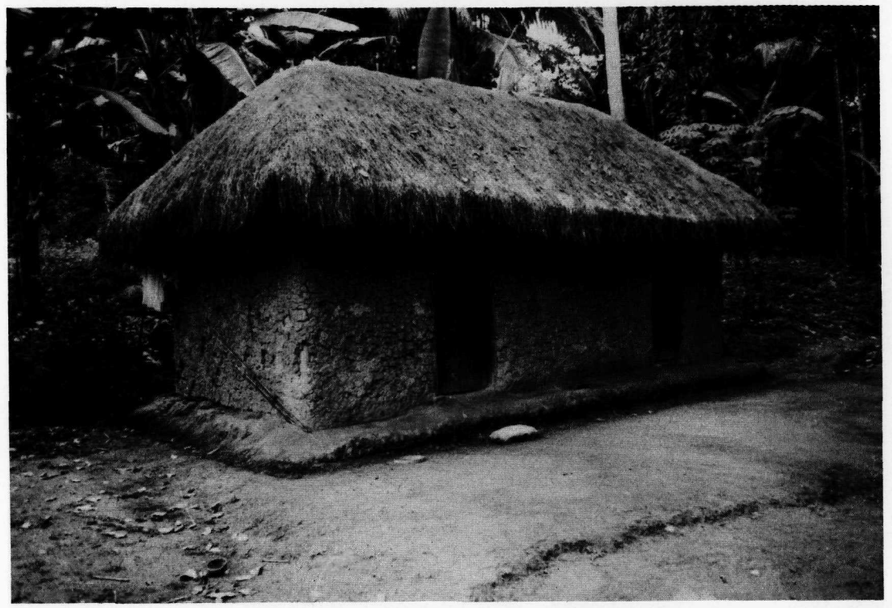
XLV. Main paṭimāghara, Gaṅgārāma, Kandy

XLVI. Uposathaghara, Kālaniya



XLVII. Painted interior of dhammasālā with pirit maṇḍapaya, Mihiripänna (near Galle)

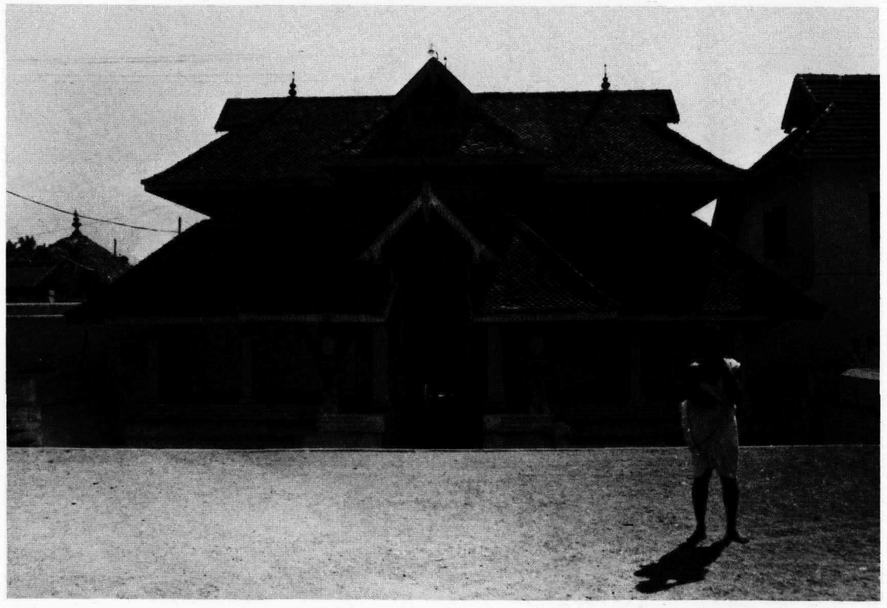
XLVIII. Dhammasālā, Gaṅgārāma, Galle



XLIX. Peasant house, Ämbäkke

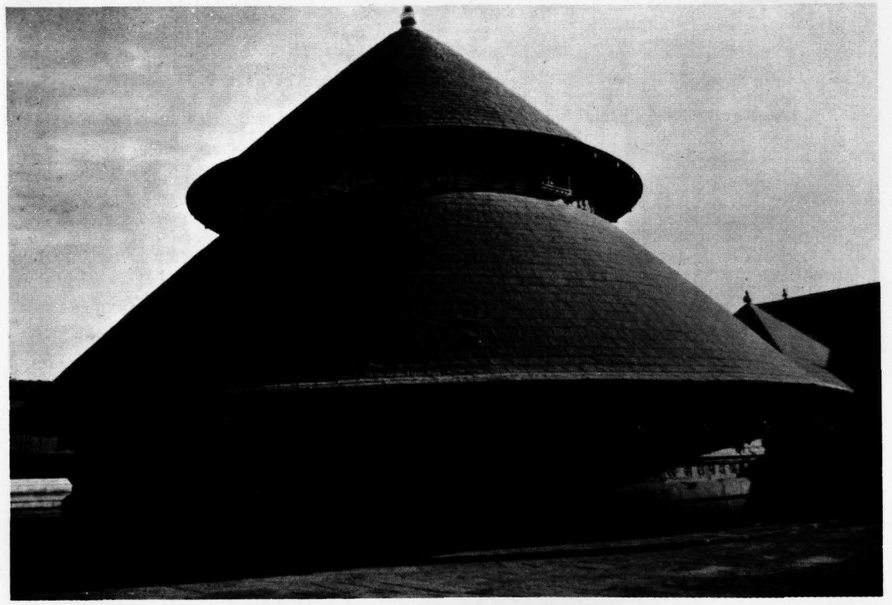
L. Lime-kiln, Vällemädda, Akurala (near Galle)

LI. Monastic residence, Sirimalvatte, Kandy

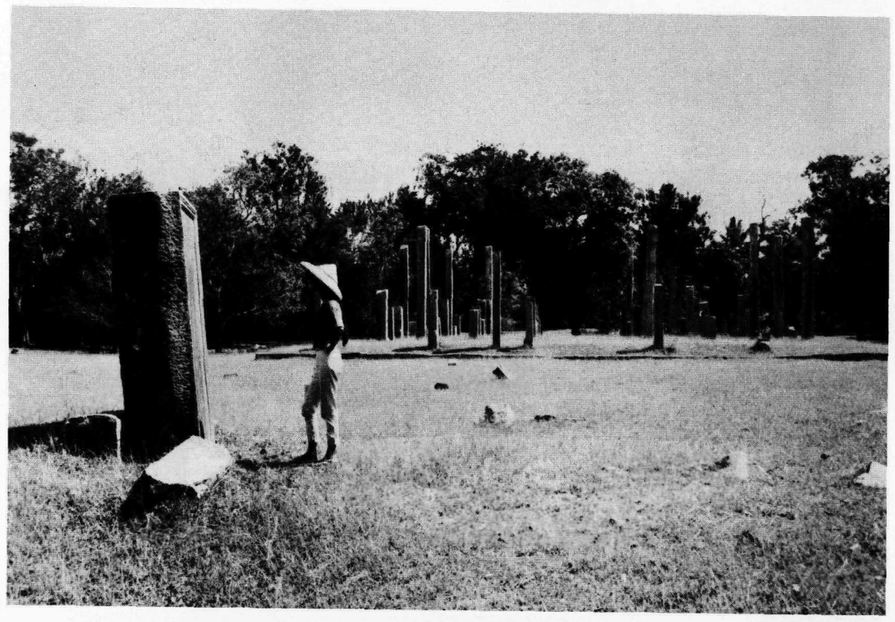


LII. Western gopuram, Ētumanūr, Kerala—view from east

LIII. Village shrine, Manakunnam (near Tripuritara)



LIV. Srīkoil, Irinnalakuḍa Temple



LV. Royal Palace, Citadel, Anurādhapura—Palace and inscribed slab—view from north